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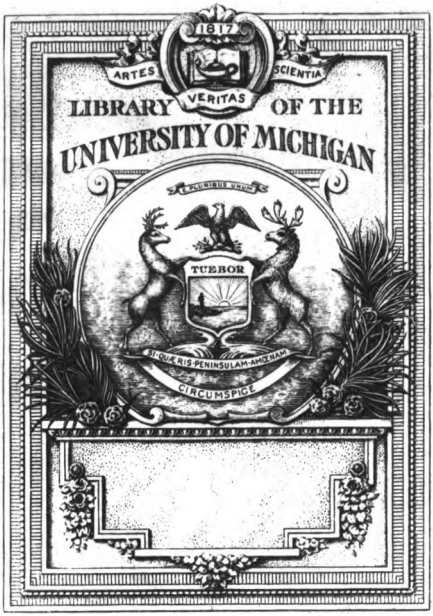

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FRONTISPIECE.

UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. XCII.

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THE

UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE

OF

KNOWLEDGE AND PLEASURE;

CONTAINING

Letters	History	Astronomy	Philosophy
Debates	Biography	Geography	Medicine
Essays	Antiquities	Mathematics	Chemistry
Tales	Voyages	Mechanics	Husbandry
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Arts and Sciences;

Which may render it

Instructive and Entertaining.

To which occasionally will be added

An Impartial Account of Books in several Languages,

And of the STATE of LEARNING in Europe;

ALSO

Of the NEW THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENTS,

VOL. XCII.

LONDON:

Published under His Majesty's Royal Licence,

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PREFACE.

IN the Preface to our Ninetieth Volume, we took a curſory retroſpect of the principal events that had diſtinguiſhed the year 1791. From the ſingular importance of theſe, it did not require the aid of divination, to look forward to the ſucceeding year for tranſactions ſtill more ſingular and momentous. That year is juſt elapſed; and its eventful hiſtory ſeems to be unparalleled in the annals of the world. To our hiſtorical narration we have, in courſe, given particular attention; recording each event, in regular order, with diſcrimination, exactneſs, and fidelity.

A neighbouring country has exhibited the moſt awful ſcenes: maſſacres, proſcriptions, anarchy, and all the dreadful concomitants of civil diſcord, raging uncontrolled. Scarce is a new conſtitution eſtabliſhed, when it is deſtroyed by an unexpected revolution. Their ſovereign is ſuſpended, dethroned, impriſoned, and brought to a public trial. A monarchy, which had ſubſiſted, from the time of Hugh Capet, near eight hundred years, and, from that of Pharamond, upward of thirteen hundred, is aboliſhed by a ſingle decree, and the nation declared one immenſe republic. Powerful armies of diſciplined veterans, under the firſt generals in the world, invade the country, and are compelled to retreat with diſgrace. The invaded, deſpiſed as deficient in every military requiſite, and headed by chiefs without a name, have poured, in their turn, like a torrent, into the territories of their neighbours, and with their political Koran in one hand, and the ſword in the other, are propagating their new doctrines of liberty, equality, and confraternity!

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This happy country, on the contrary, has riſen to a great height of national ſplendour. Our victorious arms have compelled the Tyrant of the Eaſt to accede to a peace, in which the ſignal advantages we have obtained are not more conſpicuous than the wiſdom and moderation of the illuſtrious general by whom the war is terminated. At home, indeed, ſome agitations have been experienced, like what often reſults, in the natural world, from diſtant exploſions. On the ſuppoſition that attempts would be made to introduce the raging democracy into this country, government have acted with a foreſight, a vigilance, and a ſpirit, that have met with almoſt the univerſal approbation of the nation; the ſenſe of which has appeared in declarations from all quarters, of attachment to our own moſt excellent conſtitution, under which the glorious revolution in 1688 was effected—"a conſtitution "wiſely framed for the diffuſion of happineſs and true "liberty, and which poſſeſſes the diſtinguiſhed merit that it "has on former occaſions been, and we truſt will in future "be, found competent to correct its errors and reform its "abuſes."—With this declaration we moſt heartily concur. A love and veneration for this excellent conſtitution, it ſhall be our conſtant endeavour to inculcate; expreſſing our unceaſing wiſhes in the dying prayer, which the celebrated Paul Sarpi uttered for the liberty of his country—ESTO PERPETUA.

January 1, 1793.

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THE UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE OF KNOWLEDGE AND PLEASURE,

FOR

JANUARY, 1793.

VOL. XCII.

Observations on the MUSIC *of the* ANCIENTS: *Illuſtrative of a beautiful Frontiſpiece, repreſenting* EUTERPE, *the Muſe of Harmony.*

When Muſic, heavenly maid, was young,
While yet in early Greece ſhe ſung,
The Paſſions oft, to hear her ſhell,
Throng'd around her magic cell,
Exulting, trembling, raging, fainting,
Poſſeſt beyond the Muſe's painting;
By turns they felt the glowing mind
Diſturb'd, delighted, rais'd, refin'd. COLLINS.

MUSIC is as ancient as the world. It ſeems to have been born with man, to accompany him in his painful career, to ſweeten his labours, and charm away his cares. This was its firſt employment. It was afterward conſecrated to divine ſervice; and having thus riſen in dignity, it became of principal account among the people, in accompanying the traditional narratives, relative to the characters and exploits of their anceſtors. Hence it came to be the firſt ſcience wherein their children were inſtructed. Muſic, and poetry its ally, accompanied all their ſtudies. They even deified thoſe, who were firſt diſtinguiſhed in it. Apollo was of this number. Orpheus, Amphion, and Linus, for their eminent talents in this art, were accounted more than men. Philoſophers applied themſelves to it. Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, recommended it as worthy of being cultivated, not only by their diſciples, but by the beſt regulated ſtates. The Grecians, and, particularly, the Arcadians, enacted the

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ſtudy of it by law; regarding it as indiſpenſably neceſſary to the common welfare. A ſcience ſo generally cultivated, ſhould have arrived at perfection very early; yet did it continue in a ſtate of imbecility, and without principles, till the times of Pythagoras.

Till the time of this philoſopher, muſic was ſo vague and uncertain, that it required an extraordinary effort of genius to reduce it to method and order. He preciſely determined the proportions which ſounds bear to each other, and regulated harmony upon mathematical principles. But he let the preciſion of his mind carry him too far, in ſubjecting muſic to the judgment of reaſon alone, and admitting no pauſes or reſts, but ſuch as had an arithmetical or geometric proportion in them. Ariſtoxenes, the diſciple of Ariſtotle, thought, on the contrary, that this ſubject came intirely within the verge of hearing, and that the ear was the only judge of ſounds. He therefore regulated the order, uniſon, and break in tones, ſolely by the judgment of the ear, and his ſyſtem prevailed, for ſome time, in Greece. Olympus, a Phrygian, came ſoon after to Athens: he invented a ſtringed inſtrument, which gave the ſemi tones, whereby he introduced ſo many new graces into muſic, as gave it entirely another air. He joined Ariſtoxenes, appealing for the merit of his ſyſtem to the deciſion of the ear. At length, the famous Ptolemy appeared, and, with ſuperior ſpirit, equally diſclaimed the partiality of both ſides. He took a middle courſe; aſſerting, that ſenſe and reaſon had a joint right to judge of ſounds. He accuſed the Pythagoreans of fallacy in their ſpeculations, with reſpect to proportions; as well as of folly, in ſo diſregarding the deciſions of the ear, as to refuſe it that kind of harmony which was agreeable to it, merely becauſe the proportions did not correſpond with their arbitrary rules. And he charged the partizans of Ariſtoxenes with an abſurd neglect of reaſoning, in that, though they were convinced of the difference of grave and acute tones, and of the proportions ſubſiſting between them; and that thoſe proportions invariably depended upon the ſeveral lengths of the muſical chords; yet they never took the trouble of conſidering this, ſo as to enter into the reaſon of it. He determined, therefore, in deciding upon the principles of harmony, to make uſe, not only of reaſon, but alſo of the ear, as being of aſſiſtance to each other; and, in conſequence of this, he laid down a certain method of finding the proportions of ſounds. Had the ancients proceeded no farther, muſic muſt be infinitely more indebted to them than it poſſibly could be to their ſucceſſors. The ancients have the ſole merit of having laid down the firſt exact principles of muſic; and the writings of the Pythagoreans, of Ariſtoxenes, Euclid, Ariſtides, Nicomachus, Plutarch, and many others, even ſuch of them as ſtill remain, contain every theory of muſic hitherto known. They knew, as well as the moderns, the art of noting their tones, performed by means of entire letters, either contracted or reverſed, placed on a line parallel to the words, and ſerving for the direction, the oue of the voice, and the other of the inſtrument; and the ſcale itſelf, of which Guy Aretin is the ſuppoſed inventor, is no other than the ancient one of the Greeks a little enlarged, and what he may have taken from a Greek manuſcript, above 800 years old, which Kircher ſays he ſaw at Meſſina, in the library of the Jeſuits, and in which he found the hymns noted in the very manner of Aretin.

With reſpect to the manner of performing muſic among the ancients, it has been alleged that their inſtruments were not ſo complete as ours, and that they were unacquainted with thoſe diviſions of harmony that enter into our concerts; but this ſeems to be a groundleſs objection. The lyre, for inſtance, was certainly a very harmonious inſtrument; and, in the time

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of Plato, it was so constructed, and so full of variety, that he regarded it as dangerous, and too apt to relax the mind. When Anacreon flourished, it had already obtained forty strings. Ptolemy and Porphyry describe instruments resembling the lute and theorbo, having a handle with keys belonging to it, and the strings extended from the handle over a concave body of wood. At Rome, is an ancient statue of Orpheus, with a musical bow in his right hand, and a kind of violin in his left. And there is a passage in Tertullian, which deserves particular consideration: 'What an astonishing hydraulic organ,' says he, 'was that of Archimedes; composed of such a number of pieces, consisting each of so many different parts, connected together by such a quantity of joints, and containing such a variety of pipes for the imitation of voices, conveyed in such a multitude of sounds, modulated into such a diversity of tones, breathed from such an immense combination of flutes; and yet, all taken together, constituting but one single instrument!'—In this passage, it is apparent, that the flute was carried to such a high degree of perfection among the ancients, that there were various kinds of them, and so different in sound, as to be wonderfully adapted to express all manner of subjects.

With respect to harmony, it has been cursorily treated of by many respectable ancients. Macrobius speaks of five notes, among which the base bears such a symphony with those above it, that, however different, they altogether composed one sound. Ptolemy, speaking of the monochord, calls it a mighty simple instrument, as having neither unison, accompaniment, variety, nor complication of sounds. Seneca, in one of his letters, says to his friend, 'Do not you observe how many different voices a band of music is composed of? There you have the base, the higher notes, and the intermediate, the soft accents of women, and the tones of men intermingled with the sounds of flutes, which, however separately distinct, form altogether but one harmony of sound, in which each bears a share.' Plato sufficiently makes it appear, that he knew what harmony was, when he says, that music is a very proper study for youth, and should employ three years of their time; but that it was improper to put them upon playing alternately in concert, it being enough for them, if they could accompany their voice with the lyre. And the reason he gives for it is, that the accompaniment of various instruments, the base with those of a higher key, and the variety, and even opposition of symphonies, where music is played in divisions, can only embarrass the minds of youth. True it is, the ancients did not much practise compound music; but that proceeded only from their not liking it. For Aristotle, after asking why one instrument accompanied only by a single voice gave more delight, than that very voice would do with a greater number, replies, that the multitude of instruments only obstructed the sound of the song, and hindered it from being heard. Yet the same author, in another place, expressly says, that music, by the combination of the base and higher tones, and of notes long and short, and of a variety of voices, arises in perfect harmony. And in the following chapter, speaking of the revolutions of the several planets, as perfectly harmonizing with one another, they being all of them conducted by the same principle, he draws a comparison from music to illustrate his sentiments; just as in a chorus, says he, of men and women, where all the variety of voices, through all the different tones, from the base to the higher notes, being under the guidance and direction of a musician, perfectly correspond with one another, and form a full harmony. Aurelius Cassiodorus defines symphony to be the art of so adjusting the base to the higher notes, and them to it, through all the voices and instruments, whether they be wind

or

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or ſtringed inſtruments, that thence an agreeable harmony may reſult. And Horace ſpeaks expreſsly of the baſe and higher tones, and the harmony reſulting from their concurrence. All theſe teſtimonies, therefore, uniting in favour of the harmony of the ancients, ought not to leave us the leaſt doubt reſpecting this branch of their knowledge. We have ſeen the reaſon why they did not much uſe harmony in concert. One fine voice alone, accompanied with one inſtrument, regulated entirely by it, pleaſed them better than mere muſic without voices, and made a more lively impreſſion on their feeling minds. And this is what even we ourſelves every day experience.

I might here expatiate on the ſurpriſing effects produced by the muſic of the ancients; but as the ſubject would carry me too far, I ſhall terminate this eſſay with the concluſion of Collins' ſublime and beautiful Ode to the Paſſions:

O Muſic, ſphere-deſcended maid,
Friend of pleaſure, wiſdom's aid,
Why, goddeſs, why to us denied?
Lay'ſt thou thy ancient lyre aſide?
As in that lov'd Athenian bower,
You learn'd an all-commanding power,
Thy mimic ſoul, O nymph endear'd,
Can well recall what then it heard.
Where is thy native ſimple heart,
Devote to virtue, fancy, art?
Ariſe, as in that elder time,
Warm, energetic, chaſte, ſublime!
Thy wonders, in that godlike age,
Fill thy recording ſiſter's page.
'Tis ſaid, and I believe the tale,
Thy humbleſt reed could more prevail,
Had more of ſtrength, diviner rage,
Than all which charms this laggard age,
Ev'n all at once together found
Cecilia's mingled world of ſound—
O, bid our vain endeavours ceaſe,
Revive the juſt deſigns of Greece,
Return in all thy ſimple ſtate!
Confirm the tales her ſons relate!

The WATERMAN *of* BESONS: *A Moral Tale.*

The following beautiful Tale, replete with intereſting Incidents, and the moſt pleaſing Delineations of virtuous Sentiment, is ſelected from a Tranſlation, juſt publiſhed, of a Third Volume of New Moral Tales, *by the inventive Pen of* Marmontel, *whoſe former Writings are too well known to our Readers, to need any Eulogy here.*

I WAS ever fond of the country. As it is now the aſylum of my old age, it was formerly the delight of my youthful years; and from rural ſcenes ſtill proceed the moſt intereſting of my recollections.

One fine evening, I was walking on the banks of the Seine, with two young women, to whom I ſhall give the appellations of Sophia and Adelaide. I would lay a wager, ſaid I, ſhowing them the little habitation of a waterman, who followed the trade of fiſherman too (for his nets were hanging near the door of his cottage) I would lay a wager, that under that humble roof there is more happineſs than in the moſt ſplendid palace.—Why ſo? ſaid Sophia.—Becauſe its inhabitants deſire only what can be had without difficulty; and becauſe, after labour of an eaſy kind, they enjoy the bleſſing of repoſe.

This way of ſeaſoning the happineſs of life was little to the taſte of my youthful companions; but, on approaching the little houſe, we perceived that the air was perfumed by a *matelote* *, on which the good folks within were going to ſup. The ladies then began to think, that a houſe which afforded a ſupper of ſo ſavoury a ſmell might afford a tolerable ſhare of happineſs. They longed to taſte it; and laid a plan to return the next evening and eat ſuch another at the

* A matelote is a favourite diſh in France; conſiſting of eels ſtewed in wine, with ſpice and other ſavoury ingredients.

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cottage. It was neceſſary, however, to aſk the fiſherman if he were inclined to furniſh the treat.

On coming into his houſe, we found, ſitting round a table, inviting to the eye, from the whiteneſs of the linen, the cleanneſs of the diſhes, and the golden colour of the houſehold bread, a family which exhibited not the mirthful feelings of hilarity, but the happy calm of content; a man about fifty; another fifteen years younger; a woman of about five-and-twenty; and three children ſtanding beſide her, the youngeſt of whom might have been weaned ſix months before; which did not prevent his mother, ſtill blooming with youth and health, from being again pregnant. Her huſband ſeemed modelled after the antique gladiator; and his countenance was the picture of frankneſs and cordiality. As to the wife, it was eaſy to ſee that, before ſhe became a mother, ſhe muſt have had the ſhape of Diana; whoſe ſmile and dignified modeſty ſhe bore upon her brow.

She received us with an air of hoſpitality; and aſked politely to what ſhe was indebted for the favour of our viſit. In paſſing by, ſaid Adelaide, we were regaled with the ſmell of an excellent matelote; and we are come. The waterman's wife did not wait for her concluſion, to make us an offer of their ſupper. No, ſaid we; 'tis to morrow that we ſhould be glad of ſuch a treat, if you will permit us to come to your houſe.

The young man, ſmiling, promiſed us a better matelote than theirs: at leaſt as good a one, ſaid he, as thoſe I uſed to make in India, and that the Mogul was ſo fond of. The Mogul! ſaid Sophia, with aſtoniſhment. Yes, replied he, the Great Mogul; it was his favourite diſh. Accordingly, he had taken a great liking to me; and we ſhould ſtill have been together, if a ſad fellow of a neighbour, a certain king of Perſia, called Nadir-Kouli-Khan, had not come, without a word of warning, to beat his army, plunder his treaſures, and carry off his cook. 'Twas he who made me leave India. But I forgive him; for he was alſo the cauſe of Bathilda's eſcaping with her innocence from the ſeraglio of the young Sophy, and of her coming to Beſons to make me a preſent of theſe pretty children.

What is all this? exclaimed the young ladies. The truth, ſaid he, with great unconcern. But it is very aſtoniſhing. Not at all. Does not every thing in the world go with the ſtream, and hap-hazard, as the ſaying is? Mankind are all like floating wood; one ſtops here, another there, according to the winding of the bank, till the flood carries them again into the middle of the current. For inſtance, my father-in-law, whom you ſee before you, would he be there if the czar Peter had not travelled in France; if Eliſabeth, his daughter, had not put the crown upon her head; and if, at that time, the Tartars had not made an incurſion into the kingdom of Kazan? You may add, ſaid the father, if a merchant of Damaſcus had not believed in the tranſmigration of ſouls; and if ſome accident had not put the Dey of Algiers' time-piece out of order.

We thought we were liſtening to one of the Tales in the Arabian Nights Entertainment. But the young man and his father-in-law ſmiled at our ſurpriſe; and Bathilda, without attending to what they were ſaying, was thinking about the matelote.

We are in hopes, ſaid Sophia, that all three of you will to-morrow favour us with a recital of your adventures. With all our hearts, ſaid they. Farewell, then, till to-morrow; for it is late, and we muſt not keep you from your ſupper.

But on going away we reflected, that if our ſociety knew what awaited us the next day at the waterman's hut, they would all wiſh to be of the party; and that we might be more at our eaſe, we agreed upon ſecrecy. Not one of us could divine how ſo many different epiſodes could be connected.

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Have not the good folks, ſaid Adelaide, been dreaming all this? And where is the perſon, ſaid I, who, endeavouring to recollect all the events of his life, does not think he dreamed them? Not you, indeed, ladies, whoſe youthful years have glided ſo peacefully away. But have you never yourſelves, in your ſleep, been tormented with any of thoſe frightful dreams, in which we ſeem to fall, and roll from precipice to precipice, to ſtruggle with the waves, and to climb up rocks? And have you never felt the inexpreſſible pleaſure we experience when, upon waking, we find ourſelves all at once laid quietly in our beds, enjoying the repoſe neceſſary to our perturbed ſpirits, and the raviſhing ſight of ſo many dangers ſo ſuddenly diſpelled. This is, in my opinion, a moment of the trueſt and moſt lively happineſs. Such, perhaps, were the ſenſations of theſe good people on finding themſelves at Beſons.

The next day, on coming into the cottage, we ſaw a copious matelote ſtewing over a clear fire, in a veſſel as reſplendent as the flame; and after having for ſome time inhaled its ſavoury vapour, we went to wait for it ſeated on the lawn, where our table was ſpread. There we ſolicited our hoſts to relate their hiſtory.

Mine is not long, ſaid the young man. My father, Nicholas Verbois, was what I am, a waterman on the river. This cottage was his. My mother was ſiſter to the famous Lucas, the firſt man in the world for providing wedding-dinners, and for cooking matelotes. I was brought up in his tavern; and, at the age of fourteen, was almoſt as knowing as himſelf.

You cannot conceive, ladies, how good a ſchool that tavern was to me. It was frequented by a great number of learned men, who talked like a book concerning the character of a worthy man; of the pleaſure and advantage that, in every condition of life, attended the being juſt, good, and honourable; of the nobleneſs and beauty of virtue; and of the deformity and baſeneſs of vice. Indeed, when theſe people, who knew every thing in the world, called back time paſt, and cited examples of dignity of mind, rectitude, frankneſs, and honour, they ſet us a-longing; and I, who waited upon them, and liſtened to their converſation, could never hear them without feeling a deſire to be ſuch a man as I heard them praiſe. They talked and talked, till at length, inſpired by their converſation, I began to deſpiſe a public-houſe; and determined to follow a profeſſion, in which the mind might be more at large. My father was famous on the Seine: I followed his example; and leaped into a boat as ſoon as I was able to handle an oar. But I ſoon grew tired of being a freſh-water ſailor, and was deſirous of becoming a ſeaman. I went down the river to Havre-de-Grace, entered for a ſailor, and in ſix months was in India.

I was in hopes of being made pilot; and then—and then, whatever fortune might pleaſe. But it has been truly ſaid, that we cannot avoid our deſtiny; and mine had reſolved that I ſhould be a waterman at Beſons. When we were arrived in India, our captain having boaſted of ſome diſhes I had cooked on board the ſhip, nothing was talked of but my talent. I was ſent for by the governor. He made trial of me; and was ſo well ſatisfied, that, to pleaſe the Nizam of the Decan, who was deſirous of having a French cook, I was choſen to be ſent to his highneſs.

The Nizam going to pay his court at Delhi, I accompanied him thither; and in the entertainments he gave, I did ſo much to ſupport the reputation of Gros-Caillou *, that the emperor, who heard nothing ſpoken of but French ragouts, prevailed on the Nizam to turn me over to him. The

* The extremity of one of the ſuburbs of Paris, whither the Pariſians reſort to eat matelotes.

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Mogul was fond of good eating; and I did my beſt to regale him. Accordingly we were the beſt friends in the world; and who knows, to what height his favour might have raiſed me? Nothing leſs than a king of Perſia could overturn my hopes.

All of a ſudden I heard that the frontiers of the empire were attacked, and that this king of Perſia, called Nadir-Kouli-Khan, was advancing at the head of a hundred thouſand men. He ſubdued and plundered the provinces, and wrote to my maſter, that every thing he did was out of pure friendſhip. At length, after having beat a million of bad ſoldiers, taken their camp, rifled their baggage, arms, and artillery, he came very cordially to reſide at Delhi, dined, ſupped, and lodged in the emperor's palace; and thinking he did him a great favour by leaving him in poſſeſſion of his crown, carried off his immenſe treaſures. It was neceſſary, beſides, to give him a ſplendid entertainment every day.

Before he went away he married Allah Mirza, one of his ſons, to a princeſs of Hindooſtan; and the Mogul was likewiſe obliged to give the wedding-dinner. I leave you to judge whether I cooked it with good will. I could have wiſhed to make them ſwallow vipers inſtead of eels. But, nevertheleſs, I made the matelote like an honeſt man; and luckily it was I did, as you ſhall hear preſently.

Nadir found it ſo good, and eat ſo much of it, in ſpite of his boaſted abſtemiouſneſs, that he was taken very ill at night. Nor was any thing more natural. Six of his guards, with their naked ſwords, came ſuddenly to break my reſt, and ordered me to get up and follow them. I obeyed; and was conducted to Nadir's apartment, where I found him half reclined upon a ſofa, and thought I ſaw a terrible giant. His whiſkers ſtood an end, his face was in a flame, and his eyes ſparkled with rage. I cannot draw my breath, ſaid he; and I feel horrible gripings. You have poiſoned me with your treacherous ragouts. Confeſs your crime, and I will pardon it; for you will only have obeyed your orders. A French cook, ſaid I, knows how to ſeaſon, but not how to poiſon a ragout.—This cool and haughty anſwer aſtoniſhed him. What is it then, ſaid he, that occaſions the gripings which I feel?—I believe that I know, anſwered I; but I will tell it to you alone. He then bade his guards withdraw, and ordered me to ſpeak. King of the Perſians, ſaid I, eels are very hard of digeſtion. Your highneſs has eaten too much.—That may be, replied he; and you have acted prudently in telling it to me alone. Your words would otherwiſe have coſt you your life. Do you know any remedy for my intemperance? Yes, ſaid I; a bowl of warm water ſwallowed at a draught. He drank it; and felt himſelf relieved.—Harkee, ſaid he; I am obliged to you for having made me acquainted with the luxury of good eating. But a ſurfeit is unworthy of me; and whether the exceſs I have fallen into be your fault or mine, I inſiſt upon ſecrecy; your head ſhall be anſwerable for it; and for my better aſſurance, I ſhall take you away with me to-morrow.

What! ſaid Adelaide, ſo now you are in Perſia, in the ſervice of Kouli-Khan! Yes, replied the young man, I endeavoured in vain to ward off the blow. I repreſented to him that he had taken his treaſures, two of his provinces, and all his diamonds from my good maſter, and conjured him to leave him at leaſt a true friend. His only anſwer was a haughty ſmile; and the next day I was obliged to ſet off for Perſia, where I remained ſeven years.

Nadir, during the whole of that time, was engaged in his war with the Turks; but on his return home at the peace, he thought he perceived that his court was grown effeminate and dainty, and accuſed me of having ſpoiled the palate of his children. He behaved, however, with generoſity;

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rosity; for having sent for me, he addressed me thus: French cook, I esteem you; you have given me proofs of frankness and courage, and you make excellent ragouts: but you render us intemperate; and it is my duty to bring up my children in temperance. Depart, then, loaded with my favours. His measure was not sparing of the purses of gold; and I set off.

My first intention was to return to Delhi to console my good master; for I knew he was unfortunate. But my return to my native country with my purses of gold had such charms for me, that I could not resist it. I was following a caravan on its way to Syria, whither I was going to take shipping; when, in the plains of Diarbek, beyond the Tigris, the caravan was attacked by the Arabs, and the good Mussulmans and myself were all of us rifled. Nothing was more common: these Arabs were thieves, as I was a cook; and after having seen the Mogul stripped of millions, you must needs think that I was not much surprised to see my little fortune confiscated: it was the custom of the country. I made my escape to Aleppo with a few sequins that I had luckily contrived to conceal from my plunderers.

Aleppo is a commercial city in the Levant; and there I hoped soon to find some means of getting a passage to Europe. I was not deceived. But what I found there, that I did not expect, was my wife. The poor girl was a slave, and, with a crowd of others, was exposed to sale in the market of Aleppo, rather scantily clad, and with a veil over her eyes. In her fellows in misfortune I perceived neither emotion, nor shame, nor sadness; but every time that her veil was lifted up, I saw the tears stream down her bosom: they had wetted even the veil. I also saw her smooth cheeks covered with the blush of decent shame. It touched me to the soul; and in passing near her, I could not help saying, in the language of my country, 'Poor girl!' These words of French struck her ear; and though I had assumed the Armenian habit, she was in hopes she should not find me a foreigner. Who then are you, said she, in a low voice, who speak my language, and seem to commiserate my wretched situation? At these words I felt my heart palpitate. Never in my life had I experienced the like emotion; and I believe that from that moment I loved her as much as I love her now.

If you be a Frenchman, if you be a Christian, said she, buy me, and save me from these infidels. Ah! the cursed Arabs! Why did they rob me of my gold? With what joy would I have laid it out in the redemption of the fair slave! I counted the few sequins that remained; and addressing myself to the Syrian who had exposed her to sale, asked him her price. The value he set upon her far exceeded my means: however, I did not seem at first inclined to renounce the bargain: and the merchant, to give me a greater desire of concluding it, letting me examine her at my leisure, I had time enough to tell her that I was grieved at not being rich enough to pay for her; that I was a Frenchman; that I was going to devise the means of procuring her ransom in my own country; that my name was Andrew Verbois; that I should live in the village of Besons, near Paris; that I begged her, if possible, to let me know what might become of her; that I would never forget her; and entreated her never to forget me. She promised she would not; and told me her name was Bathilda Lorizan. She added, that in all probability her father was a slave, like her; and that her greatest grief was the being separated from him, without any hope of ever seeing him again.

In a moment an old rogue of a Cypriot came to tell her that she belonged to him; and I saw her carried away. Ah! the cursed Arabs! Why did they rob me of my gold?

From Aleppo to Smyrna, where I embarked, and from Smyrna to Marseilles,

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ſeilles, and from Marſeilles hither, I felt but one regret, and entertained but one thought. The fine eyes ſtreaming with tears; the ſuppliant look of mildneſs and ſenſibility; the voice, the ſound of which had pierced me to the heart; alſo haunted my mind, that I inceſſantly fancied I heard and ſaw her.

But when, on my arrival at Beſons, I found this cottage abandoned; and learned that my father, in the breaking up of the ice the preceding winter, had periſhed in his attempt to ſave ſome drowning men, this ſorrow made me forget the other, and at firſt quite depreſſed my ſpirits. But I recovered them; and the recollection of Bathilda returned more ſtrongly than ever.

I had entertained hopes of intereſting my old uncle Lucas in her favour. Every wedding-dinner, and every feaſt given at his houſe, will contribute, ſaid I, to the ranſom of this amiable girl; for wine and joy make good people ſtill better, and heighten their ſenſibility. My uncle himſelf is ſo kind! he will add to the heap! and I, by my labour, will endeavour to complete it: I ſhall at laſt receive ſome accounts from Bathilda; and will ſet off as ſoon as I ſhall know where to find her.

But Lucas was no longer the ſame: he had grown rich, and was become avaricious. He had given up his public-houſe; was now a village gentleman; and when I went to ſee him, gave me a cool reception. He told me, that if I had been guided by him, I ſhould have ſucceeded him in his profeſſion; but that I liked better to lead a roving life; and he had only one piece of advice to give me, which was, to lead a roving life ſtill, or to return to my oar. I was quite as proud as he. I anſwered, that I was young; that I had a ſtrong arm, and a good heart; that I aſked him for nothing but his good-will in return for mine; and that this was a bargain by which he would not be ruined.

I return then to labour, and my labour was unremitting. In the port, on board barges; at the ferry when there was a crowd of paſſengers; ſometimes fiſherman, and ſometimes waterman; day and night I was every where at once; and this in hopes that my accumulated gains might one day or other redeem the unfortunate Bathilda. But where was I to go in ſearch of her? That was the greateſt of my cares.

Luckily I heard at laſt that there was going to be a proceſſion at Paris of captives lately delivered from ſlavery. Ah! ſaid I, ſome of them may perhaps tell me what is become of Bathilda. Some of them may have met with her at Tripoli, Tunis, or Algiers. I went to the Mathurins * to wait for the captives; and queſtioned them one after another; aſking each, if he had never heard any mention of a ſlave of the name of Bathilda Lorizan, a Frenchwoman by birth, whoſe father was alſo a captive in the Levant.

You may judge of his ſurpriſe when it was to himſelf that I ſpoke. Ah! good young man! ſaid he, what makes you intereſt yourſelf in favour of that family? I am her unfortunate father; and would to heaven it were poſſible for me to know where my daughter is detained. But tell me what generous motive gives you a concern in our fate? I related to him my adventure; and the ſituation in which I had left his darling child made him ſhed a torrent of tears.

Come, ſaid I; heaven will perhaps hear our prayers; for heaven is a friend to good people. You ſee it has already brought two of us together; and why may it not with equal eaſe make our number three?

He eagerly aſked if I had not been obliged to deny my faith in India or Perſia. No, by St. Nicholas †! ſaid I. They knew that I was a Frenchman; I ſerved them like a freeman; and they ſaid no more to me about the Credo than about the Koran.

* An order of monks.

† The patron of watermen.

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Koran. The good father, on hearing this, lifted up his hands to heaven; and I saw that he was thinking of his daughter. As to me, from that moment he determined to treat me like a friend, and intrusted me with the secret of his distress.

At fifty years of age, alone, forlorn, without fortune, without a trade, and only possessed of knowledge, of which nobody stood in need, what was to become of him? What is to become of you? said I: is that what makes you uneasy? Why, I know a business which you will learn in four days, and by which a man may earn a livelihood. Come, and be a fisherman with me at Besons. There is room enough in my hut for us both, and for Bathilda too; for I have told her my name and my abode; and after what has happened to us, I am more in hopes than ever of bringing her to you on some happy day. We supped as well, and more at our ease, than did the king of Persia and the Mogul; and after a few glasses of old wine, that I kept for my friends, and my matelotes, he told me his story, as he is going to tell it to you.

[To be continued.]

A Description of the Island of CARNICOBAR, *and the* CUSTOMS *and* MANNERS *of its* INHABITANTS; *by Mr.* G. HAMILTON.

[From the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II.]

THE island of Carnicobar is the northernmost of that cluster in the Bay of Bengal, which goes by the name of the Nicobars. It is low, of a round figure, about forty miles in circumference, and appears, at a distance, as if entirely covered with trees: however, there are several well cleared and delightful spots upon it. The soil is a black kind of clay, and marshy. It produces in great abundance and with little care, most of the tropical fruits, as pine-apples, plantains, papayas, cocoa-nuts, and arecanuts; also excellent yams, and a root called cachu. The only four-footed animals upon this island are hogs, dogs, large rats, and an animal of the lizard kind, but large, called by the natives tolonqui: these frequently carry off fowls and chickens. The only kind of poultry are hens, and those not in great plenty. There are abundance of snakes of many different kinds; and the inhabitants frequently die of their bites. The timber is of many sorts, in great plenty, and some of it remarkably large, affording excellent materials for building ships.

The natives are low in stature, but very well made, and surprisingly active and strong; they are copper-coloured, and their features have a cast of the Malay; quite the reverse of elegant. The women, in particular, are extremely ugly. The men cut their hair short; and the women have their heads shaved quite bare, and wear no covering but a short petticoat, made of a sort of rush or dry grass, which reaches half way down the thigh. This grass is not interwoven, but hangs round the person something like the thatching of a house. Such of them as have received presents of cloth petticoats from the ships, commonly tie them immediately under the arms. The men wear nothing but a narrow strip of cloth about the middle. The ears of both sexes are pierced when young; and, by squeezing into the holes large plugs of wood, or hanging heavy weights of shells, they contrive to render them wide, and disagreeable to look at. They are naturally disposed to be good-humoured and gay, and are very fond of sitting at table with Europeans; where they eat every thing that is set before them; and they eat most enormously. They do not care much for wine; but will drink bumpers of arrack as long as they can see. A great part of their time

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time is ſpent in feaſting and dancing. When a feaſt is held at any village, every one, that chooſes, goes uninvited, for they are utter ſtrangers to ceremony. At thoſe feaſts they eat quantities of pork, which is their favourite food. Their hogs are remarkably fat, being fed upon the cocoa-nut kernel and ſea-water: indeed all their domeſtic animals, fowls, dogs, &c. are fed upon the ſame. They have likewiſe plenty of ſmall ſea fiſh which they ſtrike very dexterouſly with lances, wading into the ſea about knee deep. They are ſure of killing a very ſmall fiſh at ten or twelve yards diſtance. They eat the pork almoſt raw, giving it only a haſty grill over a quick fire. They roaſt a fowl, by running a piece of wood through it, by way of ſpit, and holding it over a briſk fire, until the feathers are burnt off, when it is ready for eating, in their taſte. They never drink water; only cocoa-nut milk and a liquor called ſoura, which oozes from the cocoa-nut tree after cutting off the young ſprouts or flowers. This they ſuffer to ferment before it is uſed, and then it is intoxicating; to which quality they add much by their method of drinking it, by ſucking it ſlowly through a ſmall ſtraw. After eating, the young men and women, who are fancifully dreſt with leaves, go to dancing, and the old people ſurround them ſmoaking tobacco and drinking ſoura. The dancers, while performing, ſing ſome of their tunes, which are far from wanting harmony, and to which they keep exact time. Of muſical inſtruments they have only one kind, and that the ſimpleſt. It is a hollow bamboo about two feet and a half long and three inches in diameter, along the outſide of which there is ſtretched from end to end a ſingle ſtring made of the threads of a ſplit cane, and the place under the ſtring is hollowed a little to prevent it from touching. This inſtrument is played upon in the ſame manner as a guitar. It is capable of producing but few notes; the performer however makes it ſpeak harmoniouſly, and generally accompanies it with the voice.

What they know of phyſic is ſmall and ſimple. I had once occaſion to ſee an operation in ſurgery performed on the toe of a girl, who had been ſtung by a ſcorpion or centipee. The wound was attended with a conſiderable ſwelling, and the little patient ſeemed in great pain. One of the natives produced the under jaw of a ſmall fiſh, which was long, and planted with two rows of teeth as ſharp as needles; taking this in one hand, and a ſmall ſtick by way of hammer in the other, he ſtuck the teeth three or four times into the ſwelling, and made it bleed freely: the toe was then bound up with certain leaves, and next day the child was running about perfectly well.

Their houſes are generally built upon the beach in villages of fifteen or twenty houſes each; and each houſe contains a family of twenty perſons and upward. Theſe habitations are raiſed upon wooden pillars about ten feet from the ground; they are round, and having no windows, look like bee-hives, covered with thatch. The entry is through a trap door below, where the family mount by a ladder, which is drawn up at night. This manner of building is intended to ſecure the houſes from being infeſted with ſnakes, and rats, and for that purpoſe the pillars are bound round with a ſmooth kind of leaf, which prevents animals from being able to mount; beſide which each pillar has a broad flat piece of wood near the top of it, the projecting of which effectually prevents the further progreſs of ſuch vermin as may have paſſed the leaf. The flooring is made with thin ſtrips of bamboos laid at ſuch diſtances from one another, as to leave free admiſſion for light and air, and the inſide is neatly finiſhed and decorated with fiſhing lances, nets, &c.

The art of making cloth is quite unknown to the inhabitants: what they have is got from the ſhips that come to trade in cocoa-nuts. In exchange

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change for their nuts (which are reckoned the fineſt in this part of India) they will accept of but few articles: what they chiefly wiſh for is cloth of different colours, hatchets, and hanger blades, which they uſe in cutting down the nuts. Tobacco and arrack they are very fond of, but expect theſe in preſents. They have no money of their own, nor will they allow any value to the corn of other countries, further than as they happen to fancy them for ornaments; the young women ſometimes hanging ſtrings of dollars about their necks. However they are good judges of gold and ſilver, and it is no eaſy matter to impoſe baſer metals upon them, as ſuch.

They purchaſe a much larger quantity of cloth, than is conſumed upon their own iſland. This is intended for the Choury market. Choury is a ſmall iſland to the ſouthward of theirs, to which a large fleet of their boats ſails every year about November, to exchange cloth for canoes; for they cannot make theſe themſelves. This voyage they perform by the help of the ſun and ſtars; for they know nothing of the compaſs.

In their diſpoſition there are two remarkable qualities. One is their entire neglect of compliment and ceremony, and the other, their averſion to diſhoneſty. A Carnicobarian travelling to a diſtant village upon buſineſs or amuſement, paſſes through many towns in his way without perhaps ſpeaking to any one: if he is hungry or tired, he goes up into the neareſt houſe, and helps himſelf to what he wants, and ſits till he is reſted, without taking the ſmalleſt notice of any of the family, unleſs he has buſineſs or news to communicate. Theft or robbery is ſo very rare among them, that a man going out of his houſe, never takes away his ladder, or ſhuts his door, but leaves it open for any body to enter that pleaſes, without the leaſt apprehenſion of having any thing ſtolen.

Their intercourſe with ſtrangers is ſo frequent, that they have acquired, in general, the barbarous Portugueſe, ſo common over India. Their own language has a ſound quite different from moſt others, their words being pronounced with a kind of ſtop, or catch in the throat, at every ſyllable.

They have no notion of a God, but they believe firmly in the devil, and worſhip him from fear. In every village there is a high pole erected with long ſtrings of ground-rattans hanging from it, which, it is ſaid, has the virtue to keep him at a diſtance. When they ſee any ſigns of an approaching ſtorm, they imagine that the devil intends them a viſit, upon which many ſuperſtitious ceremonies are performed. The people of every village march round their own boundaries, and fix up at different diſtances ſmall ſticks ſplit at the top, into which ſplit they put a piece of cocoa-nut, a wiſp of tobacco, and the leaf of a certain plant: whether this is meant as a peace offering to the devil, or a ſcarecrow to frighten him away, does not appear.

When a man dies, all his live ſtock, cloth, hatchets, fiſhing lances, and all his moveables are buried with him, and his death is mourned by the whole village. In one view this is an excellent cuſtom, ſeeing it prevents all diſputes about the property of the deceaſed among his relations. His wife muſt conform to cuſtom by having a joint cut off from one of her fingers; and, if ſhe refuſes this, ſhe muſt ſubmit to have a deep notch cut in one of the pillars of her houſe.

I was once preſent at the funeral of an old woman. When we went into the houſe, which had belonged to the deceaſed, we found it full of her female relations; ſome of them were employed in wrapping up the corpſe in leaves and cloth, and others tearing to pieces all the cloth which had belonged to her. In another houſe hard by, the men of the village, with a great many others from the neighbouring towns, were ſitting drinking ſoura and ſmoaking tobacco. In the

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Dodkey sculp. from an Engraving by Gucht.

DANIEL DE FOE.

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mean time, two ſtout young fellows were buſy digging a grave in the ſand near the houſe. When the women had done with the corpſe, they ſet up a moſt hideous howl, upon which the people began to aſſemble round the grave, and four men went up into the houſe to bring down the body; in doing this they were much interrupted by a young man, ſon to the deceaſed, who endeavoured with all his might to prevent them, but finding it in vain, he clung round the body, and was carried to the grave along with it: there, after a violent ſtruggle, he was turned away, and conducted back to the houſe. The corpſe being now put into the grave, and the laſhings, which bound the legs and arms cut, all the live ſtock, which had been the property of the deceaſed, conſiſting of about half a dozen hogs, and as many fowls, was killed, and flung in above it; a man then approached with a bunch of leaves ſtuck upon the end of a pole, which he ſwept two or three times gently along the corpſe, and then the grave was filled up. During the ceremony, the women continued to make the moſt horrible vocal concert imaginable: the men ſaid nothing. A few days afterward, a kind of monument was erected over the grave, with a pole upon it, to which long ſtrips of cloth of different colours were hung.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *and* WRITINGS *of* DANIEL DE FOE:
With a fine Portrait of that celebrated Author.

DANIEL DE FOE, a voluminous political and miſcellaneous writer of the latter part of the laſt, and beginning of the preſent century (but principally celebrated as the author of one of the moſt popular works in any language, The Adventures of Robinſon Cruſoe) was born in London, about the year 1663. He was the ſon of James Foe, citizen and butcher, of the pariſh of St. Giles', Cripplegate: his grandfather was Daniel Foe, of Elton, in the county of Northampton, yeoman. How he came by the name of *De Foe* we are not informed: his enemies have aſſerted, that he aſſumed the *De*, in order that he might not be thought an Engliſhman. It certainly appeared, from the books of the Chamberlain of London, (lately deſtroyed by a fire at Guildhall) that by the name of Daniel Foe, our author was admitted to the freedom of the city by birth, on the 26th of January 1687-8 *.

The family of De Foe were proteſtant diſſenters; but of what denomination it is not eaſy to know; nor is the circumſtance of any conſequence. The proteſtant diſſenters, (when they underſtand their own principles, which is not always the caſe) however they may differ on doctrinal points, or modes of church government, have but one general ground of diſſent from the church of England; namely, the abſolute denial of the authority claimed by that church, in the twentieth of the thirty-nine articles agreed upon in convocation in the year 1562. De Foe, who had received a liberal education, at a diſſenting academy at Newington Green, near London, was himſelf a diſſenter upon principle and reflection. 'From his various writings,' ſays Mr. Chalmers, 'it is plain, that he was a zealous defender of the principles of the diſſenters, and a ſtrenuous ſupporter of their politics, before the liberality of our rulers had freed this conduct from danger. He merits the praiſe which is due to ſincerity in manner of thinking, and to uniformity in habits of acting, whatever obloquy may have been caſt on his name, by attributing writings to him, which, as they belonged to others, he was ſtudious to diſavow.'

De Foe commenced author before

* Life of Daniel De Foe, by George Chalmers, eſq. prefixed to Stockdale's edition of Robinſon Cruſoe.

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he was twenty-one. His first publication, in 1683, was a 'A Treatise against the Turks;' which was written against a sentiment very prevalent, at that time, in favour of the Ottomans, as opposed to the house of Austria. He was a man who would fight as well as write; and, before he was three-and-twenty, in June 1685, he appeared in arms for the duke of Monmouth. Of this exploit he boasted in the latter part of his life, when it was no longer dangerous to avow his participation in that imprudent enterprise, with greater men of similar principles *.

To escape from the dangers of battle was not wonderful; but how he avoided the sanguinary rage of Jefferies has not been accounted for. It is certain, that his zeal was too ardent to be inactive. In a tract against the proclamation for the repeal of the penal laws in 1687, he very efficaciously opposed the unconstitutional measures pursued by king James II; warning the dissenters against the secret dangers of the insidious toleration with which that infatuated monarch attempted to deceive them. But neither this tract, nor that against the Turks, did he think proper to republish in the subsequent collection of his writings.

As he had endeavoured to promote the revolution by his pen and his sword, he had the satisfaction of participating in the pleasures and advantages of that great event. During the hilarity of the moment, the lord-mayor of London asked king William to partake of the city feast on the 29th of October, 1689. Every honour was paid to the sovereign of the people's choice. A regiment of volunteers, composed of the chief citizens, and commanded by the celebrated earl of Peterborough, attended the king and queen from Whitehall to the mansion-house. Among these troopers, gallantly mounted, and richly accoutred, was Daniel De Foe †.

While our author thus courted notice, he is said to have acted as a hosier in Freeman's-court, Cornhill; but the hosier ‡ and the poet are irreconcileable characters. With the usual imprudence of superior genius, he was carried by his vivacity into companies who were gratified by his wit. He spent those hours with a society for the cultivation of polite learning, which he ought to have employed in the calculations of the counting-house; and being obliged to abscond from his creditors in 1692, he attributed those misfortunes to the war, which were probably owing to his own misconduct. An angry creditor took out a commission of bankruptcy, which was superseded on the petition of those to whom he was most indebted, who accepted a composition on his single bond. This he punctually paid, by the efforts of unwearied diligence. But some of those creditors, who had been thus satisfied, falling afterward into distress themselves, De Foe voluntarily paid them their whole claims; being then in rising circumstances from king William's favour. This is an example of integrity, which it would be unjust to conceal. Being reproached, in 1705, by lord Haversham, with mercenariness, our author feelingly observes, how, with a numerous family, and no helps but his own industry, he had forced his way with undiscouraged diligence, through a sea of misfortunes, and reduced his debts, exclusive of composition, from seventeen thousand to less than five thousand pounds ||. He had been concerned in some pan-

* An Appeal to Honour and Justice, &c. by Daniel De Foe, 8vo. 1715.

† Oldmixon's Hist. vol. ii. page 37.

‡ Being reproached by Tutchin, in his Observator, with having been apprentice to a hosier, De Foe asserts, that he never was a hosier, or an apprentice, but admits that he had been a trader. Review, vol. ii. page 149. Oldmixon, who never speaks favourably of De Foe, allows that he had never been a merchant, otherwise than by peddling a little to Portugal. Hist. ii. page 519.

|| Reply to lord Haversham's Vindication.

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tile works near Tilbury-fort; and these he continued to carry on, though probably with no great success.

While he was yet under thirty, and had mortified no great man by his satire, or offended any party by his pamphlets, he had acquired friends by his powers of pleasing, who did not, with the usual instability of friendships, desert him in his distresses. They offered to settle him as a factor at Cadiz, where, as a trader, he had some previous correspondence. But, as he assures us in his old age, 'Providence, which had other work for him to do, placed a secret aversion in his mind to quitting England.'

De Foe was prompted by a vigorous mind to think of a variety of schemes for the benefit of his country; and, in January 1697, he published his Essay upon Projects. It is curious to trace a thought, to see where it first originated, or how it was afterward expanded. Among other projects, which shew an extensive range of knowledge, he suggests to king William the imitation of Lewis XIV, in the establishment of a society for encouraging polite learning, refining the English language, and preventing barbarisms of manners. Prior offered, in 1700, the same project to William, in his Carmen Seculare; Swift mentioned, in 1710, to the earl of Oxford 'a proposal for improving the English tongue;' and Tickell flatters himself, in his Prospect of Peace, that our 'daring language shall sport no more in arbitrary sound.' In 1695, De Foe was appointed accomptant to the commissioners for managing the duties on glass; but he lost this place in 1699, when the tax was suppressed by act of parliament.

In 1701, appeared the first effort of his satirical muse, The True-born Englishman. Of the origin of this satire, he gives the following account: 'During this time came out an abhorred pamphlet, in very ill verse, written by one Mr. Tutchen, and called The Foreigners; in which the author, who he was I then knew not, fell personally upon the king, then upon the Dutch nation, and, after having reproached his majesty with crimes that his worst enemies could not think of without horror, he sums up all in the odious name of Foreigner. This filled me with a kind of rage against the book, and gave birth to this trifle.'—The sale was prodigious; and for this defence of king William, De Foe was amply rewarded; and he was admitted to personal interviews with the king, who was no reader of poetry.

After the peace of Ryswick, our author published An Argument, to prove that a standing army, with consent of parliament, is not inconsistent with a free government. 'Liberty and property,' says he, 'are the glorious attributes of the English nation; and the dearer they are to us, the less danger we are in of losing them: but I could never yet see it proved, that the danger of losing them by a small army was such, as we should expose ourselves to all the world for it. It is not the king of England alone, but the sword of England in the hand of the king, that gives laws of peace and war to Europe: and those who would thus wrest the sword out of his hand in time of peace, bid the fairest of all men to renew the war.'—On this interesting topic, De Foe displays equal strength of argument and elegance of language.

When the grand jury of Kent presented to the commons, on the 8th of May, 1701, a petition, which desired them 'to mind the public business more, and their private heats less,' Messrs. Culpeppers, Polhill, Hamilton, and Champneys, who avowed this intrepid paper, were committed to the Gatehouse, in Westminster, amid the applauses of their countrymen. It was on this occasion that De Foe's genius dictated a remonstrance, which was signed Legion, and which has been recorded in history for its bold truths and seditious

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petulance. His zeal induced him to aſſume a woman's dreſs, while he delivered this paper to Harley, the ſpeaker, as he entered the houſe of commons *. It was then alſo that our author publiſhed The Original Power of the collective Body of the People of England, examined and aſſerted. This ſeaſonable treatiſe he dedicated to king William, in a dignified ſtrain of nervous eloquence. 'It is not the leaſt of the extraordinaries of your majeſty's character,' ſays he, 'that, as you are king of your people, ſo you are the people's king; a title, which, as it is the moſt glorious, ſo it is the moſt indiſputable.' To the lords and commons he addreſſes himſelf in a ſimilar tone: the vindication of the original right of all men to the government of themſelves, he tells them, is ſo far from being a derogation from, that it is a confirmation of their legal authority. 'Every lover of liberty,' ſays Mr. Chalmers, 'muſt be pleaſed with the peruſal of a treatiſe, which vies with Locke's famous tract in powers of reaſoning, and is ſuperior to it in the graces of ſtyle.'

De Foe, ſoon after, publiſhed The Freeholder's Plea againſt Stockjobbing Elections of Parliament Men. 'It is very rational to ſuppoſe,' ſays our author, 'that they who will buy will ſell; or, what ſeems more rational, that they who have bought muſt ſell.'

How much ſoever king William may have been pleaſed with The True-born Engliſhman, he was perhaps little gratified by our Author's Reaſons againſt a War with France. This is one of the fineſt tracts in the Engliſh language. After remarking the univerſal cry of the people for war, our author declares he is not againſt war with France, provided it be on juſtifiable grounds; but, he hopes, England will never be ſo inconſiderable a nation, as to make uſe of diſhoneſt pretences to bring to paſs any of her deſigns: and he ſays, that he who deſires we ſhould end the war honourably, ought to deſire alſo, that we begin it fairly. The death of king William deprived De Foe of a protector. Of this monarch's memory, he ſays, that he never patiently heard it abuſed, nor ever could do ſo: and in this gratitude to a royal benefactor there is certainly much to praiſe.

In the midſt of the furious conteſt of party, civil and religious, on the acceſſion of queen Anne, our author was engaged in a controverſy concerning the Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters; a controverſy, which in thoſe days occaſioned vehement conteſts between the two houſes of parliament, but which is now probably ſilenced for ever.

'During the firſt fury of high-flying,' ſays he, 'I fell a ſacrifice for writing againſt the madneſs of that high party, and in the ſervice of the diſſenters.' He alludes here to The ſhorteſt Way with the Diſſenters, which he publiſhed in 1702, and which is a piece of exquiſite irony, though there are certainly paſſages in it that might have ſhewn conſiderate men how much the author had been in jeſt. He complains how hard it was, that this ſhould not have been perceived by all the town, and that not one man can ſee it, either churchman or diſſenter. This is one of the ſtrongeſt proofs, how much the minds of men were inflamed againſt each other, and how little the virtues of mutual forbearance and perſonal kindneſs exiſted amid the clamour of contradiction, which then ſhook the kingdom, and gave riſe to ſome of the moſt remarkable events in our annals. The commons ſhewed their zeal, however they may have ſtudied

* Mr. Polhill, of Chipſtead Place, in Kent, whoſe father, Mr. David Polhill, was committed to the Gatehouſe, and thereby gained great popularity, communicated to me the curious anecdote of De Foe's dreſſing himſelf in women's clothes, and preſenting the Legion Paper to the ſpeaker. *Chalmers' Life, p.* 14.

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their dignity, by profecuting ſeveral libeliſts *.

During the previous twenty years of his life, De Foe had been unconſciouſly charging a mine, which now blew himſelf and his family into air. He had fought for Monmouth; he had oppoſed king James; he had vindicated the revolution; he had panegyrized king William; he had defended the rights of the collective body of the people; he had diſpleaſed lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough, by objecting to the Flanders war; he had bantered ſir Edward Seymour, and ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, the tory leaders of the commons; he had juſt ridiculed all the high-flyers in the kingdom; and he was at length obliged to ſeek for ſhelter from the indignation of perſons and parties, thus overpowering and reſiſtleſs.

A proclamation was iſſued in January, 1703, offering a reward of 50l. for diſcovering his retreat. De Foe was deſcribed in the Gazette, 'as a middle-ſized ſpare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown hair, though he wears a wig, having a hook noſe, a ſharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth.'

He ſoon publiſhed an Explanation: 'Since ignorance,' ſays he, 'has led moſt men to a cenſure of the book, and ſome people are like to come under the diſpleaſure of the government for it; in juſtice to thoſe who are in danger to ſuffer by it; in ſubmiſſion to the parliament and council who may be offended at it; and courteſy to all miſtaken people, who, it ſeems, have not penetrated into the real deſign; the author preſents the world with the genuine meaning of the paper, which he hopes may allay the anger of government, or at leaſt ſatisfy the minds of ſuch as imagine a deſign to inflame and divide us.'—Neither his ſubmiſſiveneſs to the ruling powers, nor his generoſity to his printers, was a ſufficient ſhield from the reſentment of his enemies. He was found guilty of a libel, and ſentenced to the pillory, fine, and impriſonment. Thus was he a ſecond time ruined; and by this affair, he aſſerts, he loſt above 3,500l.

Immured in Newgate, our author had a mind too active to be idle: he wrote a hymn to the pillory, that

> Hieroglyphic ſtate machine,
> Contrived to puniſh fancy in,

In this ode the reader will find ſatire, pointed by his ſufferings; generous ſentiments, ariſing from his ſituation; and an unexpected flow of eaſy verſe. For example;

> The firſt intent of laws
> Was to correct the effect, and check the cauſe;
> And all the ends of puniſhment
> Were only future miſchiefs to prevent:
> But juſtice is inverted, when
> Thoſe engines of the law,
> Inſtead of pinching vicious men,
> Keep honeſt ones in awe.

In 1703, he corrected for the preſs a collection of his writings, which, with ſeveral things not his, had been already publiſhed by a piratical printer. In this collection, there are one-and-twenty treatiſes in poetry and proſe, beginning with The True-born Engliſhman, and ending with The Shorteſt Way to Peace and Union. To this volume was prefixed the firſt print of De Foe; to which was afterward added, the apt inſcription, *Laudatur et alget.*

In the ſolitude of a priſon, De Foe projected The Review, a periodical paper in quarto, firſt publiſhed in

* On the 25th of February, 1703, a complaint was made in the houſe of commons of a book entitled The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters: and the folios 11—18, and 26 being read, Reſolved, That this book, being full of falſe and ſcandalous reflections on this parliament, and tending to promote ſedition, be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to-morrow, in New Palace-yard. 14 Journ. p. 207.

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February 1704; and intended to treat of news, foreign and domeſtic; of politics, Britiſh and European; of trade, particular and univerſal. But our author foreſaw, that however inſtructive, the world would never read it, if it were not diverting. He, therefore, ſkilfully inſtituted A Scandal Club, which diſcuſſed queſtions in divinity, morals, war, trade, language, poetry, love, marriage, drunkenneſs, and gaming. 'Thus it is eaſy to ſee,' ſays Mr. Chalmers, 'that The Review pointed the way to the Tatlers, Spectators, and Guardians, which, however, have treated thoſe intereſting topics with more delicacy of humour, more terſeneſs of ſtyle, and greater depth of learning: yet, has De Foe many paſſages, both of proſe and poetry, which, for refinement of wit, neatneſs of expreſſion, and efficacy of moral, would do honour to Steele or to Addiſon. Of all this was Johnſon unconſcious, when he ſpeaks of the Tatlers and Spectators as the firſt Engliſh writers who had undertaken to reform either the ſavageneſs of neglect, or the impertinence of civility; to ſhew when to ſpeak, or to be ſilent; how to refuſe, or how to comply.'

In July 1704, our author publiſhed The Storm; or, a Collection of the moſt remarkable Caſualties, which happened in the Tempeſt, on the 23d of November, 1703. In this, De Foe diſplays more ſcience and literature, than he has been generally ſuppoſed to poſſeſs.

While he lay friendleſs in Newgate, his family ruined, and he himſelf without hopes of deliverance, a verbal meſſage was brought him from ſir Robert Harley *, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, deſiring to know what he could do for him. Harley approved, probably, of the principles and conduct of De Foe, and might foreſee, that, during a factious age, ſuch a genius could be converted to many uſes. Our author was content to intimate a wiſh only for his releaſe.

When Harley became ſecretary of ſtate, in April 1704, he had frequent opportunities of repreſenting the unmerited ſufferings of De Foe to the queen and to the treaſurer, lord Godolphin; yet, our author continued four months longer in priſon. The queen, however, inquired into his circumſtances; and lord Godolphin ſent a conſiderable ſum to his wife, and to him money to pay his fine and the expence of his diſcharge. Here is the foundation, he ſays, on which he built his firſt ſenſe of duty to the queen, and the indelible bond of gratitude to his firſt benefactor, as he calls Harley. 'Let any one ſay, then,' he aſks, 'what I could have done, leſs or more than I have done for ſuch a queen and ſuch a benefactor?'—All this he manfully avowed to the world †, when queen Anne lay lifeleſs as king William, his firſt patron; and when the earl of Oxford, in the viciſſitude of party, had been perſecuted by faction, and overpowered, though not conquered, by violence.

De Foe was releaſed from Newgate, in Auguſt 1704. In order to avoid the town-talk, he retired to St. Edmund's Bury; but his retreat did not prevent perſecution. Dyer, the news-writer, propagated that De Foe had fled from juſtice; Fox, the bookſeller, publiſhed, that he had deſerted his ſecurity; and Stephen, a ſtate-meſſenger, every where ſaid, that he had a warrant to apprehend him. This was wit, perhaps, in the witty age of Anne. In our dullen days of law, ſuch outrages would be referred to a jury. De Foe informed the ſecretary of ſtate where he was, and when he would appear; but he was told not to fear, as he had not tranſgreſſed.

In 1705, De Foe publiſhed The Conſolidator; or, Memoirs of ſundry Tranſactions, from the World in

* Afterward earl of Oxford.

† In his Appeal 1715.

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the Moon. It was one of his felicities to catch the living manners as they rose, and to shoot folly as it flew. He makes the lunar politicians debate the policy of Charles XII, in pursuing the Saxons and Poles. Perhaps it was on this occasion, that the Swedish Ambassador was so ill-advised as to complain against De Foe, for merited ridicule of a futile warfare. Our author's sentiment was expanded by Johnson, in those energetic lines, which thus conclude the character of the Swedish Charles:

Who left the name, at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale.

De Foe was next engaged in a controversy with sir Humphrey Mackworth, about his bill for employing the poor. Whenever our legislators may engage in a serious revision of the poor laws, De Foe's arguments may still merit attention.

In 1705, he published a second volume of the Writings of the Author of the True-born Englishman. His writings, thus collected into volumes, were soon a third time printed, with the addition of a key. The second volume of 1705, contains eighteen treatises in prose and rhyme.

The year 1705 was a year of disquiet to De Foe, from the persecutions of party. When his affairs led him to the west of England in August, September, and October, a project was formed to send him as a soldier to the army, at a time when footmen were taken from the coaches as recruits; but conscious of his being a freeholder of England, and a liveryman of London, he knew that such characters could not be violated with impunity. When some of the western justices, of more zeal of party than sense of duty, heard from his opponents of De Foe's journey, they determined to apprehend him as a vagabond; but our author, who had personal courage in a high degree, reflected, that to face danger is most effectually to prevent it. In his absence, real suits were commenced against him for fictitious debts; but De Foe advertised, that genuine claims he would fairly satisfy. If all these circumstances had not been published in The Review, we should not have seen this striking picture of savage manners. So much more free are we at present, that the editor of a newspaper, however obnoxious to any party, may travel peaceably about his affairs over England, without fear of interruption. Were a justice of peace, from whatever motive, to offer him any obstruction, such a magistrate would be overwhelmed by the public indignation, and punished by the higher guardians of our laws.

De Foe began the year 1706 with A Hymn to Peace, occasioned by the two houses of parliament joining in one address to the queen. On the 4th of May, he published An Essay at removing National Prejudices against an Union with Scotland. In July, he published Jure Divino, a satire against tyranny and passive obedience, which had been delayed, for fear, as he declares, of parliamentary censure. This satire, says the preface, had never been published, had not the world seemed to be going mad a second time with the error of passive obedience and non-resistance. And because some men require, says he, more explicit answers, I declare my belief, that a monarchy, according to the present constitution, limited by parliament, and dependent upon law, is not only the best government in the world, but also the best for this nation in particular, most suitable to the genius of the people, and the circumstances of the whole body.

[To be concluded in our next.]

METEO-

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METEOROLOGICAL JOURNAL, December 1792.

D.	H.	Baro.	T. out	T. in	Hyg.	C.	Wind.	Weather, &c.
1	8	29,86	36	44	12	f	E 1	
	2	29,86	37	45	12	h	E 1	
2	8	30,16	36,5	44,5	11,5	5	SE 1	
	2	30,21	40	46	11,5	5	SE 1	
3	8	30,35	38	45	11,5	f	SE 1	
	2	30,33	36,5	45	11,5	5	W 1	
4	8	30,26	38,5	45	11,5	f	W 1	
	2	30,12	42	46,5	12	f	SW 2	. rain at eve and more wind: fair
5	8	29,62	50	51	12,5	5	WSW 1	
	2	29,59	54	53	13	5	WSW 1	little rain
6	8	29,71	46,5	51,5	13	f	WSW 1	drizzling. wind S.: windy
	2	29,39	51	53,5	13	5	SW 3	. rain at times. fine night
7	8	29,69	41	50	12	3	WNW 2	
	2	29,95	40	49	11,5	1	WNW 3	. less wind at eve
8	8	29,28	34	46,5	11,5	2	W 1	fog
	2	29,31	40	47	11,5	2	W 1	hazy: windy and cloudy
9	8	30,09	45	44	11,5	5	SSW 4	
	2	29,92	49,5	50	11,5	5	WSW 5	. little rain. less wind
10	8	29,91	52	52	12	5	W 5	
	2	29,86	54,5	54,5	12,5	5	W 4	. fine eve and less wind
11	8	30,03	45,5	52	12	3	W 2	
	2	30,03	46	55	11,5	4	WSW 3	. clear eve. little rain. fine
12	8	30,29	38,5	50	10,5	2	SW 2	
	2	30,24	42	50	10,5	4	SW 2	rainy eve
13	8	29,72	40	48	12	5	SW 2	. drizzling and gentle rain
N	2	29,74	40,5	48,5	11,5	6	SW 1	chiefly drizzling
14	8	29,81	50	52	12	5	NW 1	
	2	29,86	52	53	11,5	6	WNW 2	. little wet. less cloudy eve
15	8	29,92	47	52	11,5	f	W 1	. few clouds but hazy
	2	29,97	49,5	53	11,5	3	W 1	hazy. cloudy night and little wet
16	8	30,22	42,5	52	11,5	5	N 1	
	2	30,28	44,5	54,5	11,5	5	NNE 1	. little wet at times
17	8	30,16	44,5	52,5	11,5	5	SSW 1	. little wet at times.
	2	30,14	48,5	53,5	11,5	6	SW 1	. less cloudy night and more wind
18	8	29,87	48,5	53	11,5	5	WSW 2	. little wet at times
	2	29,83	52	54	12,5	5	WSW 3	. more wind at night: fine and less wind
19	8	29,85	41	55	12	3	WSW 1	. more wind
	2	30,03	51,5	55	11,5	2	W 3	. cloudy night. little wet
20	8	29,76	52	55	12	5	SW 2	. chiefly drizzling.
	2	29,67	53	57	12	5	W 1	. fine eve. much rain: fine
21	8	29,72	39,5	51	11,5	3	W 3	
	2	29,90	43,5	51,5	11	2	WNW 3	. rain in the night
22	8	29,65	43,5	52	11	5	WNW 3	. little rain: fine
	2	29,27	45	52	11	3	WNW 2	. rainy eve. windy and fine
23	8	29,50	36,5	48,5	10	2	NNW 2	
	2	29,60	34,5	47	9,5	2	NNW 3	. hazy eve
24	8	29,78	33,5	43,5	9	3	NNW 2	. hazy .
	2	29,81	36	45	9	3	NW 1	hazy. cloudy eve
25	8	29,55	34,5	44,5	9,5	4	W 1	. little wet. fine: cloudy
	2	29,52	38	45	9,5	4	NW 1	. cloudy night: little rain
26	8	29,01	39,5	46	10	5	NW 1	: snow
	2	29,03	36,5	45,5	10,5	6	NW 2	snow and gentle rain: fine
27	8	29,46	37,5	44,5	10,5	5	NNW 2	. fine
	2	29,60	39	46	10,5	3	NNW 1	. cloudy night and little rain
28	8	29,64	38,5	45	10,5	5	NW 2	. fine
F	2	29,77	41,5	46	10,5	3	NW 3	. cloudy eve: rain
29	8	29,92	41	47	11	6	SW 1	little wet at times
	2	29,89	47,5	49	11,5	5	SW 1	. more wind at night: much rain
30	8	29,90	47	50	11,5	5	WNW 2	little rain. fine
	2	29,99	46	51,5	11,5	2	NW 1	. cloudless eve but hazy
31	8	30,27	33,5	46	10,5	h	NNW 1	. fine: foggy
	2	30,27	34,5	45,5	12	f	WSW 1	

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Greateſt, Leaſt, and Mean State of the BAROMETER, THERMOMETER, *and* HYGROMETER, *in the Year* 1792.

1792	Barometer.			Thermom. without.			Thermom. within.			Hygrometer.		
	Great.	Leaſt	Mean	Great.	Leaſt	Mean	Great	Leaſt	Mean	Great.	Leaſt	Mean
Jan.	30,49	28,99	29,70	53	20	40	55	36	46,5	15	11,5	13
Feb.	30,41	29,56	30,00	56	17,5	41	56,5	34	47	15	11,5	13
Mar.	30,51	29,08	29,77	58	27	45	55	39	49	15	9,5	12
Apr.	30,32	29,13	29,92	68	38	52,5	62,5	49	55,5	12,5	9	10,5
May	30,42	29,35	30,00	68	41	54	64	50	55,5	12	8	10
June	30,32	29,44	29,95	76	50	59	68	53	60	12,5	9,5	11
July	30,23	29,55	29,90	76	53	62,5	69	59,5	64,5	13	10	11,5
Aug.	30,32	29,42	29,96	79,5	53	65,5	75	61,5	67,5	13	9	11
Sept.	30,37	29,11	29,81	68	42	55	68	53,5	60	13	10	11,5
Oct.	30,44	29,32	29,81	64	40	51,5	63	52	56,5	13,5	10,5	12
Nov.	30,46	29,33	30,03	59	34	49,5	58,5	46	52	12,5	11	12
Dec.	30,35	29,01	29,84	54,5	33,5	43	57	43,5	47,5	13,5	9	11,5
Whole Year.	30,51	28,99	29,89	79,5	17,5	51,5	75	34	55	15	8	11,5

Extraordinary Hiſtory of the Singular REGISTER *of a* BURIAL *in the Pariſh of* Streatham.

[From Lyſons' Environs of London, Vol. I. juſt publiſhed.]

'—— RUSSEL, buried April 14, 1772. N. B. This perſon was always known under the 'guiſe or habit of a woman, and anſwered to the name of Eliſabeth, as 'regiſtered in this pariſh Nov. 21, '1669, but at death proved to be a 'man.'

In ſpeaking of this extraordinary perſon, whoſe hiſtory I have taken ſome pains to inquire into, it will be neceſſary, in order to avoid confuſion among the relative pronouns, to make conſtant uſe of the maſculine gender, however oddly it may be ſometimes combined. The various adventures of his life, had they been collected by a contemporary, would have formed a volume as entertaining as thoſe of the celebrated Bampfylde Moore Carew, whom he accompanied in many of his rambles, and from whom probably he firſt took the hint of diſguiſing his ſex to an-

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ſwer ſome temporary purpoſe. Upon examining the pariſh regiſter, I find that John Ruſſel had three daughters, and two ſons; William, born in 1668, and Thomas, in 1672; there is little doubt therefore that the perſon here recorded was one of the two; and that when he aſſumed the female dreſs, he aſſumed alſo the name of his ſiſter Eliſabeth, who probably either died in her infancy, or ſettled in ſome remote part of the country; under this name, in the year 1770, he applied for a certificate of his baptiſm. He attached himſelf at an early period of life to the gypſies, and being of a rambling diſpoſition viſited moſt parts of the continent as a ſtroller or vagabond. When advanced in years he ſettled at Chipſted in Kent, where he kept a large ſhop. Sometimes he travelled the country with goods, in the character of a married woman, having changed his *maiden* name for that of his huſband who carried the pack, and to his death was his reputed *widow*, being known by the familiar appellation of Bet Page. In the courſe of his travels he attached himſelf much to itinerant phyſicians, learned their noſtrums, and practiſed their art. His long experience gained him the character of a moſt infallible *doctreſs*, to which profeſſion he added that of an aſtrologer, and practiſed both with great profit; yet ſuch was his extravagance, that he died worth ſix ſhillings only. It was a common cuſtom with him to ſpend whatever he had in his pocket at an alehouſe, where he uſually treated his companions. About twelve months before his death he came to reſide at his native place. His extraordinary age procured him the notice of many of the moſt reſpectable families in the neighbourhood, particularly that of Mr. Thrale, in whoſe kitchen he was frequently entertained. Dr. Johnſon, who found him a ſhrewd ſenſible perſon, with a good memory, was very fond of converſing with him. His faculties indeed were ſo little impaired by age, that a few days before he died, he had planned another ramble, in which his landlord's ſon was to have accompanied him. His death was very ſudden: the ſurpriſe of the neighbours may be well imagined, upon finding that the perſon, who, as long as the memory of any one then living could reach, had been always eſteemed and reputed to be a woman, was diſcovered to be a man; and the wonder was the greater as he had lived much among women, and had frequently been his landlady's bed-fellow when an unexpected lodger came to the houſe. Among other precautions, to prevent the diſcovery of his ſex, he conſtantly wore a cloth tied under his chin; and his neighbours not having the penetration of ſir Hugh Evans, who ſpied Falſtaff's beard through his muffler, the motive was unſuſpected. After his death a large pair of nippers was found in his pocket, with which, it is ſuppoſed, he endeavoured to remove by degrees all tokens of manhood from his face. It may be obſerved, that ſuppoſing him to be the younger ſon of John Ruſſel, he would have been 100 years of age; if we ſuppoſe him to have been the elder, his age would have been 104. He himſelf uſed to aver that he was 108. He had a mixture of the habits and employments of both ſexes; for though he would drink hard with men, whoſe company indeed he chiefly affected, yet he was an excellent *ſempſtreſs*, and celebrated for making a good ſhirt. There was a wildneſs and eccentricity in his general conduct which frequently bordered on inſanity; and, at leaſt, we may fairly conclude, to uſe a favourite expreſſion of Anthony Wood, the Oxford biographer, that he had 'a rambling head and a crazy pate.'

REFLEC-

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REFLECTIONS *on the preſent* STATE *of* AFFAIRS *in* France.

The following Reflections are ſelected from the celebrated M. Necker's Eſſay on the true Principles of Executive Power in Great States. *They appear, indeed, to have been written while Monarchy was ſtill allowed to ſubſiſt; but they are not the leſs deſcriptive of the preſent Situation of that Country. M.* Necker *endeavours to ſhew, that the Principles of Liberty and Equality, as underſtood by the French Legiſlators, have, in Reality, introduced the greateſt Inequalities. In his twentieth Chapter, he enters upon a Parallel, which it behoves every Engliſhman to read with the greateſt Attention; and in his Chapter on the Executive Power, as connected with Liberty, is an animated Apoſtrophe to the Britiſh Nation, exhorting them to preſerve the Happineſs they now enjoy.*

On LIBERTY *and* EQUALITY.

NO ſooner did legiſlators, called upon to inſtruct their contemporaries, chooſe rather to enliſt under the ſtandard of the paſſions, and to purſue the temporary applauſes of the hour, than they perceived, that to eſtabliſh perfect equality as a maxim of policy, morality and philoſophy, would be an admirable means to ſecure them a numerous train of ſupporters; for there is no man in a ſtate of ſociety who does not regard a ſuperior as a very troubleſome neighbour. No ſooner therefore did they obtain permiſſion to eſtabliſh this petty ſentiment into a principle of government, than the multitude drank in with avidity the leſſons of theſe new inſtructors. It is not in the capacity of the multitude to analyze the complexity of truth; they can do no more than aſſociate themſelves, by an effort of feeling, to the opinion of him who teaches them a palatable doctrine. Their leaders are well acquainted with this circumſtance in their character; they accordingly attempt no more than to infuſe into them one or two ideas, and baſely flattering their ſhort-ſighted arrogance, they tell them that the whole ſcience of government is to be found in the developement of a ſingle axiom. It is thus, that in the name of equality, they have induced them to believe the moſt free, the moſt happy government in the world, the government of England, to be tyrannical: that they have taught them to apprehend danger from a diviſion of the legiſlative body into two houſes, though an inſtitution that had, a few years before, been adopted even by a republic, the United States of America: that they have inſpired them with an irrational contempt for all intermediary rank, philoſophically indiſpenſible to the ſupport of royal majeſty. And by and by, in the ſame name of equality, they will order a partition of landed property, and at length effect, by their plan of uniformity, anarchy the moſt complete. But look at the univerſe, and ſee whether gradations and diſtances have been rejected by its wiſe architect: on the contrary, it is by them, it is by a general ſyſtem of ſubordination, that every thing holds its place, and that the general harmony of the world is maintained. Hear the words of a celebrated writer of antiquity.

'The Supreme Being ſeparated the elements to place them at peace. Fire, the lighteſt of all, was ſent to ſhine in the regions of heaven; the air had the ſecond place, and next came the earth ſuſpended by the laws of gravitation in the midſt of the abyſs; water had only the fourth rank, yet was it to conſtitute the limits beyond which the world might no longer paſs. Thus

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did the author of nature, by aſſigning their different ſituations to the elements, organize the univerſe *.

Ah! how happy is it for the human race, that our political Quixottes are unable to diſſolve this harmonious ſyſtem, and ſubject the elements to an equality! Before the termination of the year they would renew the ancient chaos; and, to complete the cataſtrophe, the remembrance of their genius, we and they ſhould periſh together.

Distinctions which conſiſt in mere appellatives of convention, are not to be ranked as diſtinctions inimical to ſocial equality; vanity cannot be wounded in thoſe beneath, nor inſolence nouriſhed in thoſe above, except where theſe appellatives repreſent real advantages, and recall to the mind honorary rights and immunities conſecrated by opinion.

Inequalities may therefore exiſt, ſuſceptible of no preciſe deſignation, and which yet may be more burthenſome and oppreſſive than thoſe decorations and titles which have excited ſo great jealouſy. Theſe the French conſtitution has multiplied, and I proceed to ſhow in what manner.

The ancient lawgivers of nations, in order to balance the terrible effects of the power of numbers, a power always poſſeſſed by the people, placed a moral force in the hands of governments, whereby to reſtrain the effervescence of paſſions which ignorance and misfortune are apt to engender. We have ſubverted this prudent equipoiſe, have at once deſtroyed the authority of adminiſtration, weakened the empire of wiſdom, and after conſecrating, by an abſtraction, the ſovereignty of the people, have conferred on it every ſpecies of power. At ſight of this new maſter every one has enquired by what means he was to be ſeduced, and what addreſs was neceſſary to obtain the firſt rank in his court. To hold of him a municipal office, a ſeat on the bench of judgment, a church dignity, and to conteſt theſe places with an infinite crowd of competitors, was too petty a ſphere of ambition. A univerſal paſſion was excited of directing the opinions of the deſpot, and of influencing his ſentiments. Some have nouriſhed his ſuſpicions, others inſpired him with jealouſy and diſtruſt, and all juſtified his violence. The daring partiſans of ſedition, eager above all others to exerciſe their ſway, have held conſultations at taverns, or have mixed with the groupes which aſſemble in public places; and there, according to their pleaſure, according to the ruling paſſion of the day, have irritated the people againſt the king, againſt the queen, againſt foreign monarchs, againſt miniſters, againſt magiſtrates, againſt every man holding rank in the ſocial order, and laſtly directed its fury againſt property and all thoſe who poſſeſs it. At the ſame time another junto, ambitious of a more extenſive empire, have compoſed pamphlets, ſuited to the taſte and underſtandings of every claſs of ſociety; and mixing, in their recital of events, maxims the moſt dangerous and principles the moſt libertine, have diſſeminated through the kingdom a ſpirit of independence and irreligion. They have given the name of fanaticiſm to piety, of vexation to the laws of order, of tyranny to the moſt feeble authority, and the ſtill more terrible one of ariſtocracy to every opinion contrary to their own doctrines and tenets: and among theſe men ſome, writing their productions with the dagger's point, have knowingly calumniated the moſt virtuous citizens, and denounced them, without ſcruple, to the vengeance of a blind populace.

Such are the new authorities which have ſtarted up in the ſtate, ſuch the

* Hanc Deus & melior litem Natura diremit, &c.
Ovid Metamorph. Lib. I.

different

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different ſuperiorities which the conſtitution has produced, ſuch the actual inequalities which have ſupplied the place of the vain diſtinctions, the ſuppreſſion of which has been celebrated with ſo much oſtentation. By what names ſhall we call them? What titles ſhall we invent to expreſs the ſupremacy of thoſe who can, with impunity ſtir up the people againſt the opinions and perſons of public men; who can, with impunity, draw inſults upon the monarch and all who are connected with him; who can, with impunity, cut down my woods, ravage my eſtate, ſet fire to my habitation; who can, with impunity, recommend a traveller to popular outrages, or can themſelves conſtrain a peaceable citizen, by menaces, to fly his paternal abode, and become an exile from his family? What titles alſo ſhall we invent to expreſs the ſupremacy of thoſe, who have engroſſed excluſively to themſelves the public ear, who by their daily publications occupy the whole of the few precious moments that huſbandmen and artiſans can devote to the improvement of their minds; who thus govern the people by lies, inſpire them with whatever paſſions and ſentiments their baſe purpoſes may require, and inſenſibly weaken in them every tie neceſſary to the maintenance of ſocial ſubordination? Ah! let us call them dukes, archdukes, princes and viceroys, let us engage to treat them with the utmoſt deference, provided they will engage in return to leave our property and our lives ſecure, and to reſpect morality and religion, and we ſhall make a happy exchange, we ſhall ſign, at the preſent moment, the beſt of all poſſible contracts. For, I repeat it, theſe are the maſters which have been given us by a conſtitution that has placed the ſceptre in the hands of the demagogues of the multitude; this is the terrible ariſtocracy which that conſtitution has generated. And yet we talk of liberty, we boaſt of a ſyſtem of equality, a ſyſtem that ſhall place all men upon a level! It is true the ſuperiorities which heretofore exiſted are no longer to be ſeen; but thoſe which have ſucceeded them are a thouſand times more terrible. We have deſtroyed the parchments which conferred on the ancient chevaliers of France their honorary prerogatives; but we have given commiſſions of audacity and impunity to men ſtrangers to every generous ſentiment. We have taken out of the proſpect the weathercocks upon the chateaux of the nobleſſe; but we have introduced on all ſides the torches of incendiaries. We have deſtroyed the pigeon-houſes of lords of manors; but we have new-peopled the plains with tyrants athirſt for blood. We have broken to pieces the proud ſepulchres that remained as a memorial over the aſhes of the dead; but we have ſurrounded with tremendous ſilence, and ſecured with tyrannous precautions the abyſſes deſtined to immanacle the living.

Menace has been every where ſubſtituted for the mild law of reſpect, and ſanguinary vengeance for the efficacious interpoſition of a venerable authority. Government has been ſacrificed to the fear of deſpotiſm, and there has immediately ſprung up a multitude of tyrants, who, celebrating hypocritically the charms and bleſſings of equality, have extended their yoke over the property, over the perſons, over the opinions and over the conſciences of men. Meanwhile they are not deſcended, as one might be led to imagine, from the land which Cadmus ſowed with the teeth of ſerpents: but they owe their origin to thoſe fatal germs of anarchy which have corrupted the vegetation of the moral ſoil of France, and rendered it prolific in malevolent demons and ſavage ſpirits.

M. NECKER'S

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M. NECKER's *concluding* REFLECTION *on the* PARALLEL *of the two* CONSTITUTIONS *of* France *and* England.

THE national assembly of France, who were desirous, at whatever price, to obtain glory, and who now find themselves so disappointed, had a path open before them by which they might infallibly have arrived at this first object of their wishes. How splendid a part would have been assigned to them in the drama of nations, if, when occupied in framing a code of laws for a great people, they had concentrated their scattered ideas, and had ranged themselves, so to speak, round the most distinguished political constitution of Europe, with the noble design of taking it for their model, and copying such parts of it as were applicable to France, and of which experience had evinced the utility! The English, for it will be presumed that it is of their government I speak, would themselves have been eager to point out the corrections of which their political system stood in need; and every nation of the earth, attentive to the scrutiny which would have preceded the most august of adoptions, would have felt a consciousness that it was their interests that were discussed by anticipation, since a similar political liberty once established among two rival nations, and these the first nations in Europe, this double example of liberty without disorder, would have acquired such an authority, that, forcibly conveying with it the tide of opinions, it would have formed the destiny of the world.

Every one of us ought to have fallen prostrate at the feet of legislators who should have adopted this plan. Would a sage and prudent spirit of imitation have injured their renown? No; the whole earth would have rendered homage to the rectitude of their intentions and the happy fruit of their cares. What ingenious novelties, what sallies of originality could have been put in comparison with this secure and tranquil success! Observe that it is always by the success of their labours that the wisdom of legislators is appreciated. Concerned as they are in fixing the destiny of such an immensity of interests, it is impossible in idea to separate them and the topics of their care, or to give them a renown apart from the calamity or happiness of nations.

Add to this, that it is not every sort of ambition, every species of glory, that can be appropriated to a collective body. Metaphysical honours can never become the common property of an assembly. Nobody supposes that the great number can ascend to the summit of this pyramidal space, where the vigorous wing labours in its flight; and for this reason, together with so many others, successful effort is the only reputation that can be shared among a multitude.

The legislators of France then, ought to have attached themselves to plain and practical ideas: their business lay amid the realities of human life. A thousand travellers had described the lengthened road, that leads from the first naked hint of truth down to these ideas, and we did not need the instructions of the national assembly upon that article. They would have better informed us, and served us more effectually, if, with the English constitution in their hand, they had asked themselves: what additions can we make to this constitution, to secure more firmly public order? What retrenchments can be made from its different authorities, to perfect the system of liberty? What new institutions shall we have to prepare, to strengthen the influence of morality on the people? These questions would have led to others; the executive power, instead of being totally forgotten, would have been scrutinized in all its parts, and it would have been discovered, whether,

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ther, among the prerogatives conferred on the Engliſh monarch, there were any that the maintenance of public order and the activity of government might diſpenſe with. It would perhaps have been ſeen that, from the magnitude of the ſtanding army, the number of promotions in the power of the monarch ought to be limited. It would perhaps have been ſeen that, in a kingdom like France, collective adminiſtrations were attended with conſiderable advantage, but that it was indiſpenſible to ſubject them to the executive power by all the ties which conſtitute true dependence. It would perhaps have been ſeen, that theſe adminiſtrations were capable of enlightening, by regular communication, and even of reſtraining, within certain limits, the diſcretion entruſted to the choice of the ſovereign. It would perhaps have been ſeen that a middle term, between the ſhort life of our legiſlatures and the long duration of Engliſh parliaments, was adviſable. It would perhaps have been ſeen, that the number of peers of the realm ought to be limited, and their nomination ſubjected to certain reſtrictions. The unequal diſtribution of the rights of repreſentation might have been prevented by the judicious plan which has been deviſed by the aſſembly. In like manner turbulent elections, of which England furniſhes ſuch frequent and ſcandalous examples, might have been remedied, by the ſame means that are employed at preſent, or others of greater efficacy. In fine, without trampling upon thoſe important principles, or neglecting thoſe powerful ſprings, which conſtitute together the nice connection between order and liberty, between the firmneſs of authority and the moderation of prerogative, it would have been eaſy to introduce the various amendments upon the Engliſh conſtitution which truth and experience might recommend. How ſuperb a monument might we have raiſed, if we had not wiſhed that every thing ſhould be new or ſhould wear the appearance of novelty! if we had not wiſhed every ſtone in the edifice to bear ſome characteriſtic mark of our imagination, and be dated with the era of our genius! Alas, how great injury has our vanity done us! There exiſted a government, in which tranquillity, confidence, public order, and the regular movement of adminiſtration were found united to the moſt perfect civil and political freedom; and we have inſtituted a government in which diſorder is every where prevalent; in which all the world commands and no one obeys; in which liberty is but a deviſe, morality a maxim, and happineſs a vain boaſt.

M. NECKER'S ADDRESS *to the* ENGLISH NATION.

NO nation has ſhown itſelf more conſtantly jealous of its liberty than the Engliſh, and this is not with them any novel paſſion; they fought for it when the other nations of Europe did not ſo much as conſider it as a good, and their ſucceſs in this noble ambition hiſtory has rendered immortal. The efforts and triumphs of deſpotiſm have taught them to know the ſupports of which they have need, and to preſerve with ſafety the rights that were in conteſt; and the revolutions which have happened, between the ſigning of Magna Charta, the ſtatutes of Edward and the Habeas Corpus act, have but ſerved as leſſons to inſtruct them in the ſcience of freedom. They then only wanted opportunity and power to conſider in times of tranquillity the remaining imperfections of their government. This favourable opportunity preſented itſelf after the flight of James II. The repreſentatives of the nation, previous to raiſing a new king to the throne, made, in a certain ſenſe, a reviſion of the conſtitution; and the bill of rights, that celebrated act of the revolution in 1688, was the completion

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pletion of Engliſh liberty. In fine, as if it were ſtill not enough for the political fortune of that nation, to have applied the remarks of a ſucceſſion of ages and the leſſons which their own hiſtory afforded in one harmonious combination of the governing powers; a particular incident further gave the Engliſh the means of examining, with reflexion, whether nothing had eſcaped their reſtleſs attention; and, after twelve years experience, they once more as it were reviſed their work. Queen Mary died without leaving a ſucceſſor, and the princeſs Anne had juſt loſt her remaining ſon. The Engliſh then employed themſelves to regulate the right of ſucceſſion to the crown, and thence took advantage to add certain clauſes to the convention of 1688, which were favourable to national freedom, of which a ſolemn act was paſſed in 1701; a remarkable era in the annals of parliament. Since this epocha the Engliſh have imagined they enjoy all the happineſs which liberty can procure, and have never ſpoken of their government without teſtifying by ſome epithet the love which they feel for it. *Our happy conſtitution* is their habitual phraſe, their familiar expreſſion, not only among their repreſentatives, but in their diſtant provinces and in their towns and villages. Yet to this nation, enlightened by events ſo numerous, and whoſe conſtitutional vigour is fortified like foreſt oaks by winds and beating tempeſts, to this nation have our politicians of yeſterday, our cold theoriſts and our tumultuous legiſlators, oppoſed their haſty and recent innovation. May heaven eternally preſerve that nation from a like change! To me it would ſeem a crime ſo much as to conceive the deſign. You, who are the ardent propagators of novelties not yet proved, reſpect this cradle of liberty; reſpect the country in which freedom took birth, the country deſtined perhaps to remain its ſole aſylum, if ever your own exaggerations ſhould drive it from among you. And you, generous nation, you, our firſt inſtructors in the knowledge and love of liberty, continue long to preſerve the good of which you are in poſſeſſion. May the freedom you enjoy be ever united to your grand moral qualities, and may it ever be as truly defended by your prudence as by your courage. Alas, the abuſe of which we have been guilty, will perhaps be more dangerous to freedom than our long indifference. To you it belongs to maintain its renown, and religiouſly to guard that ſacred fire which, among us, has but become the inſtrument of conflagration.

A Curious HORTICULTURAL ANECDOTE.

WHEN ſir Francis Carew had rebuilt his manſion-houſe, at Beddington, in Surry, he planted the gardens with choice fruit trees. Here he was twice viſited by queen Eliſabeth; and ſir Hugh Platt, in his Garden of Eden, tells a curious anecdote relating to one of theſe viſits. 'I conclude,' ſays he, with a conceit of that delicate knight ſir Francis Carew, who, for the better accompliſhment of his royal entertainment of our late queen Eliſabeth, led her majeſty to a cherry-tree, whoſe fruit he had of purpoſe kept back from ripening, at the leaſt, one month after all cherries had taken their farewell of England. This ſecret he performed by ſtraining a tent, or cover of canvaſs, over the whole tree, and wetting the ſame now and then with a ſcoop as the heat of the weather required; and ſo, by withholding the ſun-beams from reflecting upon the berries, they grew both great, and were very long before they had gotten their perfect cherry colour: and when he was aſſured of her majeſty's coming, he removed the tent, and a few ſunny days brought them to their maturity.

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A VINDICATION *of the* ENGLISH CONSTITUTION: *By* John Adams, *Esq. lately Ambassador from* America *to* Great Britain, *and now Vice President of the* United States.

Mr. Adams' Answer to Paine's Rights of Man, *from which the following Article is selected, was occasioned by the re-printing of that Book in* Philadelphia, *with this particular Circumstance, that the American Secretary of State immediately stood forth as its political Sponsor. Mr.* Adams, *on the contrary, conceiving the Book to be replete with fallacious Principles, and, in its Tendency, subversive of all Government, endeavoured to counteract its mischievous Effects (for such he imagined it would have even in* America) *by a Series of Letters, addressed to the Printer of a* Boston *Newspaper, called* The Columbian Sentinel. *The third and fourth Letters, which follow, merit the serious Attention of every British Reader.*

LETTER III.

SIR,

IN examining the question, whether the English nation have a right, fundamentally to demolish their present form of government? it becomes necessary to inquire whether Mr. Paine's assertion, that there is no such thing as an English constitution, be really true? This question may, perhaps, in some measure affect the people of America. For if the government of Great Britain is an usurpation, it may be worthy of consideration how far we are bound by treaties, which do not reciprocally bind the inhabitants of that island.

'A constitution,' says Mr. Paine, 'is not a thing in name only but in fact. It has not an ideal, but a real existence; and wherever it cannot be produced in a visible form, there is none.' Mr. Paine should have gone farther, and told us, whether, like a deed, it must be written on paper or parchment, or whether it has a larger latitude, and may be engraved on stone, or carved in wood? From the tenour of his argument it should seem, that he had only the American constitutions in his mind, for excepting them, I believe he would not find in all history, a government which will come within his definition; and of course, there never was a people that had a constitution, previous to the year 1776. But the word with an idea affixed to it, had been in use, and commonly understood, for centuries before that period, and therefore Mr. Paine must, to suit his purpose, alter its acceptations, and in the warmth of his zeal for revolutions, endeavour to bring about a revolution in language also. When all the most illustrious Whig writers in England have contended for the liberty of their country upon the principles of the English constitution; when the glorious congress of 1774 declared, that 'the inhabitants of the English colonies in North America were entitled to certain rights by the immutable laws of nature, *the principles of the English constitution*, and the several charters or compacts,' they knew very well what they meant, and were perfectly understood by all mankind. Mr. Paine says, that 'a constitution is to a government, what the laws, made afterward by that government, are to a court of judicature.' But when the American states, by their constitutions, expressly adopted *the whole body of the common law*, so far as it was applicable to their respective situations, did they adopt nothing at all, because that law cannot be produced in a visible form? No, sir, the constitution of a country is not the paper or parchment upon which the compact is written; it is the system of fundamental laws, by

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which the people have consented to be governed, which is always supposed to be impressed upon the mind of every individual, and of which the written or printed copies are nothing more than the evidence *.

In this sense, sir, the British nation have a constitution, which was, for many years, the admiration of the world. The people of America, with very good reason, have renounced some of its defects and infirmities. But in defence of some of its principles, they have fought and conquered. It is composed of a venerable *system* of unwritten or customary laws, handed down from time immemorial, and sanctioned by the accumulated experience of ages; and of a body of statutes enacted by an authority lawfully competent to that purpose. Mr. Paine is certainly mistaken, when he considers the British government as having originated in the conquest of William of Normandy. This principle of being governed by an oral or traditionary law, prevailed in England eleven hundred years before that invasion. It has continued to this day, and has been adopted by all the American states. I hope they will never abolish a system so excellent, merely because it cannot be produced in a visible form. The constitution of Great Britain is a constitution of *principles*, not of *articles*, and however frequently it may have been violated by tyrants, monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical, the people have always found it expedient to restore the original foundation, while, from time to time, they have been successful in improving and ornamenting the building.

The people of England are bound, therefore, by a social compact now existing; and they have no right to demolish their government, unless it be clearly incompetent for the purposes for which it was instituted. They have delegated their whole collective power to a legislature, consisting of a king, lords, and commons, and they have included even the power of altering the constitution itself. Should they abuse this power, so that the nation itself should be oppressed; and their rights to life, liberty, and property, instead of protection, should meet with tyranny; the people would certainly be entitled to appeal, in the last resort, to themselves, to resume the trust which has been so unworthily betrayed, and (not to do whatever they should choose, but) to form another constitution, which should more perma-

* Mr. Adams has farther illustrated this, in the following passage from his sixth Letter: 'It is not absolutely essential to the existence of a constitution, that it should be producible "in a visible form." The period of time when the foundations of the present English government were laid by the association of the people in "their original character" cannot, indeed, be ascertained. Many of the laws which are in use to this day in Great Britain, and from thence have been adopted by the American republics, may be traced back to the remotest period of antiquity; and the origin even of the institution of juries, an institution so congenial to the genuine spirit of freedom, is lost in the obscurity of the fabulous ages. Many of the fundamental principles of the English constitution are known to have existed long before the invention of printing, and even before the inhabitants of Britain were acquainted with the use of letters, and it would therefore be an absurdity to require that the original articles should be produced "in a visible form." But *ex nihilo, nihil fit*, the very existence of these principles proves the formation of a social compact previous to that existence, and the spirit of liberty, which is their distinguishing characteristic, affords internal evidence, that they did not originate in the merciless despotism of a conqueror, but in the free and unrestrained consent of a manly and generous people. It will not be said that an original compact was never formed, because it is not recorded in the page of history; as well might it be pretended that the pyramids of Egypt arose self-created from the earth, because the time of their erection, and the names of their builders have been consigned to that oblivion in which all human labours are destined to be overwhelmed.'

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nently ſecure the natural rights of the whole community. The ſame may be ſaid of the national aſſembly of France, who, according to Mr. Paine's idea, are poſſeſſed of the whole collective power of the nation, and who ſeem, like him, to think they have a right to do whatever they chooſe. Mr. Paine ſays, that 'the authority of the preſent aſſembly is different to what the authority of future aſſemblies will be.' But if the preſent aſſembly ſhould decree that all future national aſſemblies ſhould poſſeſs the ſame power with themſelves, it would certainly be binding as an article of the conſtitution. Mr. Paine, indeed, will not acknowledge this; and it is the ſecond right which he denies his nation, which at the ſame time has a right to do every thing. Mr. Paine's ideas upon this ſubject appear to have been formed by a partial adoption of the principle upon which Rouſſeau founds the ſocial compact. But neither the principle of Rouſſeau, nor that of Mr. Paine, is true. Rouſſeau contends, that the ſocial compact is formed by a perſonal aſſociation of individuals, which muſt be unanimouſly aſſented to, and which cannot poſſibly be made by a repreſentative body. I ſhall not, at preſent, ſpend my time in ſhewing, that this is neither practicable nor even metaphyſically true. I ſhall only obſerve, that its operation would annihilate, in an inſtant, all the power of the national aſſembly, and turn the whole body of the American conſtitutions, the pride of man, the glory of the human underſtanding, into a maſs of tyrannical and unfounded uſurpations. Mr. Paine does not go quite ſo far, but we muſt examine whether his arguments are not equally wide from the truth. 'A government,' ſays he, 'on the principles on which conſtitutional governments ariſing out of ſociety are eſtabliſhed, cannot have the right of altering itſelf. Why not? Becauſe if it had, it would be arbitrary.' But this reaſon is not ſufficient. A nation in forming a ſocial compact may delegate the whole of their collective powers to ordinary legiſlatures, in perpetual ſucceſſion, and reſerve only the right of refuſing the abuſe of thoſe powers; and every other queſtion relative to the reſervation of powers to the nation, muſt be only a queſtion of expediency. The ſame power which the preſent national aſſembly poſſeſs in France, is, by the Engliſh conſtitution, conſtantly veſted in the king and parliament of Great Britain; and the people in both kingdoms have the ſame right to reſiſt and puniſh the abuſe of that power.

Surely, ſir, the people of the United States have a conſtitution, although they have given the power of making alterations to thoſe by whom it is adminiſtered, in conjunction with the ſtate legiſlatures. Surely, the people of Maſſachuſets have a conſtitution, though it provides for certain alterations by the ordinary legiſlatures, and though, ſince it was formed, ſuch alterations have accordingly been made. The conſtitutions of ſeveral of the United States are expreſsly made alterable, in every part, by their ordinary legiſlatures. I think there is not one of them but admits of alterations without recurring to 'the nation in its original character.' Yet Mr. Paine will ſurely acknowledge, that the American conſtitutions aroſe out of the people, and not over them. His principles, therefore, 'that a conſtitutional government cannot have the right of altering itſelf,' is not true. In forming their conſtitution, a nation may reſerve to themſelves ſuch powers as they may think proper. They may reſerve only the unalienable right of reſiſtance againſt tyranny. The people of England have reſerved only this right. The French national aſſembly have been in ſeſſion more than two years to make laws nominally paramount to their future legiſlatures.—As the Engliſh have delegated all

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their power, I contend they have no right in their original character to change their form of government, unleſs it has become incompetent for the purpoſes for which all governments are inſtituted. I am aware of the queſtion which will occur here—Who is to judge of this incompetency? and I am aware of the triumphant manner in which it may be aſked. But a triumph is not my object, and in the purſuit of truth I ſhall venture in my next letter to conſider this ſubject.

LETTER IV.

I HAVE aſſumed for a principle, that the Engliſh nation, having delegated all their collective power, have no right in their original character to change their form of government, unleſs it has become abſolutely inadequate to the purpoſes for which it was inſtituted. The people themſelves muſt, from the neceſſity of the caſe, be the judges of this fact; but if, in forming this judgment, and acting in purſuance of it, they proceed from paſſion, and not from principle; if they diſſolve their compact, from an idea that 'they have a right to do whatever they chooſe,' and break the bands of ſociety, in the forms of deſpotiſm, 'becauſe ſuch is their pleaſure,' they may indeed go through the operation by the plenitude of their irreſiſtible power; but the nation will meet with ample puniſhment in their own miſery, and the leaders who delude them, in the deteſtation of their own poſterity. It is not by adopting the malignity of a political ſatiriſt, by converting the ſallies of wit into the maxims of truth or juſtice, or by magnifying trivial imperfections into capital crimes, that a nation will be juſtified in reſorting to its original ſtrength, to contend againſt its delegated power. It is not a mechanical horror againſt the name of a king, or of ariſtocracy, nor a phyſical antipathy to the ſound of an extravagant title, or to the ſight of an innocent riband, that can authoriſe a people to lay violent hands upon the conſtitution, which protects their rights, and guard their liberties. They muſt feel an actual deprivation of their equal rights, and ſee an actual impoſſibility for their reſtoration in any other manner, before they can have a right to lay their hands on their ſwords, and appeal to Heaven. Theſe are not the principles of ſlavery; they are the tenets of the only genuine liberty, which conſiſts in a mean equally diſtant from the deſpotiſm of an individual, as of a million. They are ſanctioned by our own uniform example, and will, I truſt, never be departed from by the moſt enlightened, and moſt virtuous people on the globe. For ſixteen years the people of America endured a continual ſucceſſion of every indignity, which the pride of dominion, the inſolence of power, and the rapacity of avarice, could inflict upon them, before they could reſolve to renounce an authority 3000 miles diſtant from them; and even then, they were ſo far from thinking they had a right to do whatever they choſe, that by the very act which renounced their connection with Great Britain they expoſed to the world their own ſufferings, and the various acts of tyranny which had compelled them 'to acquieſce in the neceſſity which denounced the ſeparation,' and 'appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions.' No, ſir, the venerable character who drew up this declaration never could believe, that the rights of a nation have no other limits than its powers. Since the revolution, the people of the United States have again been compelled to form a national government, and in its formation proceeded in the ſame ſpirit. The confederation was found totally incompetent for the purpoſes for which it was inſtituted; not from an abuſe

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abuſe of the delegated powers, in thoſe by whom it was adminiſtered, but becauſe ſcarcely any powers at all had been given. The inefficiency of that ſyſtem had long been fully demonſtrated, and had reduced us to extreme diſtreſs. The ſtates, united but in name, were upon the verge of general bankruptcy. Their credit, ſunk to the loweſt ebb, was upon the point of expiring; and their exhauſted treaſury gave perpetually the lie to their public faith, ſo often and ſo ſolemnly pledged. The forcible ties of a common intereſt, directed to one great object during the war, were greatly looſened by the accompliſhment of that object; and the ſeeds of mutual hoſtility were ſown by the partial commercial regulations of the reſpective ſtates. The revenue laws, which had been enacted in ſeveral of the ſtates, were not able to ſupport their credit, and yet were ſo unequal in their operation, that numerous bodies of men, in more than one of the ſtates, appeared in open rebellion againſt the mildeſt governments that ever were inſtituted. Inſtead of the glorious reward which the people had expected for their virtuous exertions, internal diſcord, and infamy abroad, preſented themſelves in dreary perſpective before them. At that critical period, when the ſyſtem to be annihilated was an empty name, and there was only a government to be formed, the national conſtitution was preſented to the people of America 'in their original character;' and even then its exiſtence was to depend upon the aſſent of nine ſtates, that is, two thirds of the people. Very fortunately it has at length been freely adopted by all the members of the union; but the extreme difficulty which impeded the progreſs of its adoption, and the various amendments, which, in many of the ſtates, were in a manner made the condition of their aſſent, exhibit the fulleſt evidence, what a more than Herculean taſk it is to unite the opinions of a free people, upon any ſyſtem of government whatever.

Under the ſanction of ſuch authority, I venture to aſſert that the people of England have no right to deſtroy their government, unleſs in its operation the rights of the people are really oppreſſed, and unleſs they have attempted in vain every conſtitutional mode of obtaining redreſs. Theſe principles ought to operate with peculiar force upon the people of England, becauſe, in the uncertain and hazardous event of a revolution, they have more to loſe, and leſs to gain, than any other European nation, and becauſe whatever they may acquire muſt, in all probability, be purchaſed at the expence of a civil war. When proviſion is made for the alteration of a conſtitution, otherwiſe than by the common legiſlative power, it may be done comparatively without difficulty or danger; but where this power is already delegated with the other powers of legiſlation, the people cannot uſe it themſelves, except in their original, individual, unrepreſented character; and they cannot acquire the right to act in that capacity, until the power which they have thus conveyed in truſt, has been abdicated by the extreme abuſes of its adminiſtration.

When Mr. Paine invited the people of England to deſtroy their preſent government and form another conſtitution, he ſhould have given them ſober reaſoning and not flippant witticiſms. He ſhould have explained to them the nature of the grievances by which they are oppreſſed, and demonſtrated the impoſſibility of reforming the government in its preſent organization. He ſhould have pointed out to them ſome poſſible method for them to act in their original character, without a total diſſolution of civil ſociety among them; he ſhould have proved what great advantages they would reap as a nation from ſuch a revolution, without diſguiſing the great dangers and formidable

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dable difficulties with which it muſt be attended.

The principal and moſt dangerous abuſes in the Engliſh government ariſe leſs from the defects inherent in the conſtitution, than from the ſtate of ſociety; the univerſal venality and corruption which pervades all claſſes of men in that kingdom, and which a change of government could not reform.—With reſpect to the expediency of a revolution in England, I muſt inquire how the nation can be brought to act in their original character? Mr. Paine, perhaps, from the delicacy of his ſituation, has ſaid nothing openly upon this very important point. Yet, in two different parts of his work, he ſeems obſcurely to hint two methods for the accompliſhment of this object. When he compares the ſituation of the citizens of London to that of the inhabitants of Paris juſt before the taking of the Baſtile, it ſeems as if it was with an intention to recommend a ſimilar inſurrection for the purpoſe of diſperſing the parliament, and expelling the king, which would leave the nation without any government at all, and compel them at all events to act in their original character. When he adviſes 'Revolutions by accommodation,' he muſt probably mean, that a convention ſhould be called by act of parliament to regenerate their conſtitution. I cannot imagine any other method of anſwering his purpoſe. Mr. Paine ſeems to think it as eaſy for a nation to change its government, as for a man to change his coat! But I confeſs, both the modes of proceeding which he ſuggeſts appear to me to be liable to great objections.

CHARACTERS *of King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

The Memory of King William *and Queen* Mary *having been groſsly vilified in a late celebrated Libel, I have no Doubt but the following juſt Delineation of thoſe two excellent Sovereigns will reſcue their Characters from the unmerited Obloquy with which a political Satiriſt has attempted to aſperſe them. I have taken it from Dr.* Somerville's 'Hiſtory of the Political Tranſactions, and of Parties, from the Reſtoration of King Charles II to the Death of King William.' *I am, &c.*

A CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTIONIST.

KING WILLIAM.

THE dawn of his life was lowering and clouded, and little promiſed that luſtre which brightened the meridian day. He was born in the ſeventh month, a few days after the death of his father, whoſe authority had been declining under the oppoſition of the Louveſtein faction. The ſon, while in his cradle, was ſtript of all his hereditary dignities and offices by a general aſſembly of the ſtates. His conſtitution was weak, his fortune narrow and embarraſſed, his education cramped and neglected. The native vigour of his genius, called forth by the diſtreſſes of his country, confuted theſe inauſpicious preſages of fortune, and rendered his future life an uninterrupted career of patriotiſm and glory.

The ambition of Lewis the fourteenth, intruding into the frontiers of Holland, firſt opened to the young prince a theatre for the diſplay of thoſe aſtoniſhing endowments, which proved him to be worthy of the honours, as well as the name, of his renowned anceſtors. He was appointed admiral, captain general, and at laſt reſtored to the office of ſtadtholder.

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The magnanimity, the exertion, and the perseverance, by which the prince of Orange defeated the intrigues and the armies of Lewis, not only protected the liberties and engaged the confidence of his country, but recommended him to the surrounding powers of Europe, trembling for their independency, as the fittest person to form and conduct a scheme of confederate resistance to the usurpations of France. While the grandeur of the design flattered his ambition, its connexion with the liberties of the states interested his patriotic zeal.

In the sequel of his history, it is difficult to say which we ought most to admire, the variety and excellence of his talents, or the success with which they were crowned. By a comprehensive discernment of the political interests of Europe; by penetration into the characters of individuals; by address in negotiation, he cemented states and princes, whose interests and prejudices seemed most opposite and irreconcileable. By the firmness of his resolution; by fortitude under the most disastrous events; by fertility of expedients, he at last surmounted every difficulty; chastised the ambition of Lewis; exhausted the strength of France; and wrought the deliverance of Holland, England, Spain, and the empire.

As the most illustrious fame is annexed to exploits in the cause of liberty, so, without a nearer insight into character, we are at a loss to decide, in particular instances, whether they result from the sordid motives of self-interest and ambition, or the more exalted ones of virtue and public spirit. That the love of liberty was predominant in the character of William; that his ambition was under the direction of principle, and subservient to the cause of justice and the rights of mankind; is attested by the uniform tenour of his actions. Private emolument was with him no consideration, when the interest of his country was at stake. The alluring bait of royalty he repelled with disdain, when proposed to him, upon terms ruinous to the freedom of his country. His accession to the throne of England will appear no argument against this conclusion with those, who consider, not only, how important it was to her deliverance, but that it was an essential link in the chain of measures, which was to connect and establish the liberties of Europe. If William had not ascended the throne of England, the grand alliance could never have been completed, and rendered efficient to overpower the armies of France, aided by James, master of the liberties of his subjects.

That liberality of design, which dignified his negotiations and extended his influence upon the continent, was no less conspicuous in the scheme of his domestic policy and government. By an impartial dispensation of favours to all parties in Holland and England, he moderated their violence, and employed their united strength, in the defence of public liberty. No flattery, nor zeal for his personal aggrandisement, ever seduced him to give scope to the resentment or usurpation of any party. It was the desire of his heart to accomplish the most extensive plan of religious toleration; and, though he found himself thwarted by the prejudices of the people, yet he never relinquished his liberal purposes from the dread of obloquy or misrepresentation. His opinion, in questions of the greatest political moment, he maintained with a firmness, rather honourable to his character, than favourable to his interests.

That his respect for religion was not feigned and political, but sincere and constant, appeared, not only from his regular and decent attendance upon the duties of social worship, but from the time and attention he allotted to private devotion. It was remarked, that he never mentioned the truths of religion, but with seriousness and veneration; and that he expressed, upon all occasions, indignation against examples of profaneness

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and licentiouſneſs. He maintained great equanimity under all viciſſitudes of fortune; being neither immoderately elated with proſperity, nor dejected with adverſity. Often fretted by the rudeneſs of faction, and the jealouſy and diſcontents of his ſubjects, he ſtill regulated his temper by the dictates of prudence, and reſigned his private inclinations and intereſts for the ſake of public peace. Though liable to ſudden ſallies of anger, yet he never harboured reſentment in his breaſt; and he even treated ſome of thoſe perſons, from whom he had received the higheſt perſonal injuries, with mildneſs and generoſity. To ſum up his talents and his virtues: he poſſeſſed great natural ſagacity, a retentive memory, a quick and accurate diſcernment of the characters of men. He was active, brave, perſevering; and, to theſe qualities more than to his ſkill as a general, he was indebted for his military ſucceſs. His knowledge in politics was extenſive and profound; his application to buſineſs ardent and indefatigable. An enthuſiaſtic lover of liberty, he was ever true to his principles; faithful in the diſcharge of every truſt committed to him; and, in the characters of the ſtateſmen and general, acquired the confidence and praiſe of his friends, and excited the admiration and dread of his enemies.

His talents and virtues belonged to the reſpectable, rather than to the amiable claſs; and were formed to command eſteem, more than to engage affections.

For literature and the fine arts he diſcovered no taſte. He had acquired none of thoſe graces, which animate converſation, and embelliſh character. A ſilence and reſerve, bordering upon ſullenneſs, adhered to him, in the more retired ſcenes of life, and ſeemed to indicate not only a diſtaſte for ſociety, but a diſtruſt of mankind. He was greatly deficient in the common forms of attention. His favours loſt much of their value, by the coldneſs of the manner with which he conferred them. He did not enough accommodate himſelf to the open temper of a people, who had ſo freely devoted their allegiance to him. His warm and ſteady attachment to a few friends demonſtrated that he was not deſtitute of private friendſhip. He was occaſionally ſurpriſed into indulgencies of mirth and humour; which ſhewed, that he was not inſenſible to the relaxation of ſocial amuſement. But the infirmities of his conſtitution; the depreſſion of his early ſituation; a fatal experience of deceitfulneſs and treachery, derived from his political intercourſe with mankind, the ſeriouſneſs and weight of thoſe objects, which continually preſſed down his mind, controlled a propenſity, however ſtrong, to confidence, affability, and pleaſantry, and introduced habits of conſtraint and gravity, which draw a veil over the attractions of virtue; and frequently contribute, more than vicious affections, to render character unpopular.

Queen Mary.

Few characters have been more extolled by friends, or more virulently traduced by enemies, than that of Mary. Unconnected with, and uninfluenced by party, we can be at no loſs to perceive, that her friends have founded their encomiums, upon the evidence of a temper and qualifications honourable to the human character; while the detraction and calumny of her enemies referred to facts extremely doubtful, and to circumſtances, occaſioned by the peculiar difficulties of the part ſhe was called upon to act. She poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all thoſe accompliſhments and graces, which conſtitute the merit of her ſex in domeſtic life. Her affability, mildneſs, and delicacy, captivated the affections of her companions and dependants. Such dexterity and prudence in the management of parties, ſuch diſcretion and activity in the moſt critical ſtate

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Earl. Del. Eastgate Sc.

Paddington Church, Middlesex.

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of affairs, have rarely been found in a perſon ſo little addicted to oſtentation, and ſo averſe to interfere in public buſineſs. So devoid was ſhe of ambition, and ſo indifferent to perſonal grandeur, that ſhe not only rejected the ſervices of thoſe, who were diſpoſed to prefer her right to the crown before that of her huſband, but ſhe would not even participate of the adminiſtration while he was in the country, nor did ſhe ſo much as aſpire at the influence, to which her ſtation and merits entitled her. Her exemplary devotion, her zeal for the proteſtant religion, her conſcientious diſpoſal of eccleſiaſtical preferments, her patronage of uſeful deſigns, and application to good works, render her memory precious to the friends of religion and virtue. If, upon particular occaſions, natural affection ſeemed to be languid, or ſuſpended; if ſhe appeared harſh and undutiful, by conſenting to the dethronement of her father, or by eſpouſing, with apparent animoſity, the quarrel of her huſband with her ſiſter, her conduct in ſuch inſtances may be fairly aſcribed, not only to a reſpect for her duty as a wife, but to the ſingularly critical ſituation of him, to whom ſhe ſtood in that relation. Nothing leſs than the moſt cordial and unequivocal approbation of the conduct of her huſband, could have obtained, or preſerved to him, that authority, which he derived from his relation to her. Whatever painful emotions ſhe might feel, from the diſgrace of her father, or from coming to a breach with her ſiſter, yet prudence required the concealment of them, to ſecure the reputation and ſafety of that perſon, who was the deareſt object of her affection, and the proſperity of that cauſe, which, from the pure influence of principle, ſhe was zealous to promote.

An ACCOUNT *of the new* CHURCH *at* Paddington, *near* London: *With a Perſpective View of that elegant Structure.*

PADDINGTON, a village in Middleſex, at the weſtern extremity of the metropolis, is now almoſt united to it by the late increaſe of buildings; while there are ſtill many fine ſpots within its boundaries, which exhibit the attractions of the moſt rural retreat. The church is a new ſtructure, the firſt ſtone of which was laid on the 12th of Auguſt 1788; and it was conſecrated by the right reverend Dr. Beilby Porteus, biſhop of London, in Eaſter week 1790. It is ſeated on an eminence, finely embоſomed in venerable elms. Its figure is compoſed of a ſquare of about fifty feet. The centres, on each ſide of the ſquare, are projecting parallelograms, which give receſſes for an altar, a veſtry, and two ſtair-caſes. The roof terminates with a cupola and vane: on each of the ſides is a door. That facing the ſouth is decorated with a portico compoſed of the Tuſcan and Doric orders, having niches on the ſides. The weſt has an arched window, under which is a circular portico of four columns, agreeable to the former compoſition. At ſome diſtance round the church runs an elegant railing. From the principal gates of this, which are ornamented on the ſides by obeliſks, crowned by lamps, ſome handſome gravel walks lead to the different doors of the church. A few trees, careleſsly diſpoſed within the rails, would add not a little to the beauty of this ſingularly elegant ſtructure, which has ſo recently riſen as a new ornament to one of the moſt pleaſing ſpots in the vicinity of London. The *tout-enſemble*, however, produces a very pleaſing effect from every point of view (particularly from the Oxford, Edgware, and Harrow roads) and does the higheſt credit to the taſte and ſkill of the architect, Mr. John Plaw, of King-ſtreet, Weſtminſter.

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On the Inattention of MANKIND *to the Means of securing their* HAPPINESS.

'Le Bonheur eſt l'objet des deſirs de tous les hommes, & non pas de leurs reflexions.' *Eſſai ſur la Vie de* HELVETIUS.

WHOEVER has been converſant in the authors of a neighbouring country, cannot but have had frequent opportunities of obſerving their attachment to paradox; and the ſentence I have quoted by way of motto will not appear to many among the leaſt contradictory. But man is, in fact, himſelf a paradox; and that which the ſlower apprehenſion of ſpeculative reaſon is apt to condemn as inconſiſtency in the writer, is frequently nothing more than the fruit of that quick and lively penetration which makes the *world*, rather than the *cloſet*, the ſcene of its ſtudies, and peruſes the living characters of the heart as much as the dead letter of ſyſtematic volumes.

This remark, I am inclined to think, will particularly apply to this apparently inconſiſtent ſentence: for however theoretical gravity may revolt at the idea, a very little time devoted to real obſervation, would inform us of the baſis upon which it ſtands, and convince us that the obſervation, that 'Happineſs is the object of the *deſires*, but not of the *reflections* of mankind,' is as applicable in England as in France. Indeed, the ingenious author of the 'Eſſay on the Life and Writings of Helvetius,' is not contented with the aſſertion; for he proceeds to illuſtrate it, by ſhewing, that, in all ages, ſo inattentive to this important conſideration has been even that claſs of ſociety, from whom we might moſt have expected a contrary conduct, that 'even thoſe who ſhould ſeek happineſs with the moſt inceſſant diligence, would find themſelves but little aſſiſted by inſtruction in the means by which it is to be obtained; little having hitherto been compoſed upon the ſubject, but a few vague maxims, ſome trivial ſongs, and three or four little eſſays.'

The philoſophers of antiquity devoted, it is true, a good deal of attention to this important ſubject: but they have rather furniſhed us with plauſible phraſes than definite ideas; and even in Seneca's treatiſes *De Vita Beata* and *De Tranquillitate Animi*, though there is a great degree of genius, there is but little that can be called philoſophy. As for modern moraliſts, they have been rather employed in ſatirizing human nature, than in delineating its hiſtory. They profeſs, indeed, to paint it as it is; but they only daub and diſfigure it, and then reprobate the odious deformity they have created. Ignorant of the *true* principles of a *benevolent* religion, they exile happineſs to the regions of heaven, and conſider it as no inhabitant of earth. With them the preſent is conſidered, with reſpect to felicity, as a blank; and every thing like enjoyment is referred to the future. So that, what with the unnatural duties of monaſtic ſolitude, and the cynical ravings of fanaticiſm, we have been doomed to behold, in the moſt delightful regions of the earth, the ſcience of happineſs deſtroyed by ideas of ſalvation, which neither reaſon nor revelation inculcate; for want of reflecting, that bleſſings would not have been ſhowered upon the world if not intended to be enjoyed; and that no terreſtrial pleaſure can be reaſonably looked upon as hoſtile to eternal happineſs, but ſuch as are inconſiſtent with the precepts of true piety and virtue.

A few modern philoſophers, it is true, of a very different caſt, have given to the world ſome ſlight treatiſes on the ſubject of ſublunary happineſs; of which, among the moſt celebrated

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lebrated, are those of Fontenelle and Maupertuis. But the first of these, who had been long accustomed to exercise his talents only as a man of wit and fancy, was not become a philosopher when he undertook to illustrate this important theme. He was even ignorant of the art of generalizing his ideas; and though he has diffused through his work several useful truths, very finely conceived, he has so arranged his system, as to be applicable only to his own particular character, taste, and situation. The mind of ardent sensibility will find nothing in this system, which it can apply to its own feelings; in short, it contains but few observations on the manner of rendering felicity more general, and only informs us how Fontenelle might himself be happy.

Maupertuis, on the other hand, a man of a mortified and jealous spirit, who was miserable because he was not the first man of his age; Maupertuis, with the assistance of two or three false definitions, by representing our desires as our torments, labour for a state of suffering, our hopes only as sources of grief, and the like, describes mankind as overwhelmed by accumulated miseries. According to him, even existence is an evil; and while he is speaking of happiness, he appears almost tempted to suicide.

Such is the review, which a lively Frenchman has given us of the writings of the ancients and moderns on the subject of human happiness.

With respect to the system of Maupertuis, the English reader will not be at a loss to recollect those, who have walked the same melancholy round; and imparting the hues of their own gloomy minds to the objects of their animadversion, instead of instructing us how happiness is to be obtained, have impelled us, in a manner, to despair.

In short, in this grand and most important pursuit, philosophy has hitherto assisted us with but few instructions; nor is it, therefore, surprising, that the unguided multitude, resigned to the dominion of capricious fancy, or the blind impulse of instinctive appetite, have so often been bewildered in the maze of error, and found a phantom instead of a substance in their void embrace.

The superior negligence, however, of mankind, in this respect, cannot but be matter of animadversion to the curious observer; nor can he but be surprised, when he looks around, and sees no one enquiring after what every one seems so eager to pursue. The miser, in quest of wealth, learns how money may be obtained; and the science of tactics employs the studious attention of the aspiring soldier. Every art and every excellence has its peculiar mysteries, without which no one ever hopes to obtain its honours; nay the most mechanical profession is attained by diligent application; and every professor seeks for such peculiar acquisitions as are essential to his favourite pursuit: but happiness alone, which is the common wish of all, seems by all to be resigned to chance, or to be looked upon as a kind of appendage to the object of each man's pursuit, which will come unsolicited, whenever that object is attained.

Can we then be surprised, that repining and discontent are so often the attendants of prosperity; or that men, who seem to have attained every object they professed to pursue, seem yet to be so far from being happy? Ought we not rather to be surprised if the event were otherwise; if happiness, the most important object of our lives, were to be obtained without the reflection and enquiry which almost every thing beside requires?

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REFLECTIONS *on the* CONCLUSION *of the* OLD, *and the Commencement of the* NEW YEAR.

OF time, ever on the wing, which no power can reſtrain, and no art can reſtore, another portion is fled! Of every reader, a conſiderable part of the life is elapſed, in the return of this ſeaſon; and *how* conſiderable a part of it, who can tell? Perhaps many of them have paſſed by much the greater proportion of their pilgrimage, and may not have another year to continue in this vale of tears: highly probable it is, that with divers of them, the enſuing one will be the laſt they will number, of revolving ſuns! Seeing then, that what may remain of our exiſtence, whether it be long or ſhort; whether this be the laſt, or many future years are appointed us, or permitted us to ſojourn among men, is ſo uncertain—ſubject to ſo many dangers—and of ſo precarious a tenure; how much does it intereſt us to reſolve to improve the future, more than we have done the paſt; and ſeriouſly to meditate the improvement of our minds, and diligently to inform and correct our judgments! In this view of things, what ſhould be our ſenſations, on a candid retroſpect of the paſt year? Can we do it with approbation and with joy? Or ought we, 'trembling to make the black review,' to do it with grief and with tears? However little this ſubject, which many will think a melancholy one, may be eſteemed important, or intereſting; yet it deeply and nearly concerns us to make the enquiry; and whether deemed worth the conſideration or not, at preſent, by ſuch as put far from them the day of account, becauſe the balance wears an unfavourable aſpect; yet they may be aſſured, that its approach is certain; and that though they now diſmiſs the thought, they can neither poſtpone nor evade the advent of it; but that, by how much the more they now ſlight it, with ſo much the greater ſeverity will it come! Of ſuch moment, then, is it that we *repent* of the paſt (and how ſmall is the number who have not cauſe to repent!) and *rejoice* for the future! Reſolve to correct, to diminiſh, to forſake whatever has ſtained the paſt with cauſe of repentance; and to determine to ſow, for the future, hopes of a better harveſt, and to prepare ground for more pleaſing reflections, and more comfortable feelings: in a word, ſo to number our days, as to apply our hearts unto wiſdom! MORALIS.

ANECDOTE *of a* HOTTENTOT.

VANDER STEL, governor of the Cape of Good Hope, having procured a Hottentot child, cauſed him to be educated according to the manners and cuſtoms of Europe. Fine clothes were given to him; he was taught ſeveral languages; and his progreſs fully correſponded with the care taken of his education. Vander Stel ſent him to India, under the protection of a commiſſary general, who employed him with advantage in the company's affairs. After the death of the commiſſary, this Hottentot returned to the Cape. A few days after, while on a viſit to ſome Hottentots, his relations, he formed a reſolution of pulling off his European dreſs, in order to clothe himſelf with a ſheep's ſkin. He then repaired to Vander Stel, in this new attire, carrying a bundle containing his old clothes; and, preſenting them to the governor, addreſſed him as follows: 'Be ſo kind, ſir, as to obſerve, that I for ever renounce theſe clothes; I am determined to live and to die in the religion, manners, and cuſtoms of my anceſtors. The only favour I have to beg of you is, that you will ſuffer me to keep the necklace and cutlaſs which I now wear.'—Having delivered this ſpeech, he immediately betook himſelf to flight, without waiting for the governor's anſwer, and was never afterward ſeen at the Cape.

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An Authentic ACCOUNT *of the* TRIAL *of an Information against* THOMAS PAINE, *for a* LIBEL, *entitled* "Rights of Man, Part II," *before Lord* Kenyon, *and a Special Jury, at* Guildhall, *December* 18, 1792.

THE information was opened by Mr. PERCIVAL. It ſtated, in the uſual technical language, that Thomas Paine, being a wicked, malicious, ſeditious, and ill-diſpoſed perſon, and diſaffected to the king and government, had traduced the happy revolution effected by the prince of Orange, afterward king William III—the acceptance of the crown by the ſaid prince and queen Mary—the convention parliament, which had conferred the crown on their ſaid majeſties—and the bill of rights, including the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion: That he had endeavoured to repreſent, that theſe were reſpectively contrary to the rights and intereſt of the people; that our hereditary regal government was a tyranny; that our parliament was a wicked, corrupt, and unneceſſary eſtabliſhment; that the king, lords, and commons tyrannized over the people; and that thus he had endeavoured to infuſe groundleſs diſcontents againſt the king and parliament, as well as againſt our conſtitution, laws, and government.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL then roſe, and firſt ſtated to the Jury, that he deemed it neceſſary to contradict a report, that this proſecution did not correſpond with his private judgment; which was ſo far from being the fact, that he ſhould think he deſerved to be expelled from his high ſituation, had he heſitated, one inſtant, to bring 'this enormous offender' before a jury.

The publication in queſtion had been preceded by one on the ſame ſubject, which, though very reprehenſible, he had overlooked, upon this principle, that it might not be proper, at all times, for a public proſecutor to be ſharp in his proſecutions, or to have it ſaid, that he was inſtrumental in preventing any kind of public diſcuſſion, although he might think it very far from that which is legitimate and proper diſcuſſion. From ſome circumſtances, moreover, he had conceived, that this firſt publication would be confined to the judicious reader, who would refute as he went along. But when he found that a ſtill more reprehenſible book was circulated with incredible induſtry; that even children's ſweetmeats were wrapped up in parts of it, in hopes that they might read it; and that it was obtruded, in all ſhapes and ſizes, upon that part of the public who could not be ſuppoſed to be converſant in ſuch ſubjects, and, therefore, who could not correct as they went along; he thought it behoved him, upon the earlieſt opportunity (which was the firſt day of the term ſucceeding this publication) to put a charge upon record againſt its author.

The Attorney General then ſtated what it was he imputed to this book. And, firſt, he imputed to it a wilful intention to vilify, and thereby bring into contempt and abhorrence, the whole conſtitution of this country; not as *introduced* (which he would never admit) but as *explained* and *reſtored* at the revolution. It was a deliberate deſign to eradicate from the minds of the people that enthuſiaſtic love with which they had hitherto regarded the conſtitution, and thereby to do the utmoſt miſchief that any human being could do in this ſociety. And, certainly, if this conſtitution ſhall be attacked by contemptuous expreſſions, dogmatical dicta, and ready-made propoſitions, offered to the underſtandings of men, properly ſolicitous, indeed, about the nature of their conſtitution, but who, at the ſame time, might eaſily be impoſed upon to their own deſtruction, they might be brought to have diffidence and even abhorrence of that which is the ſecurity of all that is dear to us.—He farther imputed to this book, that it repreſented our limited monarchy as an oppreſſive tyranny; our whole legiſlature as an uſurpation; and our laws, grounded upon this uſurped authority, as in themſelves null, or, to uſe the author's own words, that 'there is little or no law in this country.'

The Attorney General expatiated on the deſtructive conſequences of holding out ſuch a doctrine to a community of ten or twelve millions of people. He charged the author with employing an artifice, dangerous in the extreme to ſuch as were not enabled by their education and habits to diſcern it. This artifice was, to ſtate all the objections that could be urged to monarchy ſeparately conſidered, and to

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pure and ſimple ariſtocracy, but not to ſay a word reſpecting theſe two as combined with a democracy; carefully concealing alſo every circumſtance that regards that worſt of all governments, an unbalanced democracy, which is neceſſarily pregnant with a democratical tyranny.

To judge of the malignant intention of the author, the Attorney General deſired the jury to conſider the phraſe and manner as well as the matter of the book. The phraſe was inſidious and artful; the manner, in many inſtances, ſcoffing and contemptuous, which was a ſhort and often prevalent argument with the ignorant or credulous. The matter, in his conſcience, he called treaſon, although, technically ſpeaking, it was not ſo; for by our laws, he thanked God, the definitions of treaſon were to be kept within their moſt circumſcribed bounds. He deſired the jury to remark the difference of the miſchief that might happen from ſpreading doctrines of this ſort, and that which might reſult from any treaſon whatever.

In the caſe of the utmoſt degree of treaſon, even perpetrating the death of a prince upon the throne, the law has found the means of ſupplying that calamity, ſo as to ſave the country from any permanent injury. But where was the power that could fill up the chaſm of a conſtitution that has been growing, not for 700 years (as Mr. Paine aſſerts) from the Norman conqueſt, but from time impoſſible to trace; that has been growing up (as is evident from the ſymptoms Julius Cæſar obſerved when he found our anceſtors nearly ſavages in the country) from the moſt remote period, till it was conſummated at the revolution, and ſhone forth in all its ſplendour?

Mr. Paine had farther imputed to the exiſtence of our conſtitution the very evils inſeparable from human ſociety, or even from human nature. But it was not difficult to diſtinguiſh well-meant diſcuſſion from a deliberate deſign to calumniate the conſtitution, and withdraw men's allegiance from it. This book was not calculated to diſcuſs and to convince, but to perform the ſhorter proceſs of inflammation; not to reaſon, but to dictate; and that in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch circumſtances, as could leave no doubt in the minds of the jury of what was paſſing in the heart of the author.

The Attorney General then ſtated, that (not wiſhing to load the record unneceſſarily) he had ſelected only ſix or ſeven paſſages, that went to the very root of our conſtitution. The firſt they would find in page 21 of the book, as follows:

'All hereditary government is in its nature tyranny. An heritable Crown, or an heritable Throne, *or by what other fanciful name ſuch things may be called*, have no other ſignificant explanation than that mankind are heritable property. To inherit a government, is to inherit the people, as if they were flocks and herds!'

Thus, ſaid the Attorney General, the author ſtates it roundly, without any qualification, that, under all circumſtances whatever, hereditary government muſt, in its nature, be tyranny; ſo that not even the ſubordination of hereditary government to the law, which is the only paramount thing known in this country, can take it out of the deſcription of tyranny. But the regal office here is nothing more than a truſt executed for the people; the perſon who fills that office being underſtood to be neither more nor leſs than the chief executive magiſtrate, heading the whole gradation of magiſtracy. But this paragraph holds out to the people, that they are nought but ſlaves; and, certainly, if they are under a tyranny, it is impoſſible to draw any other conſequence. Moreover, how contemptuous, vilifying, and degrading are the expreſſions, *Or by what other fanciful name ſuch things may be called*, applied to that which we are accuſtomed to look to with reverence—the repreſentation of the whole body of magiſtracy and of the law! He tells us, in the laſt ſentence, that the people of England are inherited by a king, and are preciſely in the caſe of ſheep and oxen. The jury would judge, whether ſuch abominable falſhood, delivered out in bits and ſcraps of this ſort, did not call for puniſhment. For the very reverſe was the caſe: the king of this country inherits *an office under the law*: he does not inherit *perſons*: nor are any, even the loweſt of us, in a ſtate of villanage.

The Attorney General then read a paſſage in the book, page 47, in which the author is ſpeaking of the congreſs at Philadelphia in 1787, which was held, becauſe the government of America was found to be extremely defective as at firſt eſtabliſhed. The paſſage runs thus:

'This convention met at Philadelphia in May 1787, of which general Waſhington was elected preſident. He was not at that time connected with any of the ſtate-governments, or with congreſs. He delivered up his commiſſion when the war ended,

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ended, and since then had lived a private citizen.

'The convention went deeply into all the subjects; and having, after a variety of debate and investigation, agreed among themselves upon the several parts of a federal constitution, the next question was, the manner of giving it authority and practice.

'*For this purpose, they did not, like a cabal of courtiers, send for a Dutch Stadtholder, or a German Elector; but they referred the whole matter to the sense and interest of the country.*'

Here again, said the Attorney General, the revolution and the act of settlement stare us in the face, as if the interest and the sense of the country were not at all consulted, but, on the contrary, it was a mere cabal of courtiers. A man, intending to write history only, would have been content to state what actually did pass on that occasion. This last sentence, couched in such inflaming and contemptuous terms, was totally unnecessary, except for the deliberate purpose of calumny. Had it been omitted, the narration would have been perfect. It would have proceeded thus: 'They first directed that the proposed constitution should be established; secondly, that each state should elect a convention, for the purpose of taking it into consideration, and ratifying or rejecting it, &c.'—Here the Attorney General observed, that the libellous passage stood insulated between the two parts of the connected story. It was what he meant by a dogma, officiously and designedly thrust in, for the purposes of mischief. But the artifice of the book consisted, in sticking here and there, in this manner, the different wicked passages that were intended to do mischief in this country.

The Attorney General then read the following passage in page 52 of the book:

'The history of the Edwards and Henries, and up to the commencement of the Stuarts, exhibits as many instances of tyranny as could be acted within the limits to which the nation had restricted it. The Stuarts endeavoured to pass those limits, and their fate is well known. In all those instances we see nothing of a constitution, but only of restrictions on assumed power.

'After this, another William, descended from the same stock, and claiming from the same origin, gained possession; and of the two evils, *James* and *William*, the nation preferred what it thought the least; since, from circumstances, it must take one. The act, called the Bill of Rights, comes here into view. What is it but a bargain, which the parts of the government made with each other to divide powers, profits, and privileges? You shall have so much, and I will have the rest; and with respect to the nation, it said, for *your share*, YOU *shall have the right of petitioning*. This being the case, the Bill of Rights is more properly a bill of wrongs, and of insult. As to what is called the Convention Parliament, it was a thing that made itself, and then made the authority by which it acted. A few persons got together, and called themselves by that name. Several of them had never been elected, and none of them for the purpose.

'From the time of William, a species of government arose, issuing out of this coalition Bill of Rights (and more so, since the corruption introduced at the Hanover succession, by the agency of Walpole) that can be described by no other name than a despotic legislation. Though the parts may embarrass each other, the whole has no bounds; and the only right it acknowledges out of itself is the right of petitioning. Where then is the constitution either that gives or that restrains power?

'It is not because a part of the government is elective, that makes it less a despotism, if the persons so elected, possess afterward, as a parliament, unlimited powers. Election, in this case, becomes separated from representation, and the candidates are candidates for despotism.'

On this passage the Attorney General observed, that from the Edwards and Henries to the revolution it was not a regular progression of tyranny, but *a progression of liberty*; whereas, according to Mr. Paine's representation, all the power that existed during that period was assumption and usurpation. In this reflection on our former sovereigns, he thought the author might have spared Edward I, the great founder of our jurisprudence, beside some other princes, the glory of this country. —With respect to the Bill of Rights, of which the author had so contumeliously spoken, it was that, said the Attorney General, on which rested the lives, liberties, and property of the people of this country. To evince this, and to demonstrate the falsity of Mr. Paine's assertion, that 'the people had gained nothing by that bill but the right of petitioning,' he recapitulated its excellent provisions in favour of our liberties, all which it declares

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clares to be 'the *true, ancient,* and *indubitable* rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom.' Were 'desperate ruffians then, who are to be found in every country,' thus to attack the unalienable rights and privileges, which should descend undiminished to posterity? Could such language as Mr. Paine's be called *discussion?* It was nothing but *deception*; and that deception consisted of the most abominable *suppression.* Not a word of the act was quoted. The poor mechanic to whom this passage is addressed, was told that he had been wronged and insulted at the revolution. But the act itself was kept out of sight; and it could not be supposed that he had it by him to consult.

The Attorney General then read the following passage from page 56 of the book:

'The attention of the Government of England (for I rather choose to call it by this name, than the English Government) appears, since its political connexion with Germany, to have been so completely engrossed and absorbed by foreign affairs, and the means of raising taxes, that it seems to exist for no other purposes. Domestic concerns are neglected; and, with respect to regular law, there is scarcely such a thing.'

Here the Attorney General, after observing 'the dogmatical and cavalier manner, in which these things are asserted,' appealed to the jury, whether the legislature had, or had not, since the revolution, adverted to domestic concerns. To prove that they had, he appealed to the growing prosperity of this country, 'from the moment that the night-mare was taken off its stomach, which had pressed upon it up to that moment.'

The next passage he read was from a note in page 63:

'With respect to the two houses, of which the English parliament is composed, they appear to be effectually influenced into one, and, as a legislature, to have no temper of its own. The Minister, whoever he at any time may be, touches it as with an opium wand, and it sleeps obedience.

'But if we look at the distinct abilities of the two houses, the difference will appear so great, as to shew the inconsistency of placing power where there can be no certainty of the judgment to use it. Wretched as the state of representation is in England, it is manhood compared with what is called the House of Lords; and so little is this nicknamed house regarded, that the people scarcely enquire at any time what it is doing. It appears also to be most under influence, and the farthest removed from the general interest of the nation.'

Here, said the Attorney General, is another dogma, without a single fact or argument; but it is held out, that there is no energy in either the aristocratical or democratical parts of our constitution, but that they are asleep, and we might just as well have statues there. In what a contemptuous manner too did he speak of the aristocratical part of our constitution; an essentially beneficial part, whose great and permanent interest in the country rendered them a firm barrier against any encroachment!

The passage next read was from page 107:

'Having thus glanced at some of the defects of the two Houses of Parliament, I proceed to what is called the Crown, upon which I shall be very concise.

'It signifies a nominal office of a million sterling a year, the business of which consists in receiving the money. Whether the person be wise or foolish, sane or insane, a native or a foreigner, matters not. Every ministry acts upon the same idea that Mr. Burke writes, namely, that the people must be hoodwinked, and held in superstitious ignorance by some bugbear or other; and what is called the Crown answers this purpose, and therefore it answers all the purposes to be expected from it. This is more than can be said of the other two branches. The hazard to which this office is exposed in all countries, is not from any thing that can happen to the man, but from what may happen to the nation—the danger of its coming to its senses.'

On this passage the Attorney General was content to observe, that, according to this, we have been insane these seven or eight hundred years; and our insanity having continued so long, he trusted in God, it was incurable.

The next passage read was a note in page 116:

'I happened to be in England at the celebration of the centenary of the revolution of 1688. The characters of William and Mary have always appeared to me detestable; the one seeking to destroy his uncle, and the other her father, to get possession of power themselves; yet, as the nation was disposed to think something of that event, I felt hurt at seeing it ascribe

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cribe the whole reputation of it to a man who had undertaken it as a job, and who, beſide what he otherwiſe got, charged 800,000l. for the expence of the little fleet that brought him from Holland. George the Firſt acted the ſame cloſe-fiſted part as William had done, and bought the duchy of Bremen with the money he got from England, 250,000l. over and above his pay as king: and having thus purchaſed it at the expence of England, added it to his Hanoverian dominions for his own private profit. In fact, every nation that does not govern itſelf, is governed as a job. England has been the prey of jobs ever ſince the revolution.'

Thus, according to this author, a nation that has conſented, from time immemorial, to be governed by a democracy, an ariſtocracy, and an hereditary executive ſupreme magiſtrate, and, moreover, by a law-paramount, which ALL are bound to obey—is not governed by itſelf, but is governed as a job!

The laſt paſſage read was from page 161:

'The fraud, hypocriſy, and impoſition of governments, are now beginning to be too well underſtood to promiſe them any long career. The farce of monarchy and ariſtocracy, in all countries, is following that of chivalry, and Mr. Burke is dreſſing for the funeral. Let it then paſs quietly to the tomb of all other follies, and the mourners be comforted.

'The time is not very diſtant when England will laugh at itſelf for ſending to Holland, Hanover, Zell, or Brunſwick for men, at the expence of a million a year, who underſtood neither her laws, her language, nor her intereſt, and whoſe capacities would ſcarcely have fitted them for the office of pariſh conſtable. If government could be truſted to ſuch hands, it muſt be ſome eaſy and ſimple thing indeed, and materials fit for all the purpoſes may be found in every town and village in England.'

The Attorney General, after obſerving that this is ſaid of William III, George I and II, and of our preſent ſovereign, proceeded to ſtate, that the policy of our conſtitution had ever avoided, except when driven to it by melancholy neceſſity, to diſturb the hereditary ſucceſſion; and, rather than break through this rule, it had wiſely thought it better to ſeat even a foreigner upon the throne. And as this paſſage went to decry hereditary monarchy as neceſſarily defective, the Attorney General appealed to hiſtory, whether it were not the permanent defect of elective ſovereigns, that they are ſeldom men of any conſideration; for it has moſt frequently happened, that when the country has been deſolated by turbulent factions, the ſucceſsful faction ſets up a tool whom it can itſelf govern at pleaſure. And it has happened, that ſuch factions, when a civil war ariſes (which muſt almoſt neceſſarily be the caſe in elective monarchies) not chooſing to come to the concluſion of an armed conteſt, have choſen a very weak perſon, each in hope of ſtrengthening his party by the time the periodical civil war ſhould come round. Theſe inconveniencies would be found to have generally prevailed in elective monarchies, to a greater degree than could ariſe from the natural infirmities of princes who ſucceed to their thrones, by hereditary right, in the conſtitution of Great Britain. But with reſpect to the defects of hereditary monarchy, this author had not ſtated any of the remedies provided, which in fairneſs he ſhould have done. He had not ſtated the numerous councils of a king, his council of parliament, his council of judges in matters of law, and his privy-council. He had not ſtated the reſponſibility of thoſe councils (ſome in point of character, ſome of perſonal reſponſibility) nor the reſponſibility of thoſe immediate ſervants who conduct the executive government. Nor had he ſtated the appointment of regents. The whole, therefore, was nothing but groſs ſuppreſſion and wilful miſrepreſentation, to excite diſcontent in half-informed minds.

'Unqueſtionably,' ſaid the Attorney General, 'I do, at this moment, recollect one illuſtrious exception to that doctrine I have ſtated, of men not the moſt capable of government having, in general, been choſen in the caſe of elective monarchies; and that is a man whom no indignities, no misfortunes, no diſappointments, no civil commotions, no provocations, ever forced from the full and ſteady poſſeſſion of a ſtrong mind, which has always riſen with elaſticity under all the preſſures that I have ſtated; and he, though not in one ſenſe of that word a great *Prince*, yet is certainly a great *Man*, who will go down as ſuch to the lateſt poſterity: I mean the king of Poland. Do not imagine, gentlemen, that my adverting to this illuſtrious character is uſeleſs. Every gentleman who hears me, knows he had a conſiderable part of his matured education in this country. Here he familiarized himſelf with the conſtitution of this country. Here he became informed

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of the provisions of what this man calls *the Bill of Wrongs and Insults*, without disparagement to him, for I believe him to be a just and wise prince, of great natural faculties: here it was that he saw, and could alone learn, how the regal government of a free people was conducted, and that under a prince of the house of Brunswick.'

Having concluded his comments on the passages he had selected, as those which disclosed the most offensive doctrines in the book (that is, such as went fundamentally to the overturning of the government of this country) the Attorney General next observed, that he should express his farther sentiments on the subject in the words of a very able writer, who was second in the executive government of America (that is, the second in the exercise of the *regal part* of that government) and who had written an answer to this book of Mr. Paine, lest an ill impression should be made by it on the weaker part of mankind in that country. Here the Attorney General read three passages from Mr. Adams' Answer to Paine's Rights of Man, one of which is contained in our extracts from that excellent pamphlet *.

The Attorney General then said, that he should produce evidence to prove, that Mr. Paine was the writer of this book, by his own repeated admission, and by letters under his hand; over and above which he should produce a letter, addressed to himself as Attorney General; in which letter Mr. Paine not only avowed himself to be the author, but farther, in that letter there was matter apparently shewing the intention with which the book was written, namely, to vilify our constitution, and to injure this country irretrievably.

Mr. ERSKINE objected to the reading of this letter, because it might be the subject of a distinct prosecution, and was written, moreover, long subsequent to the publication in question. His objection was the stronger, because he understood that this letter contained clear and unequivocal libellous matter; such as he should admit, upon every principle of the English law, to be a libel. On this very account, he trusted that his lordship would not suffer the mind of the jury to be diverted from the matter which was the subject of the present prosecution, and to go into matter which might hereafter be the subject of a distinct and independent prosecution.

Lord KENYON said, that if the letter went a jot to prove that the defendant was the author of the book, he could not reject that evidence. In prosecutions for high treason, where overt acts are laid, overt acts not laid might be proved, to prove those that were laid.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL then read the letter, which was dated Paris, Nov. 11, and not only contained very indecent invective and defiance, but, toward the conclusion of it, the most scandalous, if not treasonable, expressions concerning our august sovereign and his sons. The Attorney General commented upon this part of the letter with great emotion and indignation, and in a manner that had a visible effect on the feelings of the jury and the court. In the course of the letter, Mr. Paine, who is now in France, a member of the National Convention, having insultingly asked (in allusion to this circumstance) 'Whom was he prosecuting, and on whom would the verdict fall?' the Attorney General said, that he was prosecuting both him and his work; and if he succeeded in this prosecution, the author should never return to this country but *in vinculis*; for he would outlaw him.

The Attorney General concluded by observing, that according as the jury should be of opinion, that the necessarily mischievous tendency and intent of the book was, or was not, as he had stated, such would necessarily be their verdict. He had done his duty in bringing before a jury an offender of this magnitude. Whatever might be the event, he was satisfied with having placed this great and flourishing community under the powerful shield of their protection.

Some witnesses were then examined, who proved the hand-writing of the defendant, and that he was the author of the publication. The evidence for the crown being closed,

Mr. ERSKINE rose in favour of the defendant. He took notice of the strong sensibility which the Attorney-General had exhibited signs of, in commenting on the letter supposed to have been written to him from France. 'What then,' said Mr. Erskine, 'must be my feelings! He can only feel for the august character whom he represents in this place, as a subject for his sovereign, too far removed by custom, and by law, from the intercourses which generate affection, to produce any other

* See page 37, column 2, line 35, of this Number.

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ſentiments than thoſe that flow from a relation common to us all. But it will be remembered, that I ſtand in the ſame relation * toward another Great Perſon, more deeply implicated by this ſuppoſed letter; who, not reſtrained from the cultivation of perſonal attachment by thoſe qualifications which muſt always ſecure them, has exalted my duty of a ſubject to a prince, into a warm and honeſt affection between man and man.' Mr. Erſkine then poſitively denied that this letter proceeded from the defendant. He noticed the impreſſion it had made upon the jury; and he contended that it ought not to have been brought into the ſervice of the cauſe. It was no part of the charge on the record: it had no exiſtence for months after the work was publiſhed: it was not written (if written at all by him) till after he had been at Dover, in a manner inſultingly expelled from the country by the influence of government, and had become the ſubject of another country. It could not, therefore, by any fair inference, decypher the mind of the author when he compoſed his work, or affect the conſtruction of the language in which the work was written. The introduction of this letter, therefore, was a ſort of dereliction of the object of the proſecution, which was to condemn the book: for, if the condemnation of the author was to be obtained, not by the work itſelf, but by collateral matter not even exiſting when it was written, nor known to its various publiſhers throughout the kingdom, how could a verdict upon ſuch grounds condemn the work, or criminate other publiſhers, ſtrangers to the collateral matter upon which the verdict might be obtained?

Mr. Erſkine then noticed 'the calumnious clamour,' which had been raiſed and kept up againſt him, for having undertaken the defence of Mr. Paine. 'Little did they know me,' ſaid he, 'who thought that ſuch proceedings would influence my conduct: I will for ever, at all hazards, aſſert the dignity, independence, and integrity of the ENGLISH BAR; without which, impartial juſtice, the moſt valuable part of the Engliſh conſtitution, can have no exiſtence. For, from the moment that any advocate can be permitted to ſay, that he will or will not ſtand between the crown and a ſubject arraigned in the court where he daily ſits to practiſe, from that moment the liberties of England are at an end. If the advocate refuſes to defend, from what he may think of the charge, or of the defence, he aſſumes the character of the judge; nay, he aſſumes it before the hour of judgment; and, in proportion to his rank and reputation, puts the heavy influence of, perhaps, a miſtaken opinion, into the ſcale againſt the accuſed, in whoſe favour the benevolent principle of Engliſh law makes all preſumptions, and which commands the very judge to be his counſel.'

Mr. Erſkine then ſtated to the jury, that they were not to judge of the queſtion, from their opinion of this or that particular conſtitution, but ſolely from the rule laid down by the Engliſh law, from which alone they derived their juriſdiction. The law poſitively required, for the ſecurity of the ſubject, that every charge of a libel complicated with extrinſic facts and circumſtances, *dehors the writing*, muſt appear literally on the record, that the defendant might know what crime he is called upon to anſwer, and how to ſtand upon his defence. And here the record did not ſtate any one extrinſic fact or circumſtance, to render the work criminal at one time more than another. There was nothing, therefore, which could give the jury any juriſdiction beyond the conſtruction of the *work itſelf*; and they could not be juſtified in finding it criminal, *becauſe publiſhed at this time*, unleſs it would have been a criminal publication under any circumſtances, or at any other time. The cauſe, therefore, reſolved itſelf into a queſtion of the deepeſt importance—*the nature and extent of the liberty of the Engliſh preſs.*

Here Mr. Erſkine took an opportunity of declaring his firm attachment to the genuine principles of the Britiſh government, obſerving, that he ſhould defend his client upon principles, not only conſiſtent with the permanence and ſecurity of that government, but, without the eſtabliſhment of which, it never could have had an exiſtence.

'The propoſition,' ſaid Mr. Erſkine, 'which I maintain as the baſis of the liberty of the preſs, and without which it is an empty ſound, is this: that every man, not intending to miſlead, but ſeeking to enlighten others with what his own reaſon and conſcience, however erroneouſly, dictate to him as truth, may addreſs himſelf to the univerſal reaſon of a whole nation, either upon the ſubject of governments in general, or upon that of our own particu-

* Mr. Erſkine is attorney-general to the prince of Wales.

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lar country: that he may analyze the principles of its conſtitution, point out its errors and defects, examine and publiſh its corruptions, warn his fellow-citizens againſt their ruinous conſequences, and exert his whole faculties in pointing out the moſt advantageous changes in eſtabliſhments which he conſiders to be radically defective, or ſliding from their object by abuſe. All this every ſubject of this country has a right to do, if he contemplates only what he thinks its happineſs, and but ſeeks to change the public mind by the conviction which flows from reaſonings dictated by conſcience.

'If, indeed, he writes what he does not think; if, contemplating the miſery of others, he wickedly condemns what his own underſtanding approves; or, even admitting his real diſguſt againſt the government or its corruptions, if he calumniates *living magiſtrates*, or holds out to individuals, that they have a right to run before the public mind in their conduct; that they may oppoſe, by contumacy or force, what private reaſon only diſapproves; that they may diſobey the law, becauſe their judgment condemns it; or reſiſt the public will, becauſe they honeſtly wiſh to change it: he is then a criminal, upon every principle of rational policy, as well as upon the immemorial precedents of Engliſh juſtice; becauſe ſuch a perſon ſeeks to diſunite individuals from their duty to the whole, and excites to overt acts of miſconduct in a part of the community, inſtead of endeavouring to change, by the impulſe of reaſon, that univerſal aſſent which, in this and in every country, conſtitutes the law for all.'

Upon this baſis, Mr. Erſkine ſaid, he would reſt his client's cauſe. So far from having promulgated any doctrines that tend to withdraw individuals from their ſubjection to the law by which the whole nation conſents to be governed, he inſiſted, that his client had ſtudiouſly inculcated the direct contrary. He quoted a paſſage from the work, to ſhew, that the only Rights of Man for which Mr. Paine contended, were the rights for which all governments are eſtabliſhed. His client had inſtructed him to admit, that, when government is once conſtituted, no individuals, without rebellion, can withdraw their obedience from it; that all attempts to excite them to it are highly criminal, for the moſt obvious reaſons of policy and juſtice; that nothing ſhort of the will of a whole people can change or affect the rule by which a nation is to be governed; and that no private opinion, however honeſtly inimical to the forms or ſubſtance of the law, can juſtify reſiſtance to its authority, while it remains in force. He not only admitted the truth of all this doctrine, but conſented to be convicted, and I alſo, ſaid Mr. Erſkine, conſent for him, unleſs his work ſhall be found ſtudiouſly to inculcate theſe great principles of government which it is charged to have been written to deſtroy. 'Let me not, therefore,' continued Mr. Erſkine, 'be ſuſpected to be contending, that it is lawful to write a book pointing out defects in the Engliſh government, and exciting individuals to deſtroy its ſanctions, and to refuſe obedience. But, on the other hand, I do contend, that it is lawful to addreſs the Engliſh nation on theſe momentous ſubjects; for had it not been for this unalienable right (thanks be to God and our fathers for eſtabliſhing it) how ſhould we have had this conſtitution which we ſo loudly boaſt of? If, in the march of the human mind, no man could have gone before the eſtabliſhments of the time he lived in, how could our eſtabliſhment, by reiterated changes, have become what it is? If no man could have awakened the public mind to errors and abuſes in our government, how could it have paſſed on from ſtage to ſtage, through reformation and revolution, ſo as to arrive from barbariſm to ſuch a pitch of happineſs and perfection, that the attorney-general conſiders it as profanation to touch it any farther, or to look for any future amendment? But in this manner power has reaſoned in every age. Government, in *its own eſtimation*, has been at all times a ſyſtem of perfection; but a free preſs has examined and detected its errors, and the people have happily reformed them: this freedom has alone made our government what it is, and alone can preſerve it.'

Mr. Erſkine then expatiated on the torrent of prejudice which had hurried away the public mind with reſpect to Mr. Paine. A trial under ſuch circumſtances was incompatible with that impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, in which alone the ſubject could find, what he had right to expect, and what was 'the choiceſt fruit that grew on the tree of Engliſh liberty—*Security under the Law.*' But ſo ſacred had the freedom of trial been ever held in England, ſo anxiouſly did Juſtice guard againſt every poſſible bias in her path, that if the public mind has been locally agitated upon any ſubject in judgment, the forum is either changed, or the trial poſtponed. He cited the caſe of the Dean of St. Aſaph, whoſe trial for a

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libel had been put off by his lordſhip, then chief juſtice of Cheſter, on account of certain influencing circumſtances, which had occurred at the time, although they related in no reſpect to the Dean himſelf, being only the circulation of certain extracts from ancient authors, on the general rights of juries to conſider the innocence as well as the guilt of the accuſed; yet ſtill, as the recollection of theſe rights was preſſed forward with a view to affect the proceedings, to guard the principle the proceedings were poſtponed.

Was Mr. Paine then to be the only exception to theſe admirable proviſions? Was the Engliſh law to judge him, ſtript of the armour with which its univerſal juſtice encircled all others? Should we, in the very act of judging him for detracting from the Engliſh government, furniſh him with juſt matter of reprobation, inſtead of detraction? Here Mr. Erſkine mentioned a variety of circumſtances, from all which he inſiſted, that the defendant's cauſe had been *prejudged*. It might be ſaid, Mr. Erſkine obſerved, that he had made no motion to put off the trial *for theſe cauſes*. He was ſenſible that he ſhould have had equal juſtice from that quarter, if he had brought himſelf within the rule. But when, he aſked, ſhould he have been better off in the preſent aſpect of things?

Here Mr. Erſkine adverted again to the ſuppoſed letter, which he deſired the jury to diſmiſs entirely from their recollection, as a libel upon the king, which no part of the information charged; which might hereafter be the ſubject of a diſtinct proſecution; and which he conſidered (and, indeed, had always heard treated) as a forgery, contrived to injure the merits of the cauſe, and perſonally to embarraſs him in its defence.

Mr. Erſkine particularized various circumſtances to ſhew, that the conſcience and underſtanding of his client *(no matter whether erroneouſly or not)* were deeply impreſſed with the matters contained in the book; that he addreſſed it to the reaſon of the nation at large, not to the paſſions of individuals; and, that in the iſſue of its influence, he contemplated only what appeared to *him (though it may not to us)* to be the intereſt and happineſs of England, and the whole human race. The particular parts arraigned had been read, Mr. Erſkine ſaid, by his conſent, on the preſumption that on retiring from the court, the jury would carefully compare them with the context, and all the parts with the whole viewed together. The moſt common letter could not be read, in a cauſe to prove an obligation of twenty ſhillings, without the whole being read, that the writer's meaning might be ſeen without deception. And in a criminal charge of only four pages and a half, out of a work containing nearly 200, the jury could not, with even the appearance of common juſtice, pronounce a judgment, without the moſt deliberate compariſon. Mr. Erſkine then read the preface, which he maintained to be declaratory of the ſpirit and intention of the whole, and in which the ſentiments of his client were expreſsly to this effect: 'That he obeys a law until it is repealed; that obedience is not only his principle but his practice, ſince his diſobedience of a law from thinking it bad, might apply to juſtify another man in the diſobedience of a good one, and thus individuals would give the rule for themſelves, and not ſociety for all.'—The ſame principle, Mr. Erſkine ſaid, pervaded the whole book; and if the jury could find a ſingle ſentence in it to the contrary, he would freely abandon the cauſe.' But a writing could never be ſeditious, in the ſenſe of the Engliſh law, which ſtates, that the government leans on the univerſal will for its ſupport.

'This univerſal will,' ſaid Mr. Erſkine, 'is the beſt and ſecureſt title which his majeſty and his family have to the throne of theſe kingdoms; and, in proportion to the wiſdom of our inſtitutions, the title muſt, in common ſenſe, become the ſtronger: ſo little idea, indeed, have I of any other, that in my place in parliament, not a week ago, I conſidered it as the beſt way of expreſſing my attachment to the conſtitution, as eſtabliſhed at the revolution, to declare (I believe in the preſence of the heir apparent of the crown, for whom I have the greateſt perſonal zeal) that his majeſty reigned in England, by choice and conſent, as the magiſtrate of the Engliſh people; not indeed a conſent and choice by perſonal election, like a king of Poland, the worſt of all poſſible conſtitutions; but by the election of a family for great national objects, in defiance of that hereditary right, which only becomes tyranny, in the ſenſe of Mr. Paine, when it claims to inherit a nation, inſtead of governing by their conſent, and continuing for its benefit. And this ſentiment has the advantage of Mr. Burke's high authority, who ſays with great truth, in a Letter to his Conſtituents, 'Too little dependence cannot be had, at this time of day

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day on names and prejudices: the eyes of mankind are opened; and communities must be held together by a visible and solid interest.' I believe, Gentlemen of the Jury, that the prince of Wales will always render this title dear to the people. The Attorney General can only tell you what he believes of him; I can tell you what I know, and what I am bound to declare, since this prince may be traduced in every part of the kingdom, without its coming often in question, till brought in to load a defence with matter collateral to the charge. I therefore assert, that, whenever this Prince shall come to the throne, he will make the constitution of Great Britain the foundation of all his conduct.'

Mr. Erskine then observed, that both the parts of The Rights of Man had been occasioned by a previous book of Mr. Burke's. Who was right and who wrong, in the contention of opinions, was not the question. Mr. Paine might be right throughout, but Mr. Burke could not.—Mr. Paine had been uniform in his opinions, but Mr. Burke had not. Mr. Burke could only be right in part; but should Mr. Paine be even mistaken in the whole, still he (Mr. Erskine) was not removed from the principle of his defence. He admitted that Mr. Paine was a republican; that he undoubtedly meant to declare our constitution defective in its forms, and contaminated with abuses, which, in his judgment, would, one day or other, bring on the ruin of us all. But still, if his book contained no attack upon the king's majesty, or any other living magistrate; if it excited no resistance to magistrates, but, on the contrary, inculcated, as it does, obedience to government, then, whatever be its defects, the question continues, as before, an unmixed question of the liberty of the press.

Here again Mr. Erskine declared his admiration of the real principles of our constitution; a constitution which had been productive of various benefits, and would produce many more hereafter, 'if we had wisdom enough to pluck up those weeds that grew in the richest soils, and among the brightest flowers.'

He agreed with the merchants of London, that the English government was equal to the reformation of its own abuses. But abuses it unquestionably had, which called loudly for reformation, and the existence of which had been the theme of our greatest statesmen. To prove this, he quoted part of a speech of the late sir George Saville, during the American war *. He read also Mr. Burke's favourable opinion of Mr. Paine's 'Common Sense,' a pamphlet, which contains every principle of government, and every abuse in the British constitution, which is to be found in the 'Rights of Man †.' After expatiating on Mr. Burke's 'Reflections on the French Revolution,' as the sole occasion of Mr. Paine's publications, and stating the true nature of hereditary succession in this country, he quoted a passage from a celebrated book of Mr. Burke's, in which he maintains this position,—That while our government is well administered, it is not in the power of factions or libels to disturb it; though, when ministers are in fault, they are sure to set down all disturbances to these causes ‡. He read also some passages from Mr. Paley's Principles of Political and Moral Philosophy, to shew, that freedom and affection, and the sense of advantages, are the best and the only supports of government.

If it were urged, that these were the grave speculative opinions of a friend to the English government, whereas Mr. Paine was its professed enemy, still the principle is, that every man, while he obeys the laws, is to think for himself, and to conduct himself as he thinks. 'The very ends of society,' said Mr. Erskine, 'exact this licence; and the policy of the law, in its provisions for its security, has tacitly sanctioned it. Writings against a free and well-proportioned government, need not be guarded against

* Here Mr. Erskine introduced the following beautiful character of sir George Saville, by Mr. Burke: 'His fortune is among the largest; a fortune, which, wholly unincumbered as it is, without one single charge from luxury, vanity, or excess, sinks under the benevolence of its dispenser. This private benevolence, expanding itself into patriotism, renders his whole being the estate of the public, in which he has not reserved a *peculium* for himself of profit, diversion, or relaxation. During the session, the first in, and the last out of the House of Commons; he passes from the senate to the camp; and, seldom seeing the seat of his ancestors, he is always in parliament to serve his country, or in the field to defend it.'

† Burke's Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, page 33, 34.

‡ Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents, page 5, 6.

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by laws. They cannot often exist, and never with effect. The just and awful principles of society are rarely brought forward, but when they are insulted and denied, or abused in practice: Mr. Locke's Essay on Government, we owe to sir Robert Filmer, as we owe Mr. Paine's to Mr. Burke; and, indeed, between the arguments of Filmer and Burke, I see no essential difference; since it is not worth disputing, whether a King exist by *Divine* right, or indissoluble *Human* compact, if he exist whether we will or no. If his existence be without our consent, and to continue without our benefit, it matters not whether his title be from God or from Man.'—To illustrate this, Mr. Erskine read some passages from Mr. Locke. After which he observed, that if it were said, that Mr. Locke went great lengths in his positions, this could not be objected to Mr. Hume, from whose history (vol. ii. page 88.) he read a passage in which the same sentiments were expressed; and he read a quotation too from Mr. Burke, in which this strong sentence occurs: 'If any ask me what a free government is, I answer, *That it is what the people think so; and that they, and not I, are the natural, lawful, and competent judges of the matter.*'

Having stated all this to shew, that there was not that novelty in the opinions of the defendant, that should lead the jury to think that he did not *bona fide* entertain them, Mr. Erskine proceeded to the general question of the liberty of the press. And here he insisted, that if Mr. Paine entertained such opinions, he had a right to promulgate them. 'The most essential freedoms of mankind,' said he, 'have been but slowly and gradually received; and so very late, indeed, do some of them come to maturity, that notwithstanding the Attorney General tells you that the question I am now agitating, is most peculiarly for *your* consideration, AS A JURY, under our ANCIENT Constitution, yet I must remind both you and him, that your jurisdiction to consider and deal with it at all in judgment, is but A YEAR OLD.—When, before that late period, I ventured to maintain this very RIGHT OF A JURY over the question of Libel under the same *ancient* Constitution, before a noble and reverend magistrate of the most exalted understanding, and of the most uncorrupted integrity *, he treated me, (not with disregard, indeed, for of that his nature was incapable, but with indulgence) as you do a child while it is lisping its prattle out of season; and if this cause had been tried then, instead of now, the defendant must have been instantly convicted on the proof of the publication, whatever *you* might have thought of his case. Yet, I have lived to see it resolved, by an almost unanimous vote of the whole parliament of England, that I had all along been in the right. If this be not an awful lesson of caution concerning opinions, where are such lessons to be read?

'If Mr. Burke be right in HIS principles of Government, I admit that the Press, in my sense of its freedom, ought not to be free, *nor free in any sense at all*; and that all addresses to the people upon the subject of government, and all speculations of amendment, are illegal and criminal: for, if the people have, without possible recall, delegated all their authorities, they have no jurisdiction to act, and therefore none to think, upon such subjects; and it is a libel to arraign government for any of its acts, before those that have no jurisdiction to correct them. But, since it is a settled rule in the law of England, that the subject may always address a competent jurisdiction, on every matter within it, no legal argument can shake the freedom of the press in any sense of it, if I am supported in my doctrines concerning the unalienable rights of the people, to change or to reform their governments. Indeed, it is because the Liberty of the Press resolves itself into this great issue, that it has been, in every time and country, the last liberty which subjects have been able to wrest from power. Other liberties are held under governments, but the liberty of opinion keeps governments themselves in due subjection to their duties. This has produced the martyrdom of truth in every age; and the world has only purged itself from ignorance with the innocent blood of those who have enlightened it.

'The Saviour of Mankind expired upon a cross, and his Apostles followed him in the train of Martyrs. When he came in the flesh, he might have come like the Mahometan Prophet, as a powerful sovereign, and propagated that religion with an unconquerable sword, which even now, after the lapse of ages, is but slowly moving, under the influence of reason, over the face of the earth: but such a process would have been inconsistent with his

* Earl of Mansfield.

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miſſion, which was to confound the pride, and eſtabliſh the univerſal rights of men: he came, therefore, in that lowly ſtate which is repreſented in the Goſpel, and preached his conſolations to the poor.

'When the foundation of this religion was diſcovered to be invulnerable and immortal, we find political power taking the church into partnerſhip. Thus began the corruptions both of Religion and Civil Power, and, hand in hand together, what havock have they not made in the world; ruling by ignorance and the perſecution of truth! But this very perſecution only haſtened the revival of letters and liberty, which was to deſtroy the one and to raiſe up the other. Nay, you will find, that in the exact proportion that knowledge and learning have been beat down and fettered, they have deſtroyed the Governments that bound them. The Court of Star-chamber, the firſt reſtriction on the Preſs of England, was erected in 1637. From that moment no man could legally write without an Imprimatur from the State; but truth and freedom found their way with greater force through ſecret channels; and the unhappy Charles, unwarned by a free preſs, was brought in eleven years afterward to an ignominious death.

'When men can freely communicate their thoughts and their ſufferings, real or imaginary, their paſſions ſpend themſelves in air, like gunpowder ſcattered upon the ſurface; but pent up by terrors, they work unſeen like ſubterraneous fire, burſt forth in earthquake, and deſtroy every thing in their courſe. Let reaſon be oppoſed to reaſon, and argument to argument, and every good government will be ſafe.

'The Uſurper, Cromwell, purſued the ſame ſyſtem of reſtraint in ſupport of his government, and the end of it ſpeedily followed.

'At the Reſtoration, the Star-Chamber Ordinance of 1637, was worked up into an Act of Parliament, and was followed up, during that reign, and the ſhort one that followed it, by the moſt ſanguinary proſecutions; but what fact in hiſtory is more notorious, than that this contemptible policy prepared and haſtened on the Revolution. At that great era theſe cobwebs were all bruſhed away: the freedom of the Preſs was regenerated; and the Country, ruled by its affections, has ſince enjoyed a century of tranquillity and glory.—Thus, in proportion as the Preſs has been free, Engliſh Government has been ſecure.'

To illuſtrate and enforce this poſition, Mr. Erſkine quoted the authorities of Milton, Mr. Hume, Dr. Johnſon, earl Stanhope, and lord Loughborough. He adverted to Milton's viſit to the famous Galileo, whom he found in the inquiſition, *for not thinking in Aſtronomy with the Franciſcan and Dominican Monks.* 'And what event,' ſaid Mr. Erſkine, 'ought more deeply to affect us? The very laws of Nature were to bend under the rod of a Licenſer. This illuſtrious Aſtronomer ended his life in a priſon, becauſe, in ſeeing the phaſes of Venus through his newly-invented teleſcope, he pronounced, that ſhe ſhone with borrowed light, and from the Sun as the centre of the univerſe. This was the mighty crime, the placing the Sun in the centre; that Sun, which now inhabits it upon the foundation of mathematical truth; which enables us to traverſe the pathleſs ocean, and to carry our line and rule among other worlds, which, but for Galileo, we had never known.'

Mr. Erſkine then proceeded to the paſſages ſelected by the Attorney General. With reſpect to the firſt, he denied that any ſuch doctrine, that the people of this country were driven like oxen or ſheep, was inſtilled by Mr. Paine. 'When he maintains,' ſaid Mr. Erſkine, 'that hereditary monarchy inherits a people like flocks and herds, it is clear, from the context *(which is kept out of view)* that he is combating the propoſition in Mr. Burke's book, which aſſerts, that the hereditary monarchy of England is faſtened upon the people of England by indiſſoluble compact. Mr. Paine, on the contrary, aſſerts the king of England to be the *magiſtrate of the people*, exiſting by their conſent, which is utterly incompatible with their being driven like herds. His argument, therefore, is this, and it retorts on his adverſary: he ſays, ſuch a king as you repreſent the king of England to be, inheriting the people by virtue of conqueſt, or of ſome compact, which, having once exiſted, cannot be diſſolved while the original terms of it are kept, *is an inheritance like flocks and herds.* But I deny that to be the king of England's title: he is *the magiſtrate of the people*, and that title I reſpect. It is to your own imaginary king of England, therefore, and not to his majeſty, that your unfounded innuendos apply. It is the monarchs of Ruſſia and Pruſſia, and all governments faſtened upon unwilling ſubjects by hereditary indefeaſible titles, that are ſtigma-

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tiſed by Paine as inheriting the people like flocks. The ſentence, therefore, muſt either be taken in the pure abſtract, and then it is not only merely ſpeculative, but the application of it to our own government fails altogether, or it muſt be taken connected with the matter which conſtitutes the application, and then it is Mr. Burke's king of England, and not his majeſty, whoſe title is denied.'

Speaking of the ſecond paſſage, 'Where,' ſaid Mr. Erſkine, 'is the libel on the conſtitution? For whether king William was brought over here by the ſincereſt motives of the whole people of England, each man acting for himſelf, or through the motives and agencies imputed by the defendant, it ſignifies nothing, at this time of day, to the eſtabliſhment itſelf. Blackſtone warns us not to fix our obedience or affection to the government, on the motives of our anceſtors, or the rectitude of their reaſonings, but to be ſatisfied that it is eſtabliſhed. Do any of you love the reformation the leſs becauſe Henry VIII was the author of it? Or becauſe luſt and poverty, and not religion, were his motives? He had ſquandered the treaſures of his father, and he preferred Anne Bullen to his queen: theſe were the cauſes which produced it.—What then! does that affect the purity of our reformed religion, undermine its eſtabliſhment, or ſhake the king's title as prince of the country, to the excluſion of thoſe who held by the religion it had aboliſhed? Will the Attorney General affirm, that I could be convicted of a libel for a whole volume of aſperity againſt Henry VIII, merely becauſe he effected the reformation; and if not, why againſt king William, who effected the revolution? Where is the line to be drawn? Is one, two, or three centuries to be the ſtatute of limitation? But do not our own hiſtorians detail this very cabal of courtiers, from the records of our own country? If you turn to Hume's hiſtory, vol. viii, page 188, you will find that he ſtates, at great length, the whole detail of intrigues which paved the way for the revolution, and the intereſted coalition of parties which gave it effect.'

With reſpect to the third paſſage, Mr. Erſkine inſiſted that Mr. Paine's aſſertion, ſo far from being libellous, was perfectly right. 'Our preſent conſtitution,' ſaid he, 'was not a remnant of Saxon liberty, nor any other inſtitution of liberty, but the pure conſequence of the oppreſſion of the Norman tenures, which ſpreading the ſpirit of freedom from one end of the kingdom to another, enabled our brave fathers, inch by inch, not to reconquer, *but for the firſt time to obtain* thoſe privileges which are the unalienable inheritance of all mankind.'—And here Mr. Erſkine quoted Hume's Eſſay on the Liberty of the Preſs, to ſhew, that our monarchy was nearly abſolute till the middle of laſt century.

With reſpect to the fourth paſſage, Mr. Erſkine obſerved, that for years together, the oppreſſive taxes, occaſioned by our foreign connections and wars, had been the conſtant theme of unreproved declamation and grumbling. And when Mr. Paine ſpeaks of there being no ſuch thing as regular law, he ſpeaks in the abſtract of the complexity of our ſyſtem, but does not arraign the adminiſtration of juſtice *in its practice*. And, with reſpect to the *general ſyſtem*, ſuch ſtrictures had been echoed over and over again by various authors, and not ſeldom by perſons delivering the law in the ſeat of magiſtracy.

As to the two houſes of parliament in the fifth paſſage ſelected, Mr. Erſkine made ſome quotations from Mr. Burke's 'Thoughts on the preſent Diſcontents,' which were infinitely more ſevere than any thing written by the defendant. He adverted to the conduct of Mr. Pitt, who, on a former occaſion, in the teeth of what he had juſt declared in the houſe of commons, came to, and acted upon reſolutions, which pointed to the purification of a parliament, dangerouſly corrupted into the very ſtate deſcribed by Mr. Paine. 'Remember,' ſaid Mr. Erſkine, 'that I here impute no cenſure to Mr. Pitt. It was the moſt brilliant paſſage in his life, and I ſhould have thought his life a better one, if he had continued uniform in the ſupport of opinions, which it is ſaid he has not changed, and which certainly have had nothing to change them. But, at all events, I have a right to make uſe of the authority of his ſplendid talents and ſituation, not merely to protect the defendant, but the public, and to reſiſt the precedent, that what one man may do in England with approbation and glory, ſhall conduct another man to a pillory or a priſon.—The abuſes pointed out by the defendant, led that right hon. gentleman to aſſociate with many others of high rank, under the banners of the duke of Richmond, whoſe name ſtands at the head of the liſt, and to paſs various public reſolutions, concerning the abſolute neceſſity of purifying the houſe of commons.'—Here Mr. Erſkine quoted at length the preamble to

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these resolutions, as containing the plan of a reform. All these resolutions Mr. Erskine desired to be compared with Mr. Paine's expression of *the Minister's touching parliament with his opiate wand*, and then let equal justice be done; let *all* be punished or *none*.

In his farther observations, Mr. Erskine noticed, that Harrington, the famous author of 'Oceana,' because he was a republican writer, had been recently represented as a low, obscure wretch, involved in the murder of his sovereign and the destruction of the monarchy, and addressing his despicable works at the shrine of an usurper. 'Yet,' said Mr. Erskine, 'this very Harrington was descended from eight dukes, three marquisses, seventy earls, twenty-seven viscounts, and thirty-six barons, sixteen of whom were knights of the garter; a descent which I think would save a man from disgrace in any of the circles of Germany. He was the most affectionate servant of Charles I, from whom he never concealed his opinions; for it is observed by Wood, that the king greatly affected his company; but when they happened to talk of a Commonwealth, he would scarcely endure it.—'I know not,' says Toland, 'which most to commend; the king for trusting an honest man, though a republican; or Harrington for owning his principles while he served a king.'—He preserved his fidelity to his unhappy prince to the very last, after all his fawning courtiers had left him to his enraged subjects. He staid with him while a prisoner in the Isle of Wight; came up by stealth to follow the fortunes of his monarch and master; even hid himself in the boot of the coach when he was conveyed to Windsor; and ending as he began, fell into his arms and fainted on the scaffold.

'After Charles' death, the Oceana was written, and, as if it were written from justice and affection to his memory: for it breathes the same noble and spirited regard, and asserts that it was not Charles that brought on the destruction of the monarchy, but the feeble and ill constituted nature of monarchy itself. His book was seized by the usurper as a libel, and the way it was recovered is remarkable. I mention it to shew that Cromwell was a wise man in himself, and knew on what governments must stand for their support.

'Harrington waited on his daughter to beg for his book, and, on entering her apartment, snatched up her child and ran away.—On her following him with surprise and terror, he turned to her and said, 'I know what you feel as a mother: feel then for me; your father has got my child;' meaning the Oceana. The Oceana was afterward restored on her petition; Cromwell answering with the sagacity of a sound politician, 'Let him have his book; if my government is made to stand, it has nothing to fear from PAPER SHOT.'

Mr. Erskine thus concluded a speech which lasted three hours and twenty minutes: 'Gentlemen, I have but a few more words to trouble you with: I take my leave of you with declaring, that all this freedom which I have been endeavouring to assert, is no more than the freedom which belongs to our own inbred constitution: I have not asked you to acquit Mr. Paine upon any new lights, or upon any principle but the law, which you are sworn to administer. My great object has been to inculcate, that wisdom and policy, which are the parents of the law of Great Britain, forbid this jealous eye over her subjects. Engage them their affections, convince their reason, and they will be loyal from the only principle that can make loyalty sincere, vigorous, or rational, a conviction that it is their truest interest, and that their form of government is for their common good. Constraint is the natural parent of resistance, and a pregnant proof, that reason is not on the side of those who use it. You must all remember Lucian's pleasant story; Jupiter and a countryman were walking together, conversing with great freedom upon the subject of heaven and earth. The countryman listened with attention and acquiescence, while Jupiter strove only to convince him; but happening to hint a doubt, Jupiter turned hastily round and threatened him with his thunder.—'Ah! ha!' says the countryman, 'now Jupiter, I know that you are wrong; you're always wrong when you appeal to your thunder.' This is the case with me—I can reason with the people of England, but I cannot fight against the thunder of authority.

'Gentlemen, this is my defence for free opinions. With regard to myself, I am, and ever have been, obedient and affectionate to *the law*. To that rule of action I shall ever give my voice and my conduct; but I shall ever do as I have done to-day, maintain the dignity of my high profession, and perform, as I understand them, all its important duties.

Mr.

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Mr. ATTORNEY-GENERAL aroſe immediately to reply to Mr. Erſkine, when the foreman of the jury ſaid,—My lord, I am authorized by the jury here, to inform the Attorney General, that a reply is not neceſſary for them, unleſs the Attorney General wiſhes to make it, or your lordſhip.—The Attorney General ſat down, and the jury gave in their verdict.

GUILTY.

SPECIAL JURY.

John Campbell, John Lightfoot, Chriſtopher Taddy, Robert Oliphant, Cornelius Donovan, Robert Rolleſton, John Lubbock, Richard Tuckwell, William Porter, Thomas Druce, Iſaac Railton, Henry Evans.

Counſel for the Crown.—The Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Wood, Mr. Percival.

Solicitors.—Meſſrs. Chamberlayne and White.

Counſel for the Defendant.—The Hon. Thomas Erſkine, Mr. Piggot, Mr. Shepherd, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. F. Vaughan.

Solicitor.—Mr. Bonney.

PROCEEDINGS *of the Third* SESSION *of the Seventeenth Parliament of* Great Britain, *continued from Vol. XCI, page* 463.

In the houſe of lords, on Saturday, December 22, on the ſecond reading of the bill reſpecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or reſiding therein in certain caſes, being read, lord Grenville opened the object of the bill. In conſequence of the order of things that had lately prevailed in a neighbouring kingdom, (if, indeed, to ſuch a ſituation of things the word *order* could in any ſenſe be applied,) many of the natives of that kingdom had found it neceſſary to ſeek refuge in this. In all the revolutions of parties that occurred in that country, thoſe who had been at one time in the direction of affairs had been compelled by their victorious opponents to abandon their country; many of them, however erroneous in principle, and on that ſubject he ſhould enter into diſtinction, undoubtedly innocent in point of intention. This country now enjoyed the proud diſtinction of being almoſt the only nation of Europe that continued to afford them an aſylum. From other ſtates they had been ordered to withdraw. To ſuch men ſo ſituated, we ſhould undoubtedly afford protection, as we could do ſo without endangering our own internal ſafety. But with theſe were mixed men of a different deſcription, againſt whoſe machinations it behoved us to guard. The events in France, at which humanity ſhuddered, were too well known for him to enlarge upon. He did not mean to confound the principle with the acts; nor to impute the commiſſion of theſe horrors to the twenty-four millions of the French people collectively. Far be it from him to charge ſuch crimes on a whole nation. But the crimes had been committed, and he knew a ſubject on which he could ſay more, if this were the proper time or place; that many of the perſons who had been moſt active in the commiſſion of thoſe crimes were now in this country; that they were connected with perſons in this country inimical to the eſtabliſhed government; and were ſupported by men, who either now, or formerly, exerciſed conſiderable authority in France. He ſaid, that there undoubtedly had been a deſign to produce, by foreign emiſſaries, a repetition in this country of the dreadful ſcenes that had afflicted France. The deluded people of that country were taught to believe, that the people of this were ready to adopt all their principles, all their extravagance, all their fanaticiſm. Under theſe circumſtances, while it was honourable to our rank among nations, and our feelings as men, to alleviate the misfortunes of the innocent, was it not neceſſary to guard againſt the machinations of thoſe who had come among us for the moſt miſchievous purpoſes? He then explained the ſeveral enacting clauſes of the bill—that an account and deſcription ſhall be taken, at the ſeveral ports, of all foreigners arriving in the kingdom; that foreigners ſhall not bring with them arms or ammunition; that they ſhall not depart from the place in which they firſt arrive without a paſſport from the chief magiſtrate, or two juſtices of the peace, ſpecifying the place they are going to; on altering a paſſport, or obtaining it under a falſe name, to be baniſhed this realm, and if they return, to be tranſported for life: that the ſecretary of ſtate may give any ſuſpected alien in charge to one of his majeſty's meſſengers, to be by him conducted out of the realm; that his majeſty, by proclamation, order in council, or ſign manual, may direct all aliens who have arrived ſince January 1792, other

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other than merchants, and their menial ſervants, to reſide in ſuch diſtricts as he ſhall think neceſſary for the public ſecurity; that ſuch aliens ſhall give an account of their name and places of reſidence to the chief magiſtrate, or juſtice of the town or place; that they ſhall within a limited time, give an account of all arms and ammunition in their poſſeſſion, or kept by others for their uſe, and deliver up the ſame, except ſuch as ſhall obtain a licence from the ſecretary of ſtate. He then entered into an enquiry reſpecting the prerogative of the crown, on the object of the bill, and obſerved, that although the prerogative, by long diſuſe, had not become obſolete, yet the means of acting upon it were ſubject to difficulties, and hence the neceſſity of the preſent bill.

The Duke of Portland ſaid that he approved of the bill, becauſe he thought ſome meaſure of this ſort neceſſary to quiet the alarm that had been excited in the minds of the people. It was not on account of any perſonal attachment to the preſent adminiſtration that he ſupported it. He could not forget the manner in which they came into power; he could not forget the many circumſtances in their conduct by which, in his opinion, they had forfeited all title to the confidence of the nation. He could not forget that to their miſconduct many of our preſent difficulties were owing. It was not in order to court popularity, but becauſe he thought the bill would reſtore ſecurity and quiet to the minds of the people; and therefore it ſhould have his hearty concurrence.

Lord Lauderdale ſaid, that before ſuch a meaſure was propoſed, their lordſhips might have expected proofs of the danger to be laid on their table.

The marquis of Lanſdown objected to the bill as unprecedented, as a ſuſpenſion of the *habeas corpus*, as perhaps a prelude to putting Engliſhmen into the ſame ſituation as foreigners were to be put by it.

Lord Hawkeſbury, the duke of Leeds, and lord Stormont were for the bill. The latter ſaid, that the bill was no more than a meaſure of ſelf-defence. The diſpoſition of thoſe who exerciſed power in France, might be learned from their own authentic acts, and ſurely it was not an injurious mode of expreſſion to quote their own public declarations. They formally renounced conqueſts, but they alſo declared war againſt all kings.

The bill was then read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed.

In the houſe of commons, on Monday, December 24, leave was given, on the motion of the attorney-general, to bring in 'a bill to prohibit the circulation of promiſſory or other notes, orders, undertakings, and obligations of every kind, circulated or iſſued by any public authority, or by the authority of any body of men, in France.'

The ſecretary at war then moved, that beſide 1,620 invalids, 17,344 effective men, including officers, be employed for the ſervice of the year 1793.

Mr. Fox, after having ſtated that this motion had his aſſent, on the ſame principles on which he voted for the increaſe of the naval eſtabliſhment, entered upon the ſubject of the diſmiſſion of lord E. Fitzgerald, lord Sempill, captain Gawler, and other diſtinguiſhed officers, from the army, without any reaſons aſſigned. He acknowledged the right of the executive power to diſmiſs officers without aſſigning reaſons, but contended that that, like other prerogatives, was ſubject to the inveſtigation of parliament. He argued the danger of the precedent of diſmiſſing officers for political opinions, when not guilty of any breach of military duty.

The ſecretary at war anſwered, that as the right hon. gentleman had admitted the right of the executive power to diſmiſs, without reaſons, any of its ſervants, it would be unfit for him to ſtate any.

Mr. Fox admitted the prerogative; but if the reported reaſons for the diſmiſſion were true, the officers ought to have been tried by a court martial: but as this had not been the caſe, he had a right to preſume, that their diſmiſſion had not been occaſioned by any thing that could incur military cenſure.

Mr. Burke juſtified the exerciſe of the prerogative, and dwelt on the impropriety of officers belonging to a ſociety ſuch as the conſtitutional ſociety was known to be, which had notoriouſly correſponded with France, had raiſed ſubſidies to ſupport that country in a war againſt our allies, and had by ſuch a conduct ſubjected the nation, contrary to the will of the nation, to the danger of a war with thoſe whoſe friendſhip we were deſirous of maintaining.—The reſolution was then agreed to.

In the houſe of lords, on Wedneſday, December 26, on the third reading of the alien bill, the earl of Guilford, after ſtating objections to it, on the ground that, in his opinion, there exiſted no neceſſity for it, moved, 'That the bill be read a third time on that day three weeks.'

Lord

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Lord Hawkesbury objected to the motion; assuring the noble earl, that the conduct of ministers was not founded on any trivial evidence: they had in their possession that which would fully justify all the precautions they had taken.

The marquis of Lansdown again strongly objected to the bill; and with respect to the taunts thrown out against the very few that composed the present minority, that the first party in parliament against the American war consisted of but TWO; but their arguments at length brought over such a number, as dismissed the minister, and put an end to the war. Therefore, he did not despair of making sound reason in the end prevail.

The earl of Lauderdale insisted, that the bill had no other object than a war with the French republic.

The earl of Carlisle and lord Loughborough defended the bill. To prove the actual existence of danger, the latter mentioned the numerous corresponding societies, who were forming themselves into a kind of Jacobin * clubs, for the purpose of giving law to parliament. Books of the most dangerous tendency were dispersed by these societies, free of expence, in order to render the lower classes of people dissatisfied with their own happy constitution, and in love with the present abominable French system. And France had emissaries here, to foment insurrections; a design which her national assembly publicly countenanced, by decreeing that they would subvert all monarchical governments. —This was not the first time Great Britain was in a situation similar to the present. Spain, in Philip the Second's time, had a view as ambitious as that which is now the avowed object of France, and the only difference in what guided Spain, and what now guides France is—that the former were urged by bigotry to religion, and the latter are pushed on by atheistical fanaticism. What queen Elizabeth did to prevent the danger to be apprehended from Spain, our sovereign is effecting, to check the designs of France. Could it be denied that the principles of the French convention (*government* he could not call it) were *atheism?* When Dupont, a member of the convention, gloried in denying the existence of God, the convention applauded him, and by that applause avowed themselves of the same opinion. The system established in that country declared, that all affection and duty should cease between parent and child as soon as the child was able to feed itself; that there was no moral obligation pending; and that private chastity and virtue were mistaken ideas imbibed from a false education? All this would appear from the debates and decrees of the national assembly.—With respect to the associations in favour of government, it had been objected that they were illegal; but had the objectors consulted the constitution, they would have found, that all men are bound to assist in putting the law in force, and to aid the magistracy to do so. These associations go no further: they are for the preservation, not the destruction of civil and religious liberty. But as these meetings were legal, he should state those which were not legal: it was a high breach of the law, for any body of men to assemble, and insolently to publish resolutions declaratory of their disapprobation of the judicial conduct of a magistrate high in office, who acted legally under that authority with which the law had invested him: it was a daring violation of the law to assemble and publish opinions which militated against the express letter and spirit of an existing act of parliament.—To a variety of other matter his lordship added, that much had been said about a person well known here (the *ci-devant* duke of Orleans) who probably would be proscribed his own country, and seek an asylum among the English, not being by the bill allowed the legal benefits which he formerly enjoyed here. To this he should reply, that if ever that person attempted to land here, he should not be permitted to contaminate British ground; for he was a disgrace to his own country, where he had openly declared, that the first principle of the human mind ought to be insurrection against monarchy.

The earl of Guilford again rose, to observe, that the bill, by its passports, subverted the commercial treaty with France: But the duke of Richmond denied this position; asserting, that the French first broke the treaty in that respect, by refusing the ingress and egress of Englishmen without passports.

Lord Guilford's motion was negatived, and the third reading of the bill carried, *nemine dissentiente.*

In the house of commons, on Friday,

* The celebrated *Jacobin* club in France is so called, from meeting in the convent, lately belonging to the Jacobin friars.

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December 28, the bill respecting French assignats was read a third time, and ordered to be carried to the lords.

On the second reading of the alien bill, which had been brought the preceding day from the lords, Mr. Dundas moved, That it be committed. In expatiating on the necessity of the bill, he went over the same ground which had been trod by its supporters in the upper house. He concluded by observing, that by this bill we should be able to distinguish the persecuted emigrants, who had fled to a generous people for protection, from those miscreants who, under the same plea, came over for the most mischievous purposes.

Sir Gilbert Elliott lamented, that in the great questions which now agitated the public, he was obliged to differ totally from his right hon. friend, (Mr. Fox,) with whom he had so long acted in opposition to the present administration. In vindicating the necessity of the bill, he said, that he heard it called a strong and arbitrary measure. That it was so, he acknowledged, but contended that very circumstance was characteristic of liberty. Despotic governments, were always ready for every emergency: their power was at all times complete, but governments founded on principles of liberty were limited, and calculated only for ordinary occurrences; of course, on any unusual emergency, its ordinary power was incompetent, and measures strong, and in some degree arbitrary, must be adopted. The observation, therefore, instead of tainting the object, was a testimony of the excellence of our constitution.

Mr. Fox made some observations on the desertion of Sir Gilbert Elliott. With respect to the steady systematical support which the hon. baronet had now promised administration, he reminded him of his having formerly considered the ground of opposition to that administration as fundamental and irreconcileable, on account of the unconstitutional mode by which they came into power. The views and vigour of that opposition, now disunited by the artifice of ministers, had preserved to this country the small remnants of liberty it had for many years possessed.—His sentiments on the bill itself he should reserve for the third reading.

Mr. Burke spoke in the highest terms of the integrity and abilities of Mr. Fox, with whom he had lived in habits of friendship for seven and twenty years; and, at that moment, if their friendship had not been improved, it had not been impaired. He thought it was necessary to clear his character in this business: he admitted that he owed much to that right hon. gentleman—instruction, example, and friendship. But, at the same time, he declared, that any man who shewed the least disposition to favour the French affairs, either in the original bud, or when the fruits were matured, continued to maintain a disposition to support them abroad, or to countenance them at home, was a person with whom, in public life, he could have no connexion at all, because they differed fundamentally and upon system.—Mr. Burke, as usual, was extremely violent against the French revolution, and, toward the conclusion of his speech, he astonished the house, by suddenly drawing a dagger, brandishing it in his hand, and then throwing it violently on the floor, 'There,' said he, 'is French *fraternity* for you. This is a dagger made exactly according to the directions given to the gentlemen at Birmingham. When the French had thrown any nation into confusion, had destroyed their government, had plundered them of their property, and had plunged a dagger into their bosom, they said they had *fraternised* that nation. He was extremely obliged to ministers for the present bill, which he trusted would preserve his life, as well as that of many others of his majesty's subjects.

Mr. J. Stanley said a few words in favour of the bill; after which the motion was carried, that it should be committed.

On Monday, December 31, in a committee of the whole house on the alien bill, sir Peter Burrell, sir Matthew White Ridley, and the marquis of Titchfield, gave the fullest approbation of the bill; it being absolutely necessary, they thought, that ministers should be supported in their endeavours to save the constitution in this alarming conjuncture. But the marquis (who is son of the duke of Portland, whose opinion had been more than once alluded to) declared, that his opinions and principles were, however, the same as they had always been, relative to the manner in which the present administration had come into office; and he attributed the perilous crisis to which we had arrived, to their former misconduct.—Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox reserved their sentiments for the third reading. It was proceeded with, clause by clause, and several amendments were made.

On Tuesday, Jan. 1, Mr. Dundas gave notice, that early in the recess, he should bring forward a motion respecting the approaching

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proaching expiration of the East India company's charter.

On Friday, Jan. 4, Mr. M. A. Taylor gave notice, that, after the recess he should move for an inquiry into the measure of building barracks; and Mr. Sheridan gave similar notice, that he should again bring forward the business of the Scots burghs.

The report on the alien bill being then brought; was opposed by Mr. M. A. Taylor, lord Wycombe, major Maitland, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Fox, and supported by lord Fielding, lord Beauchamp, Mr. G. Hardinge, Mr. Jenkinson, lord Mulgrave, the marquis of Titchfield, Mr. Windham, Mr. T. Grenville, Mr. Mitford, and Mr. Pitt. The arguments from most of the speakers, were only a repetition of what had been already urged in both houses. It is unnecessary, therefore, to notice more than what fell from three or four of the principal speakers.

Mr. Grey contended, that the bill conveyed the most unconstitutional and dangerous powers to the crown—such as should not be given, except in cases of the greatest and most palpable necessity; and of this necessity parliament was to be the sole judge, and in these cases confidence should not be placed in the assertions of ministers, however respectable; but substantial proofs should be laid before them. How different from these constitutional modes were the present proceedings of parliament. We seem, he said, to be favoured with a mock-deliberation, only to enregister ministerial edicts.

Mr. Windham said it would be improper for ministers to state facts as a ground for the present bill. The evident situation of the kingdom was its justification. He considered the progress of French principles to be the pest of Europe, and the greatest possible calamity with which a country could be afflicted. This bill was to resist the spreading of those principles, and it therefore had his hearty concurrence.

Mr. Mitford, by a happy quotation from Blackstone, reprobated the French idea of liberty and equality, as shewn in the abolition of all privileged orders. The constitution of this country had for its base the people—the king for its point, with an infinite number of degrees, the removal of one of which would endanger the most beautiful form in nature, and crumble a constitution, the envy of the world, into ruins.

Mr. Fox insisted, that those who were alarmed on the progress of French principles, were alarmed without reason; for he held in too high esteem the good sense of the nation, to believe that French principles could make their way into a country like this, enjoying rational liberty. Public opinions, however, were not to be driven out of the country by swords and artillery, but by fair reason, by contempt, or by prosecution. With respect to external danger he felt alarmed, and confessed that the same spirit of conquest and aggrandizement which actuated Louis XIV in his wars, had apparently taken possession of the present governing power in France; a conduct arising from that spirit to which we ought to look with jealousy and alarm, and acting up to that opinion he had voted for an armament. The dangers apprehended were of a contrary nature, and required contrary remedies: an armament against external danger was wise, but an armament against opinion was ridiculous. He reprobated the late proceedings in France, and particularly the massacre of the 2nd of September, which in atrocity exceeded every thing he had read of since the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day. The massacre in September had been disclaimed by the assembly, but a simple disavowal could not be sufficient; for it would be to the eternal disgrace of Paris, that neither means were taken to prevent the calamity, nor to punish the assassins, by terrible examples after the massacre. After some further observations, he moved, that the report be considered on that day three weeks.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, first, upon the assertion of the right hon. gentleman, that the bill ought not to pass until proofs were given of its necessity; and his object was now, not to negative the bill, but, after four days discussion, to adjourn it for three weeks. If the bill were necessary, it was immediately necessary; and every hour lost, was an hour of danger to the empire. That the powers of the bill were not greater than powers formerly granted to the crown, he argued by quoting the occasional suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, without any statement of the proofs rendering the measure necessary; for that house sat for prudential measures, not for juridical. The right hon. gentleman had voted for the armament. He wished him to shew a distinction between the propriety of that measure, and the measure now proposed. No difference could be shewn. The necessity for both was felt by every honest man. He did not choose to state the necessity of the case; not

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not that it was difficult to ſtate it; for, on the contrary, the only difficulty he felt was, that the magnitude of the evil to be provided againſt was greater than the proviſions of the bill went to.—In his opinion, it would have been ſufficient to urge the neceſſity of the bill, had he been contented with ſtating, that a great and unforeſeen calamity had taken place in another country, which had occaſioned an influx of foreigners without any viſible means of maintenance. This, of itſelf, would have juſtified the bill as a neceſſary precaution for the internal police of the kingdom. But he might have juſtified it ſtill farther, by ſtating, that thoſe ſubjects were from a country where principles of anarchy were prevalent, and whence emiſſaries were ſent to foment inſurrections, and to overturn the governments of every country in Europe. The great law of ſelf preſervation, in that conſideration, juſtified the bill. If he had added, that it was to be ſeen in a long ſeries of meaſures purſued by the French government (if government it was to be called) that they endeavoured to propagate their deſtructive principles in every country, and that they had eſtabliſhed a principle of propagation, open or indirect, to ſubvert all governments, he ſhould have thought that he had made out ground enough to warrant the precaution the preſent bill propoſed. If, beſide this, it was known there exiſted in the Britiſh empire, active ſocieties, holding up the deſtructive principles of France, as a model for a government in this kingdom; if thoſe ſocieties were endeavouring to conform themſelves in every reſpect to the French government, and correſpond with the moſt deſperate and criminal ſocieties in France, and with emiſſaries from it: if it were ſeen that branches of the French engine of anarchy were ſpread in every direction, and that Jacobin ſocieties were eſtabliſhed, treating with, and countenanced by, that in France; was it not time to be awake to the danger of thoſe who were lurking about with the traitorous views of eſtabliſhing that deteſtable government?—He contended that it was time; and, though not bound to ſtate a perfect knowledge of their plans, he had no difficulty to ſtate ſtrong circumſtances, confirming every ſuſpicion which had been held from the general poſture of affairs. He dwelt upon the aſſertion of nineteen profeſſed aſſaſſins being in this country, but obſerved, that if there was known to be but one, that knowledge would warrant a ſuſpicion of more, and that ſuſpicion would juſtify the bill. He was aſtoniſhed at the diſtinction made by the right hon. gentleman between the external and internal danger of the country, for to him they appeared inſeparable; for the internal was ſtamped with a connexion with France, which rendered the proſpect of a war with that country an additional inducement to the government of this to be watchful at home. It had been charged againſt adminiſtration that, though deſtitute of confidence, and though not to be credited, they had created an alarm of danger no where exiſting; yet theſe men had induced the whole country, a few ſeditious ſocieties excepted, to feel the danger, and had induced the majority of thoſe who had acted as a party in oppoſition to adminiſtration to act with them. There were but ten or fifteen gentlemen in that houſe, who could ſtand up to profeſs their diſbelief of exiſting danger. Every other man ſtood forward, except thoſe ten or fifteen, in ſupport of the preſent meaſure, as calculated for the ſafety of the conſtitution, and for the maintenance of the liberty and property of every man in the country. He contended, that the alarm of the nation was greater a week before any public meaſures were taken, than it had been ſince; and that thoſe meaſures had had the moſt ſalutary effect: they ſet the nation on its guard. But he hoped no improper ſecurity might be gone into. The ſafety of the country was in its preparation; in a time of leſs vigilance, and in a momentary calm, the ſeditious would crawl forth from their hiding places, and attack the conſtitution with redoubled violence. He next reviewed the conduct of the French in the countries they conquered; and marked with indignation their levelling principles of all hereditary governments, nobility, and privileged orders; a conduct, exhibiting an alliance of anarchy and ambition to ſacrifice every authority throughout the world; treating as illegitimate every thing reſting on the law of nations, and deſtroying all ſociety and order.

The queſtion being put, Mr. Fox's amendment was negatived; after which, the queſtion, to agree with the report, was carried without a diviſion.

On Monday, Jan. 7, the lords agreed to proceed on the trial of Mr. Haſtings on the 14th of February; and, the next day, the royal aſſent was given, by commiſſion, to the alien, an indemnity corn bill, a bill to prohibit the exportation of naval ſtores, and the lords act.—The lords then adjourned to the 22nd, and the commons to the 23d inſtant.

[To be continued.]

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AFFAIRS OF FRANCE,

Continued from Vol. XCI, Page 466.

ON Sunday December 16, the national convention decreed that 'whoever ſhall propoſe, or attempt to break the unity of the republic, or to detach any part of it, in order to unite it to a foreign country, ſhall be puniſhed with death.'—At the ſame time, it was decreed, that all the family of Bourbon, except thoſe confined in the Temple, ſhould quit the department of Paris in twenty-four hours, and the territories of the republic in three days. A doubt, however, having been ſuggeſted, whether a member of the convention could be expelled, without infringing the ſovereignty of the people, the conſideration of the decree, as far as it reſpects Louis Philippe Egalité (the heretofore duke of Orleans) was adjourned for three days.

On Wedneſday Dec. 19, it was ordered, that the operation of the decree reſpecting the baniſhment of the Bourbons, and the farther diſcuſſion of it, ſhould be poſtponed till after the trial of the *ci-devant* king. The miniſter for foreign affairs then preſented a report reſpecting the proceedings of the Britiſh parliament; the ſubſtance of which report appeared afterward in a Note, dated Dec. 27, and preſented to lord Grenville by M. Chauvelin*.

On Friday Dec. 21, letters were read from general Bournonville, giving an account of ſix ſkirmiſhes with the Auſtrians, between the 6th and 16th; the victorious reſult of which was, that the French had gained poſſeſſion of the heights of Wavern, near the confluence of the Moſelle and the Sarre. On Saturday another letter, from this general, communicated the intelligence, that he was maſter of all the country between theſe two rivers, having driven the laſt corps of the enemy, conſiſting of 3000 men, from Grevenmacher.

On Friday Dec. 28, a letter from the miniſter for foreign affairs was read, ſtating that the chargé des affaires of the court of Madrid had juſt ſent him two declarations of the Spaniſh Miniſtry.

Copy of the firſt Declaration.

'The French government having teſtified to that of Spain, a deſire of ſeeing that neutrality formally atteſted, which in fact prevails between the two nations; his catholic majeſty has authorized the underſigned, principal ſecretary of ſtate, to declare by this note, that Spain will obſerve on its ſide, the ſtricteſt neutrality in the war in which France is engaged with other powers.

'This note ſhall be exchanged at Paris for another ſigned by the miniſter for foreign affairs, in which the ſame aſſurances ſhall be given on the part of France. Signed,

FIRMA LE DUC D'ALCUDIA.

Madrid, the 17th Dec. 1792.'

Copy of the ſecond Declaration.

'The catholic king, in conſequence of the neutrality agreed upon between Spain and the French government, on an aſſurance of the friendſhip and good faith of the French nation, ſhall order the troops on the frontier to retire; retaining, in places of ſtrength, the number neceſſary for the ſervice, and that of their reſpective detachments, which ſhall be executed immediately after the French have delivered a declaration ſimilar to the preſent, promiſing to act, on their part, in the ſame manner. Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed by both parties, to aſſiſt at the execution of this agreement, at the period which may be fixed; and all meaſures ſhall be taken with mutual conſent, acting with that good faith which is proper.

'This note, ſigned by the principal ſecretary of ſtate of his moſt catholic majeſty, ſhall be exchanged at Paris for another ſigned by the miniſter for foreign affairs, in which the ſame aſſurances ſhall be given on the part of France.

Signed,

FIRMA LE DUC D'ALCUDIA.

Madrid, Dec. 17, 1792.'

Theſe declarations were accompanied by a letter from the chargé des affaires in France, of which the following is an extract:

Application to the National Convention on the Part of Spain, in Favour of Louis XVI.

'The declaration of neutrality demanded by the miniſter of France might have been conſidered as ſuperfluous; but I am going to give a new character of authenticity to thoſe ſentiments of candour, which have always diſtinguiſhed the Spaniſh nation. It will be from the manner in which

* This Note, and the ſubſequent Papers it produced, will appear in our next.

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the French nation shall behave toward Louis and his family, that it will experience what reliance may be placed in the promises of Spain. This grand trial cannot be considered as foreign to the king of Spain: and his majesty cannot be accused of wishing to intermeddle in the internal affairs of the state, when he speaks in favour of a relation, a friend, and an unhappy prince.'

Here the chargé des affaires makes some general reflections on the situation of Louis XVI, tried by men, several of whom are his enemies, and whose opinions are tinctured with partiality, and accused of crimes, which, were they proved, would not annul the royal inviolability.

'It is impossible,' continues he, 'that the whole world should not behold, with horror, the violences committed against a prince oppressed by the miseries of a long and rigorous captivity, and by the insults of some men, who think to aggrandize themselves, by treading fallen greatness under foot. A revolution can never excuse men for neglecting to shew that respect, which is ever due to misfortunes. Though the greater part of the French have not yet spoken out, the majority of them seem favourable to Louis; and if his enemies shall be able to exercise against him the last violence, the French government will alone be accountable. It will then be evident, that foreign nations cannot depend upon the promises of the French nation; whereas a magnanimous conduct toward the royal prisoner, who might be suffered to choose an asylum for himself and family, would be an evident testimony of the generosity of the French. What I now express to you as the wish of the king, is the wish of the Spanish nation; and, under these views his majesty has ordered me to present to the convention his most earnest intercessions.'

A member moved, that these pieces might be referred to the diplomatic committee, and that a report might be given on them, after the trial of Louis XVI.—Thurot supported this motion, and requested that no papers from foreign powers respecting Louis XVI, whatever they might be, should be read before the conclusion of the trial.—Chales said, that no agent of the republic ought to treat with any of those individuals called *crowned heads*, until, by a solemn act, they should acknowledge the French republic.—After some debate, the convention proceeded to the order of the day.

[To be continued.]

An Account of the TRIAL *and* EXECUTION *of the late unfortunate* LOUIS XVI, *before the* NATIONAL CONVENTION *of* France.

ON Tuesday, December 11, 1792 (the day fixed upon for the commencement of scenes unparalleled in the annals of France) the sitting of the national convention began by reading the act of accusation against the unfortunate Louis. It contained the principal charges against him; and each charge was followed by a list of the pieces on which the proofs were founded.

Previously to the entrance of the accused, Barrere, the president, thus addressed the members: 'Representatives, you are going to exercise the right of national justice. You are responsible to all the citizens of the republic for your conduct on this occasion. Europe observes you; history will collect your thoughts and actions; *an incorruptible posterity will judge with inflexible severity*: act therefore consistently with the new functions you are to fill; let silence prevail, and let the dignity of your session evince the majesty of the French people. It is about to give, by you, their organ, an awful lesson to kings, and an example for the enfranchisement of nations.'

He then addressed the galleries thus: 'The national convention confide in your absolute devotion to your country, and in your respect for the representation of the people. Remember the awful silence which prevailed on the return of Louis from Varennes.'

Louis afterward entered the bar, followed by the mayor, two municipal officers, and generals Santerre and Wittenkot. The guard remained without. A profound silence reigned, when the president thus addressed him: 'Louis, the French nation accuses you: the national convention decreed, on the 3d of December, that you should be judged by it; on the 6th of December it decreed you should be brought to this bar. The act will now be read which enumerates the charges exhibited against you.—You may be seated.'

The act was then read again by one of the secretaries: after which the president took it, and read from it a series of charges,

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at the end of each of which he asked the accused, 'What have you to answer?'

The first charge was as follows: 'Louis, the French people accuse you of having committed a number of crimes, to establish your tyranny on the ruins of their liberty. On the 20th of June 1789, you made an attempt on the sovereignty of the people, by suspending the assembly of its representatives, and violently expelling them from the place of their session. On the 23d of June, you attempted to force laws on the nation; you surrounded its representatives with troops; you presented to them two royal declarations subversive of all liberty, and ordered them to separate. We have your declarations, and the verbal process of the assembly, as proofs.—What have you to answer?'

Louis. There existed then no laws to restrain my actions in that respect.

In this manner the president proceeded through all the charges. To enumerate them here is unnecessary; because they are recapitulated and discussed in the excellent defence, which, in the sequel, the accused was permitted to make by his counsel. To charges prior to his acceptance of the late constitution, he answered as above. On some of the charges subsequent to that period, he justified himself by the very letter of the constitution: for others, he said, his ministers alone were responsible: some he positively denied; and others he treated as ill-founded and absurd. His answers, in general, were pertinent and short; and he spoke in a firm and unembarrassed tone.

During this interrogation, not a person spoke, but the president and Louis. When the former had finished, he informed the convention, that the questions were all put, and then asked Louis if he had any thing to add. Louis answered, that he wished for a copy of the charges, and of the pieces annexed to them, and the liberty to choose a counsel for his defence. The president desired him to retire into the hall of conference, and the convention would take his request into consideration. Louis accordingly retired. A long debate ensued, at the conclusion of which the substance of the request was decreed almost unanimously.

The next day, the convention sent two of their members to inform Louis, that his request was granted. The deputies, on their return, informed the convention, that the accused had made choice of M. Target and M. Tronchet for his counsel, and that he insisted upon being allowed paper, pens, and ink, which the commons of Paris had refused him. This was instantly decreed.

M. Target having refused to be counsel for Louis, on account 'of his great age, and his republicanism,' M. Malesherbes was chosen as the colleague of M. Tronchet; and, at their request, M. Deseze was added as a third counsel. On Saturday, Dec. 15, the convention adopted some regulations relative to the communication of certain papers to the counsel of Louis. At the same time, he was permitted to have the company of his children; who were not to be allowed, however, to see their mother and aunt, till after the trial. Two other discussions took place in the convention on the 20th and 23d; the result of which was, that Louis should be finally heard on Wednesday the 26th.

At ten in the morning of that day, Louis again appeared at the bar, with the same firm and collected air as on his examination. He was attended by his three counsel, the mayor of Paris, generals Santerre and Berruyer, and some municipal officers.

Fermond, the president, said 'The national convention has decreed that you shall be finally heard this day, to present your defence. Be seated.'

Louis answered, 'My counsel is going to speak for me, pointed to Deseze, and sat down.

Deseze then addressed the convention to this effect:

'Citizens, Representatives of the Nation,

'The moment is at length arrived, when Louis, accused in the name of the French people, and attended by counsel, granted to him by humanity and the law, is to enter on his defence! The silence which prevails, gives me reason to think that the day of justice has succeeded the days of prejudice. Unfortunate kings are entitled to more pity and respect than the unfortunate in other ranks of life; and he, who was once the most powerful monarch in the world, must excite a still greater degree of interest. You have ordered him to appear before you: he has obeyed with calmness and dignity, emboldened by his innocence, and supported by the testimony of his whole life. In discussing, without preparation, and without mature examination, charges which he did not foresee, and obliged to make an extempore defence, it was impossible for Louis not to declare his innocence. This I shall demonstrate: I shall produce the proofs; and I sincerely wish that this hall

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could be instantly enlarged, that the multitude, who have received the most fatal impressions against Louis, might come hither to receive impressions of a contrary nature.

'Had I to address judges only, I should be satisfied with telling them, that since the nation has abolished royalty, no farther sentence can be pronounced against Louis; but I address the people; I must examine the question under two points of view; that in which Louis was placed before he accepted the constitution, and that in which he stood after he had accepted it.

'In examining this affair, I first find the decree which enacts that Louis shall be tried by the convention. Those who framed that decree undoubtedly said, that Louis could not shelter himself under his inviolability. What then have you done by that decree? You have constituted yourselves judges of that accusation which you yourselves made. You have decreed also that Louis should be heard. If he ought then to be heard, he has a right to defend himself; the judge must not circumscribe the means; the convention will examine them according to their just value when produced. If Louis deceives himself, you must refute his errors.

'Nations are sovereign: they have a right to give themselves whatever form of government they think proper. I shall not contest this principle; and it is not yet forgotten, that the efforts of one of the counsel of Louis contributed to its being inserted in the constitution. But the nation itself cannot *exercise* its sovereignty. It must, therefore, *delegate* the exercise of it. In 1789, the nation chose a monarchical government: a monarchical government required inviolability in the chief: it was necessary he should command that respect which enforces the obedience required by the law. The nature of this inviolability has been fully discussed. It has been pretended, that it was not a reciprocal contract: but the delegation of the sovereignty was a contract as long as it was not revoked. It was a *mandamus* if you choose; but a mandatory could not submit to other conditions, or other punishments, than those mentioned in the *mandamus*.

'On opening the second chapter of royalty, I find, that the person of the king is inviolable. There is no exception, no modification whatever; but there are certain circumstances in which the chief might lose that character of inviolability. The first case is as follows: "Art. V. section 1. chap. 2. of the third title, If the king has not taken the oath, or if, after taking it, he retract, he shall be considered as having abdicated the throne."—'The nation here imposes on the king the duty of taking the oath. To retract this oath, is a crime against the nation. The nation guarded against this crime, and appointed a punishment for it. I express myself incorrectly—it was not a punishment—it was not a *forfeiture*, the word is not once mentioned; it is only a supposition that the king should be considered as having abdicated the throne. You see that the constitution establishes no tribunal, that it speaks not of a trial, and that it does not pronounce the word *forfeiture*.

'The king, however, without retracting his oath, might betray it: he might favour criminal and hostile enterprizes against the state. The constitution provided also against this case: "Article VI. If the king shall put himself at the head of an army, and direct its force against the nation, or if he do not oppose, by a formal act, such an enterprize which may be undertaken in his name, he shall be considered as having abdicated the throne."

'Weigh well, I beseech you, the nature of the crime, provided against by this article: none more criminal can exist. It supposes all the perfidies, all the horrors and calamities of a bloody intestine war; and yet, what does the constitution pronounce? A presumption of the king having abdicated the throne.

"Art. VII. If the king quit the kingdom, and do not return, after having been invited to do so by the legislative body."—'What does the constitution declare in this case? A presumption that he has abdicated the throne.

"Art. VIII. states, that after an express or legal abdication, the king shall be tried, like other citizens, for all crimes posterior to his abdication. It results, then, that the king had a particular existence, absolutely different from that of other citizens; and whence arose this privileged existence, but from the law, which conferred upon him that character of inviolability, which he could not lose but by an express and legal abdication? Is it after having been guilty of the most atrocious crime a king can commit against the nation, that it supposes him to have entered the class of citizens? In short, the law here is perfectly equal with regard to the legislative body and the king. The legislative body might also betray the nation. It might invade the national sovereignty. The nation had a right to establish

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eſtabliſh a puniſhment for the deputies; and yet this has not been the caſe.

'Louis is accuſed of various crimes. Theſe crimes are either provided againſt by the conſtitutional act, and then the puniſhment there eſtabliſhed is to be applied to them, or they are not provided againſt; and, in that caſe, there exiſts no puniſhment which can be applied to them.

'I will go farther: I ſay, they have been provided for. The moſt atrocious of all, that of a criminal war againſt the nation, has been provided for. In whatever manner that article may be underſtood, the crimes are there—they are all there; but the law only declares, the preſumption of the throne being abdicated. I am well aware, that as the nation have at preſent aboliſhed royalty, the puniſhment cannot be applied; but could it change the condition of Louis? Has he not a right to ſay, I was the priſoner of the nation, why did you not bring me to trial? You have aboliſhed royalty. I do not diſpute your right, but what—becauſe you have aboliſhed royalty, do you wiſh to puniſh me; and, becauſe you know no law applicable to me, do you wiſh to create one for me—for me alone? You are doubtleſs inveſted with every power; but there is one which you have not—that of being unjuſt.

'It has been ſaid, that Louis ought to be tried as an enemy. But is he not a very cruel enemy who could put himſelf at the head of an army againſt the nation? It has been ſaid, that he was inviolable only in regard to every citizen individually. According to this principle, would not the repreſentatives of the people be more inviolable, in regard to the people, for whatever they might have done, ſaid, or written during a ſeſſion? I ſhall here quote a paſſage from Rouſſeau: 'Where I ſee neither the law which proſecutes, nor the law which condemns, I will not refer to the general will, for the general will cannot pronounce, as the general will, either againſt any man or any fact.'

'But if you take from Louis the right of being inviolable, you cannot take from him the right of being tried as a citizen; and, in the latter caſe, I would aſk you, where are the protecting forms; where are the juries, which are, as it were, hoſtages for the lives and honour of citizens? I would aſk you, where is that proportion of ſuffrages which the law has ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed? Where is that ſilent ballot which incloſes in the ſame urn the conſcience and the opinion of the judge? I ſpeak to you with the openneſs of a ſon of freedom. I wiſh to find among you judges, and I ſee only accuſers. You wiſh to paſs ſentence on Louis, and you have been his accuſers; you wiſh to paſs ſentence upon Louis, and you have already expreſſed your ſentiments on his caſe. You wiſh to paſs ſentence upon Louis, and your opinions are known all over Europe.

'I now proceed to the act of accuſation. You go back to June 1789. I ſhall go back to the ſame period; but how could you accuſe Louis of having then attempted to diſſolve the aſſembly? Do you forget that it was he who convoked it? Do you forget that, for above a century and a half, princes, more jealous of their authority than he, conſtantly refuſed ſuch a convocation? Do you forget, that had it not been for Louis, and the numberleſs ſacrifices to which he conſented, you would not have been here deliberating on the intereſts of the ſtate? He is accuſed of having ſurrounded Paris with troops; but I can ſay, that theſe troops were deſtined only to protect Paris from thoſe who wiſhed to diſturb the public tranquillity. I had occcaſion to ſee the orders given to them, when I undertook the defence of the commandant, whom the nation, without any heſitation, acquitted.

'I ſhall not here take notice of the memoir in which Talon is mentioned as acting a part in a plan formed for a counter-revolution, nor of the papers ſubjoined to that memoir. Had I to defend a perſon of ordinary rank, I would obſerve, that a citizen cannot be condemned from papers procured by attacking his habitation, unleſs they have been previouſly ſealed up, and an inventory taken of them.

'The habitation of Louis was attacked, and his drawers were broke open. None of them were ſealed up; no inventories were taken; and papers which might have been oppoſed to others may have been concealed. The letters of a deceaſed perſon are quoted; but can the letters of a perſon deceaſed be adduced as proofs? Theſe letters, it is ſaid, mention money diſtributed; but even ſuppoſing that this fact, which they do not clear up, were true; and ſuppoſing it true, that greater or ſmaller ſums had been extorted from the beneficence and ſenſibility of Louis; do you not know with what unhappy facility kings may be ſurpriſed and deceived? The plan of a letter to La Fayette and Mirabeau is mentioned; but this letter was never ſent. Mirabeau and La Fayette were at that time the two moſt popular characters;

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they both loved the conſtitution; and nothing was meant in that letter but the good of the ſtate. Louis is accuſed alſo of having written a letter to Bouille; in regard to this, he had no occaſion to juſtify himſelf; the national aſſembly had before voted thanks to Bouille for his good conduct.

'You accuſe him of the aſſemblage on the 28th of February; but popular rumours had attracted, at that time, a number of violent perſons around the palace, and Louis ordered them to lay aſide their arms. You accuſe him of the maſſacres in the Champ-de-Mars; but do you forget that this unhappy prince was then ſuſpended from his powers, and watched as a priſoner? The nation has decreed that it ſhall be a republic; but this was not the form of government which it wiſhed for then. Did not the legiſlative aſſembly declare againſt a republic in the month of July laſt? Had Louis betrayed the intereſts of the nation at that period, or had he abuſed its confidence, you might have pitied him; you might have bewailed the fate of kings; but he could not have been tried. I have not yet pronounced the word which would have made that chain of accuſations fall. I have not ſaid, that ſince all theſe facts, Louis accepted the conſtitution—the conſtitution was the contract of alliance between the people and the king—there was no longer any doubt—the paſt was forgotten. Let us now examine what Louis has done ſince his acceptation: the act of accuſation contains facts for which Louis was not bound to anſwer perſonally, and facts for which he was perſonally reſponſible. By the conſtitution, the king was not reſponſible for what might be done by his agents. On the contrary, it made his miniſters reſponſible. The king and his miniſters could not both be arraigned for the ſame acts.

'Louis is accuſed of having left the national aſſembly ignorant of the convention of Pilnitz. But this convention was a ſecret treaty between the emperor and the king of Pruſſia. There was no reaſon of ſtate that could make it a rule for miniſters to communicate to an aſſembly whoſe deliberations were public, an act which was not public. You have accuſed Louis of retarding the tranſmiſſion of the decree relative to Avignon. That, citizens, was one of the charges againſt the miniſter Deleſſart, who had declared, that his defence, which he was preparing in his priſon, would leave no doubt of his innocence. And can you, after his death, prefer the ſame charge againſt the king? You have charged him with the troubles of Nimes and of Jales: Was the king reſponſible for all the troubles inſeparable from ſo great a revolution?

'Louis is accuſed of the account given by Narbonne. I ſhall anſwer but a word. When Narbonne quitted the miniſtry, the legiſlative aſſembly decreed, that he carried with him the confidence and regret of the nation. The ſurrender of Longwy is made a charge againſt him, but the inhabitants alone were guilty. The ſurrender of Verdun is made a charge againſt him: Who then but Louis appointed the commandant, ſo celebrated for his heroiſm, who preferred death to ſurrendering?

'He is accuſed of having retained the Swiſs guards, although the conſtitution forbade it. Mark the facts: A decree ſaid, that the king ſhould be requeſted to preſent a new formation of his regiment of Swiſs guards; and, in the mean time, the aſſembly had directed, that it ſhould be kept up proviſionally till the period of this formation. On the 3d of July, the aſſembly ordered the departure of the three battalions of this regiment. On the 17th, the letter of D'Affry was received, remonſtrating againſt the decree, and appealing to the capitulations. A new decree ordering the departure of two battalions. D'Affry, heſitating between the decree and the capitulations, addreſſed new remonſtrances to the aſſembly. The aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day; and the battalions left Paris.

'I come now to the facts that may be conſidered as concerning Louis perſonally. He is firſt attacked for not having ſanctioned the decree reſpecting the prieſts, and that reſpecting the camp at Paris. I might ſay, that the conſtitution gave him the free and abſolute power of ſanction; and that if he erred, his error could not be imputed to him as a crime. But if a great number of citizens ſeemed to ſupport the latter decree, a ſtill greater number ſeemed to oppoſe it. He thought it prudent to refuſe his ſanction; but, at the ſame time, he directed the formation of the camp at Soiſſons; and this camp was more uſeful to our armies than that at Paris could have been.

'His letter to the biſhop of Clermont is objected to him: but that letter contains only an opinion purely religious, and was prior to his acceptance of the conſtitution. When he accepted the conſtitution, he did not think it free from blemiſhes; for, in the very act of accepting it, he ſpeaks of legal reforms. He is accuſed of having paid

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paid his guard; but the assembly, in decreeing its discharge, had said that it should be organized anew. It was therefore incumbent on his justice and humanity to pay it till its new formation. He is accused of having given aid to the emigrants, and of having protected, by his ambassadors, the coalition of foreign powers. He is accused of his influence at the court of Vienna. I answer, that Louis constantly opposed the efforts of the emigrants. Respecting this, I will cite a fact. He was informed, by his resident, of an attempt of the emigrants to obtain arms and ammunition at Frankfort, and of the refusal of the magistrates of Frankfort. He directed his resident to thank the magistrates, and to invite them to persevere in their refusal.

'There is not a single emigrant that received aid from him. He provided for the maintenance of his nephews; the eldest fourteen, the youngest eleven years of age; there was no law that fixed the age at which emigration was a crime: the convention has made one. The nephews of Louis were without resources; must he stifle the sentiments of humanity? Must he, for being a king, cease to be a kinsman? He gave money to the governess of his children; but she *was* the governess of his children, and had left France since 1789. Choiseuil Beaupre had been in Italy since 1789, and had never borne arms against France. He gave aid to Rochefort, but Rochefort was not an emigrant. He is accused of having remitted money to Bouille: Bouille's letter says, "Pay to monsieur, the king's brother, by his order." The truth is, that he never remitted pecuniary aid to monsieur, and the order in question was the order of monsieur, not of the king. All that he did was, to give security for his other brother for a sum of 400,000 livres; but this was in 1789, and he was induced to it by motives of humanity.

'He is accused of the manœuvres of Dumoustier at the court of Berlin; but Dumoustier was not the agent of Louis, but of the princes, his brothers.

'A letter of Choiseul Gouffier, the late ambassador at Constantinople, is objected to him. It is supposed, that because he was the ambassador of Louis, to Louis must his projects be imputed; but the very letter of this ambassador proves, that it was three days after his recal, and on account of that recal, that he formed an intrigue against the national ambassador sent to replace him. It was Choiseul who wrote, who acted, who spoke of his services to the princes, the king's brothers. The billet proves that Louis had no connexion with him.

'I come now to the charges of the subornation of several members of the legislative assembly. This plan reduced the liquidation of offices ten millions; he eased the national treasury to that amount, and charged the civil list with the interest. We understand the corruption that turns to the profit of personal interest; but a corruption that leaves us all the shame, and gives to another all the profit, we cannot easily comprehend. The fact is, as it appears from the papers communicated to Louis, that it was he alone who prevented the decree from being proposed to the assembly, and that he expressed displeasure and indignation at it.

'A charge is brought against him, which has excited the indignation of the people, and which could not but appear a very heavy one. He is accused of having paid his body-guards at Coblentz. This charge, I own, struck me with grief: I was led to suspect the good faith of Louis: the proofs appeared to be clear. I come this day to make the reparation in the eyes of Europe, which I feel that I owe to him. All the papers refer to the month of October 1791. Mark what the administrators of the civil list wrote to the treasurer in November: "The intention of his majesty is to continue the pay of his body-guards till they be replaced; but his majesty means that the amount of this pay shall not be delivered in total to the etat-major, but to each individual at the pay-office of the civil list, on his particular receipt and certificate of *residence within the kingdom*." All the papers have been made as public as possible. Louis has been accused to France, to all Europe. All the articles of accusation have been ordered to be printed; and the only paper that refutes these charges is the only one that has remained unknown. This paper must have been among the rest. By what strange fatality is it not to be found among them? At last Louis, after much pains, obtained from the offices an authentic copy of this paper. He has produced it to the eyes of all Europe.

'I come, at last, to the disastrous day of the 10th of August. Had we believed that Louis committed the crimes of which he is accused, you would not see us at this bar to give him the aid of our courageous veracity. All your successes since that day have given you the power of being generous: we ask you only to be just. He dreaded the invasion of his palace: he

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maintained a more exact correſpondence with the popular authorities. In fine, the people came thither. The procurator ſyndic reads, with regret no doubt, the ſixth article of the law, which directs to repel force by force. The cannoneers, for anſwer, fire their cannon before him. Then the procurator ſyndic invites Louis to go to the aſſembly; he goes thither. One hour after, our misfortunes commence. How began the action? I know not; hiſtory perhaps will know no more than I. He is accuſed of having reviewed the troops—Granted: accuſe the mayor alſo of having viſited the poſts. Was not Louis a conſtituted authority? Was not his authority a depoſit in his hands, of which the law forbade him the leaſt infringement? I know it has been ſaid, that Louis excited the inſurrection to effect the execution of his projects; but who is now ignorant that this inſurrection was combined; that it was matured; that it had its agents, its counſel, its directors? Who is ignorant that acts, that treaties on the ſubject, had been ſigned?

'In this hall, men have contended for the glory of the 10th of Auguſt. I come not to diſpute that glory; but ſince it has been proved that that day was premeditated, how can it be imputed as a crime to Louis? And you accuſe him; and you would give judgment againſt him; againſt him *who has never given a ſanguinary order*; againſt him who, at Varennes, preferred returning a captive to expoſing the life of a ſingle man; againſt him who, on the 20th of June, refuſed every kind of aid, and preferred remaining alone in the midſt of the people! Hear hiſtory ſpeak: Louis mounted the throne at the age of twenty; he exhibited an example of morals, of juſtice, of economy: he aboliſhed ſervitude in his domains; the people deſired liberty, he gave it. [*murmurs.*] We cannot deny to Louis the glory of having always anticipated the wiſhes of his people. I do not conclude; I appeal to hiſtory: Recollect, that hiſtory will judge your judgment.'

The preſident then aſked Louis, if he had any thing to add to the defence made by his counſel.

Louis roſe, and with mixed ſenſibility and firmneſs ſaid, 'Citizens, my defence is laid before you. I ſhall not repeat it. In ſpeaking to you, perhaps, for the laſt time, I declare that my conſcience makes me no reproach, and that my defender has told you nothing but the truth. I have never dreaded the public examination of my conduct; but my heart is rent to find in the act of accuſation, the imputation of having wiſhed to ſhed the blood of the people; and, above all, that the misfortunes of the 10th of Auguſt are attributed to me. I own, that the many proofs I have given upon all occaſions of my love for the people, and the manner in which I have ever conducted myſelf, appeared to me ſufficient to prove, that I did not fear to expoſe my own perſon to ſpare their blood, and to exempt me from ſuch an imputation.'

He then retired with the ſame calmneſs that has attended him ſince he was firſt brought to the bar. But on going out, a ſudden fluſh overſpread his countenance, and a few tears fell.

A decree was immediately paſſed, that he ſhould be reconducted to the Temple; a ſecond, that the defence of his counſel ſhould be ſigned by them and by him, and laid on the table; and a third, that the words '*the people deſired Liberty; he gave it,*' which had excited murmurs in the convention, and which the counſel had ſtruck out of his notes, ſhould be reſtored.

It was alſo decreed, on the application of the counſel, that they ſhould aſſiſt in correcting the printed proofs of the defence, copies of which were ordered to be ſent to the eighty-four departments.

Manuel, who had moved the printing and ſending to the departments, moved, that copies ſhould be diſtributed to the deputies within twenty-four hours, and that the diſcuſſion ſhould be adjourned for three days.

Duhem moved, that juſtice ſhould be inſtantly done, and that the members ſhould anſwer individually to this queſtion —'Shall Louis Capet undergo the puniſhment of death, or not?'

Lanjuinais oppoſed this ferocious motion, which tended to diſgrace not only the convention, but all France. He was interrupted by cries from the violent party, commonly called *the Mountain*, among whom M. Egalité was ſeated; but when he added, that the convention ought to take care not to give the enemies of liberty an opportunity of ſaying, that Louis was tried by men, who were themſelves great conſpirators, the tumult was redoubled. At length he was ſuffered to proceed, and concluded, that they ought not to pronounce on the fate of Louis but as a matter of general ſafety, and that the beſt mode would be, to refer it to the ſovereign judgment of the primary aſſemblies.

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The president put the adjournment of the discussion to the vote; and declared it carried by a great majority. But *the Mountain* exclaimed against this decision, and surrounded the president and secretaries with menaces and reproaches. The majority kept their seats, and, with the president, endeavoured to bring the disorderly to a sense of their duty, by firmness and silence.

Jullien seized the opportunity of inveighing against the president and the aristocrats, as wishing to dissolve the republic. He desired that the president might be turned out of the chair, as unworthy of the confidence with which his colleagues had honoured him, and charged him with having held private conferences with Malesherbes, one of the king's counsel.

The president repelled the invective with becoming dignity, and challenged any man to prove that he had conversed with Malesherbes, but for the purpose of settling the mode of receiving the counsel at the bar.

Thuriot, who, but two days before, had said at the Jacobin club, that rather than Louis escape, he would blow out his brains with his own hand, moved that the assembly should continue to sit till judgment was pronounced.

Couthon moved, that the discussion should be opened immediately, and continued, in preference to all other matters, till judgment was given.

Many members conceiving that this prevented referring the whole to the primary assemblies, wished to substitute for *judgment given*, the words *pronouncing on the fate of the king*.

Petion rose to explain Couthon's proposition, and to shew that it did not prejudge the question.

The Mountain, seconded by the clamours of the galleries, which had been on their side during the whole debate, endeavoured to prevent his being heard. The majority, at last, lost their temper, and forgot their dignity. They advanced with menacing gestures to meet their antagonists; and a brawl ensued, in which blows were exchanged. But the president putting on his hat, and declaring that he would instantly exert the utmost rigour of his authority, order was restored.

Petion was then heard: he spoke with grief of the *scandalous scene* that had just passed; of the facility with which the purest motives were caluminated; of the atrocity of forcing the consciences of men, and compelling them to decide without discussing. 'The friends of liberty and justice,' said he, 'are not those who shew themselves the most eager for blood; but those who wish to judge only upon entire conviction.' He concluded with an explanation of Couthon's motion, and sat down amid the plaudits of the members; but without one motion of applause *from the galleries*, to him whose every word was formerly applauded. After this explanation, Couthon's proposition was decreed.—But how dissimilar was this tumultuous scene to the solemn dignity recommended to the convention on the first day of the trial!

As the unfortunate prince himself had intimated, this was the last time that he appeared at the bar of the convention. Several debates took place, on some subsequent days, concerning the competency of the convention to decide the grand question of the guilt or innocence of the *ci-devant* king, and the necessity of referring it to the people in their primary assemblies.

Of the various opinions on this important subject, four or five deserve particular attention. Rabaut de St. Etienne (a protestant minister, a wise and moderate man, who has written a History of the French Revolution) denied that the nation had sent judges to try Louis. He founded his argument upon the impossibility of the nation ever forgetting this principle, that a legislator is not a judge. 'The people,' said he, 'sent you as mandatories, as representatives, and as legislators, but never as judges. They sent you to delegate powers, and never to exercise them.' He complained of the great precipitancy which the convention had shewn in this business; he said, he foresaw a number of evils ready to fall upon France, and declared that an appeal to the people was, in his opinion, the only mode which could be adopted.—Two days after, the section of Gravilliers petitioned for the death of Louis XVI. The widows, orphans, and wounded of the 10th of August, presented a similar petition. To heighten the interest of the scene, one of the wounded was carried on a bier.—But this extraordinary interference did not prevent Verginaud, the next day, from deprecating the condemnation of Louis by the convention. 'What security have we,' said he, 'that those who now ascribe all the calamities of the nation to Louis, will not, after his death, impute them all to the convention? What security have we, that they will not tell the people, that they have only changed one tyrant for another; that the calami-

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ties of war, increaſed by the acceſſion of England and of Spain, are imputable to the convention, who, to gratify their luſt of revenge, condemned Louis to death; that the indigence of the people, and the want of energy in the government, are all imputable to the convention? What ſecurity have we, that theſe clamours of turbulence and anarchy may not effect an union of the ariſtocracy, thirſting for vengeance; of miſery, eager for change; of pity, which the fate of Louis will inſpire? What ſecurity have we that, from among the judges of the 2d of September, will not appear the chief ſo much deſired? This chief, citizens,—ah! let him appear, it will be but to fall beneath a thouſand wounds. But what will become of Paris amid theſe new tempeſts—of Paris, whoſe courage againſt kings poſterity will admire, and will not believe that this city has ſuffered a horde of banditti in its boſom, to agitate and rend it to pieces by convulſive movements? And you, induſtrious citizens! who have effected the revolution: you, whoſe ſacrifices are every day multiplied by the neceſſities of your country, what will become of you?' He concluded, that every act of the convention, not directly or tacitly ratified by the people, was an act of tyranny; that the people had promiſed inviolability to Louis, and alone had the right to ſtrip him of it; and that to them, in the primary aſſemblies, his fate ought to be ſubmitted.

At laſt, on Monday, Jan. 14, after various modes of proceeding had been propoſed, the convention decreed, that each member, being called by name in the alphabetical order of his department, ſhould anſwer, yes or no, to the following queſtions.

I. Is Louis guilty of conſpiracy againſt the liberty of the nation, and of attempts againſt the general ſafety of the ſtate?

II. Shall recourſe be had to the appeal to the people before inflicting puniſhment?

III. What puniſhment ſhall he ſuffer?

Accordingly, the next day, the firſt queſtion was put to the vote. When all the votes had been collected, Vergineaux, the preſident, ſaid, 'Of 26 members have been abſent by leave; five by illneſs; one for cauſe unknown; 26 have made various declarations, and 693 have voted for the affirmative. I do declare, in the name of the convention, 'That Louis Capet is guilty of conſpiracy againſt the liberty of the nation, and of attempts againſt the general ſafety of the ſtate.'

After this, the ſecond queſtion was put, and the votes being collected, it appeared, that twenty members were abſent by leave; ten did not vote; three were indiſpoſed; three were abſent without known cauſe; 424 voted for the negative, and 283 for the affirmative. Then the preſident declared, 'The national convention decrees, that the judgment which it ſhall pronounce upon Louis Capet ſhall not be ſubjected to an appeal to the people.'

On Wedneſday the 16th, the convention decreed, that they would ſit without intermiſſion, till they had determined the fate of Louis. Several members then obſerved, that as the convention wiſhed to exerciſe the functions of judges, they ought to adopt the form generally uſed, of not condemning an accuſed perſon but by a majority of two-thirds of the votes. To this, it was anſwered, that as the convention repreſented the people, they ought, like them, to decide every thing by an abſolute majority. And, accordingly, the convention determined, that the majority ſhould be ſimple, that is, that *one* ſhould be a majority.

At a quarter paſt ſeven in the evening, the third queſtion was put; and as each member aſſigned reaſons for his opinion, the ſitting continued the whole night. Among the voters it was obſerved, that while Thomas Paine, the profeſſed enemy of all kings, voted only for the proviſional impriſonment of the unhappy Louis, and his expulſion after the war, Philippe Egalité, heretofore duke of Orleans, and firſt prince of the blood-royal of France, voted for the *death* of his relation!

The *appel nominal* (for ſo the mode of voting is called) being finiſhed, one of the ſecretaries offered to read two letters, one from the counſel of Louis, and the other from the envoy of the king of Spain. This produced a long diſcuſſion; the reſult of which was, that the convention determined not to permit the interference of any foreign power, and paſſed on to the order of the day: but, with reſpect to the letter from Louis, it was agreed to be heard, after the reſult of the *appel nominal* was declared.

The preſident then ſtated the reſult of the *appel nominal*, namely, that the puniſhment of death was voted by a majority of *five*. Then, amid the moſt awful ſilence, he thus pronounced the ſentence: 'I declare, in the name of the convention, that the puniſhment which it pronounces againſt Louis Capet is—Death!'

The three defenders of Louis Capet were then admitted to the bar. Deſeze ſaid, 'Citizens, repreſentatives, the law and decrees have entruſted to us the ſacred function of the defence of Louis. We

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come, with regret, to present to you the last act of our function. Louis has given to us his express charge to read to you a letter signed with his own hand.' Of this the following is a copy:

'I owe to my own honour, I owe to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot accuse myself. In consequence, I appeal to the nation, from the sentence of its representatives; and I commit, by these presents, to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the national convention this appeal by all the means in their power, and to demand, that mention of it be made in the minutes of their sittings.

'Given at Paris, the 16th January, 1793.
(Signed) LOUIS.'

Defeze then reminded the assembly that the decree of death had been pronounced by a majority of *five* only, while the other part of the assembly were of opinion that the safety of the country required another decision. He conjured them to examine anew the question of appeal, and to grant to humanity, to the interest of the state, all that justice might not seem imperiously to claim.

Tronchet protested against the decree, by which the assembly had declared that the sentence should be passed by an absolute majority. He demanded the repeal of the decree; observing, that as the penal code had served as the basis of the opinion of those who had pronounced the punishment of death, the assembly ought, conformably to that code, not to pronounce the punishment except by two-thirds of the voices.

Malesherbes begged the convention to allow him till the next day, to present some observations on the kind of majority which to him seemed necessary, before sentence ought to have been pronounced. He regretted that he could not speak extempore with sufficient facility to enable him to explain his ideas.

The president informed the counsel that the convention would take their requests into consideration, and invited them to the honours of the sitting.

In answer to Tronchet's objection, it was observed, that the penal code required a majority of two-thirds, not for the application of punishment, but for the declaration of facts; and that the law, in regard to punishment, required only an absolute majority.

It was then decreed:

I. That the appeal interposed by Louis Capet is null, being contrary to the rights of the people, and to the power of national representation; and that all citizens are forbidden to support this appeal, under pain of being punished as disturbers of the public tranquillity.

II. That there are no grounds for attending to the remonstrances of the counsel of Louis in regard to the nature of the majority which passed sentence upon him.

The discussion of the question, Whether it would be proper to suspend the execution of the sentence? was adjourned to the next day; and the convention rose at eleven at night, after a sitting of thirty-six hours

On Friday Jan. 18, some members complained, that, the preceding day, their vote had not been correctly taken, they having voted for the death of the king, and not otherwise, as stated in the lists of the *appel nominal*. One of the secretaries, therefore, read over the names of the deputies, and the words in which each of them delivered his vote and opinion. Several members, when their names were called over, gave explanations of the meaning of the expressions they employed in delivering their vote; but most of them were unfavourable to the accused. A long discussion ensued, the result of which was, that they should adjourn till the next day, when the revision of the *appel nominal* should be declared, and a fourth question should be discussed, namely, Whether the execution of the sentence should be delayed?

On Saturday January 19, the first object of discussion was the question, 'Whether the sentence passed against Louis Capet should be delayed?'

The discussion being closed, the convention proceeded to the *appel nominal* on the question, Whether the execution of the sentence passed against Louis Capet should be delayed? No explanations were allowed, but the members were confined to a simple *Yes* or *No*.

When the *appel nominal* was terminated, the president announced, that, after calling over the votes upon the question, What punishment should be inflicted on Louis? and after the explanations given by several who had voted for death with restrictions, it was found that the sentence of death pronounced yesterday upon Louis had been carried by a majority, not of *five*, but of *twenty-seven* votes.

The president then declared the result of the *appel nominal* on the question, Whether the execution of the sentence should be delayed? To be, against the delay 348; for it 310.

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The convention roſe at two in the morning, after having decreed as follows:

I. The executive council ſhall be immediately ſummoned, and a copy of the decree which pronounces ſentence of death againſt Louis delivered to them.

II. The executive council ſhall be charged to notify this decree to Louis, in the courſe of the day; to cauſe it to be executed within twenty-four hours after it has been notified to him; to take every meaſure of ſafety and police, which to them ſhall appear neceſſary during the execution; to be careful that no inſult be offered to the remains of Louis; and to give an account of their diligence to the national convention.

III. The mayor and municipal officers of Paris ſhall be enjoined to ſuffer Louis to communicate freely with his family, and to have with him ſuch prieſts as he may deſire in his laſt moments.

On Sunday Jan. 20, the miniſter of juſtice appeared in the convention, and ſaid: 'The executive council, met this morning for the execution of your decree, ſummoned to attend the commiſſioners of the directory of the department, the mayor, the commandant general, the public accuſer, and the preſident of the criminal tribunal of the department of Paris. After having concerted ſome meaſures with them, the miniſter of juſtice, the preſident of the council, another member, and the ſecretary of the council, accompanied by two members of the department, and the mayor, repaired at two o'clock preciſely to the apartment of Louis. As preſident of the council, I ſaid to him—"Louis, the executive council has been charged to notify to you an extract of the minutes of the ſittings of the national convention of the 15th, 17th, 19th, and 20th of January." The ſecretary of the council read the extract to him.

'Louis replied to us nearly to the ſame effect as the contents of a paper, which he drew from his port-folio, and delivered to us. I anſwered, that the members of the council then preſent would withdraw to deliberate on his demands; and not being able to come to any reſolution by ourſelves, we returned, to lay them before the council, who, after hearing them read, reſolved, that they ſhould be communicated to you. They are as follows:

'I demand a delay of three days, that I may be able to prepare myſelf for appearing before God. I demand, for this purpoſe, to be permitted to ſee freely the perſon whom I ſhall point out to the commiſſioners of the commons; that this perſon may be ſecure from all fear and from all uneaſineſs, for the act of charity which he ſhall perform to me.

'I demand to be delivered from the perpetual inſpection which the council general has eſtabliſhed for ſome days paſt.

'I demand, during this interval, leave to ſee my family when I ſhall deſire it, and without witneſſes. I could wiſh that the national convention would conſider with all ſpeed of the lot of my family, and permit them to retire freely and conveniently wherever the convention ſhall think proper.

'I recommend to the benevolence of the nation, all the perſons who were attached to me; there are many of them who expended their whole fortune on their ſituations, and who, having no longer any appointment, muſt be in neceſſity, and even ſome of them who had no means of living but their appointments. Among the penſioners are many aged perſons, women and children, who had no other means of ſubſiſtence. (Signed) LOUIS.'
At the tower of the Temple, Jan. 1793.

'As we were retiring, added the miniſter, he delivered a note to one of the commiſſioners of the commons, in a hand-writing different from his own, containing the name of this man of charity; it is M. Edgeworth, or de Fermon, No. 483, Rue du Bacq.'

The convention decreed, that Louis ſhould be allowed to call whatever miniſter of religion he might think proper, and to ſee his family without witneſſes.

They authorized the executive council to inform him, that the nation, always great and always juſt, would attend to the lot of his family.

Reſpecting the demand made in favour of thoſe who depended on him for their ſubſiſtence, the conventionn paſſed to the order of the day, becauſe ſuch perſons had a right to appear, and to requeſt payment, or ſome other indemnity, if debts are due to them.

The convention paſſed alſo to the order of the day, on the demand made by Louis, that the execution of the ſentence might be delayed three days.

On Monday, January 21, the convention met at ten in the morning, the very moment that their ſanguinary decree was executing. A letter was read from general Santerre, ſtating the meaſures he had taken to ſecure the public tranquillity, and to prevent the accidents the death of Louis might occaſion. A note from Louis was next read, in which he deſired to be buried in the cathedral of Sens, cloſe to his father. The convention paſſed to the order

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der of the day upon the requeſt; and the executive council were ordered to cauſe Louis to be interred in the burial place of the ſection in which he had ſuffered.

On the preceding day, the executive council, in obedience to the decrees of the convention, had made the following arrangements for the laſt awful ſcene.

'Jan. 20, ſecond year of the republic.

'The proviſional executive council, deliberating on the meaſures to be taken for the execution of the decrees of the national convention of the 15th, 17th, 19th, and 20th of January, 1793, reſolves the following regulations:

'1. The execution of the ſentence of Louis Capet ſhall take place to-morrow.

'2. The place of execution ſhall be La Place de la Revolution, lately the Place de Louis XV, between the Pedeſtal and the Champs Eliſées.

'3. Louis Capet ſhall ſet out from the Temple at eight in the morning, ſo that the execution may take place at noon.

'4. The commiſſioners of the department of Paris, the commiſſioners of the municipality, and two members of the criminal tribunal, ſhall aſſiſt at the execution; the ſecretary regiſter of the tribunal ſhall draw up a minute of it; and the ſaid commiſſioners, and members of the tribunal, as ſoon as the execution is over, ſhall come to give an account of it to the council, who ſhall continue in a ſtate of permanent ſitting during the whole day.

By the proviſional executive council,

ROLAND CLAVIERE, MONGE, LE BRUN, GARAT, PACHE."

Twenty five citizens, of known principles, well armed, acquainted with the manual exerciſe, and having each ſixteen rounds of ſhot, were choſen from each ſection to form a guard of 1200 men, who accompanied the unfortunate monarch to the place of execution. Strong detachments from the different legions were poſted in the ſtreets through which he was to paſs, and in all the avenues leading to the Place de la Revolution, to prevent any confuſion; each ſection had a body in reſerve, ready to move at a moment's notice; and cannon were diſtributed in different places.

The following is the official report made to the commons of Paris, by James Roux, prieſt and preacher of the Sans Culottes, one of the commiſſioners named by the commons, to aſſiſt at the execution:

'We come to give you an account of the miſſion with which we were charged. We went to the Temple, where we announced to the tyrant, that the hour for his execution was arrived.

'He deſired ſome minutes alone with his confeſſor. He wanted to give us a packet for you; but we obſerved, "we we were only charged to conduct him to the ſcaffold." He anſwered, "That is true;" and gave the packet to one of our colleagues. He recommended his family; and requeſted that Clery, his valet-de-chambre, ſhould be that of the *queen*; and then haſtily ſaid, *of his wife*. He farther requeſted, that his old ſervants at Verſailles ſhould not be forgotten. He ſaid to Santerre, '*Marchons*, (let us go on). He walked through one court, and got into the carriage in the ſecond. The moſt perfect ſilence reigned during the whole proceſſion. We never loſt ſight of Capet till we came to the *Guillotine**. He arrived there at ten minutes after ten; he was three minutes getting out of the carriage; he wiſhed to harangue the people; Santerre oppoſed it. His head was ſevered from his body. The citizens dipped their pikes and handkerchiefs in his blood.'

After this report, general Santerre added: 'You have heard an exact account of all that paſſed. Louis Capet wanted to ſpeak of mercy to the people, but I would not let him.'

To the above official account we muſt add, that the king arrived at the place of execution at ten in the morning, having been conveyed from the Temple by way of the Boulevards. He mounted the ſcaffold alone, the commiſſioners, the mayor, and even his confeſſor, remaining at the foot of it. He had on nothing but a white underwaiſtcoat, his neck and breaſt open, and his hair rolled up behind as abbés wear theirs. He advanced with a firm ſtep and ſteady countenance on the left ſide of the Guillotine, and ſaid, in a firm voice, 'Frenchmen, I die innocent; I forgive my enemies; I wiſh that my death may be uſeful to the people.' He was then conducted to the Guillotine, and ſaid, in Latin, as he placed himſelf upon it, 'I commend my ſoul to God.' His head was inſtantly ſevered from his body. During this interval, which was only two minutes, the moſt profound ſilence prevailed—not a murmur, not a motion, not a breath was heard.

Thus periſhed on the ſcaffold Louis XVI, the thirty-ſecond ſovereign of France, from Hugh Capet, founder of the late dynaſty, and the fourth in deſcent from Hen-

* The name of the machine, in which the axe deſcends in grooves from a conſiderable height, ſo that the ſtroke is certain, and the head inſtantly ſevered from the body.

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ry the Great, the firſt king of the branch of Bombon. He was born Aug. 23, 1754; married May 16, 1770, to Maria Antonietta, aunt to the preſent emperor of Germany; ſucceeded his grandfather May 10, 1774; was ſuſpended from the royal authority Auguſt 10, 1792; pronounced guilty of a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate Jan. 15, 1793, and executed on the 21ſt of the ſame month. Sincere and upright in principle, gentle and benign in diſpoſition, this unhappy prince was placed, by a train of irreſiſtible circumſtances, in a ſituation, in which the moſt conſummate wiſdom and virtue could not act with perfect rectitude; nor could even the moſt perfect rectitude have prevented the fatal effects of jealouſy and ſuſpicion. Perhaps Europe is in a ſtate too agitated, to judge impartially between him and the ſevere tribunal that condemned him; a tribunal, rigid to an extreme, when Mercy urged her powerful and perſuaſive claims, but content to relax that rigour, when the queſtion was to diſpenſe with an adherence to thoſe forms of law, which, on the trial of the meaneſt and moſt profligate criminal, would have been deemed indiſpenſable. But their judgment will undergo the ſevere reviſion of poſterity; nor can it paſs unobſerved by the Supreme Governor of the Univerſe, all whoſe ways are juſt and righteous, although inſcrutable by his finite creatures.

Much has been ſaid, and much of that has been contradicted, concerning the affecting parting between the royal ſufferer and the unhappy ſurvivors. Nothing of this, that has hitherto appeared, can be depended upon. But imagination will paint to each virtuous and ſuſceptible mind, all that is deficient in narration, all that expreſſion could in vain attempt to deſcribe.

The royal corpſe was interred, without any inſult being offered to it, in the cemetery of St. Magdalen, between the perſons who loſt their lives during the illuminations on account of his marriage, and the Swiſs who fell on the 10th of Auguſt.

The following is a copy of the affecting Laſt Will and Teſtament of the unfortunate monarch, which, by his directions, was delivered to the commons of Paris:

THE WILL.

'In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, this 25th of December 1792. I Louis, the XVIth by name, king of France, having been confined with my family in the Tower of the Temple at Paris by thoſe who were my ſubjects, and ſince the 11th deprived of all communication whatever with my family, beſide which, under a trial of which it is impoſſible, on account of the paſſions of men, to foreſee the iſſue, and for which no pretext or means can be found in any exiſting laws, having only God for witneſs of my thoughts, and to whom I can addreſs myſelf, I here in his preſence declare my laſt will and ſentiments.

'I reſign my ſoul to my Creator; I pray him in his mercy not to judge it after its own merits, but by thoſe of our bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who offered himſelf to God, his Father, for us men, how unworthy ſoever we may have been, *for me the moſt ſo.*

'I die in union with our holy mother, the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman church, which holds its powers in uninterrupted ſucceſſion from St. Peter, to whom Jeſus Chriſt entruſted them; and I confeſs every thing contained in the Symbol and Commandments of God and the Church, the Sacraments and Myſteries, as now and ever taught by the Catholic Church. I have never pretended to ſet myſelf up Judge upon the different modes of interpreting the dogmas which agitate the Church of Jeſus Chriſt; but I have always ſupported, and ſhall always ſupport, ſhould God grant me life, the deciſions which the eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors, united with the Holy Catholic Church, have given or may give conformably to the diſcipline of the Church as followed ſince Jeſus Chriſt. I pity with all my heart our brethren who may be in error; but I preſume not to judge them, nor do I love them leſs in Jeſus Chriſt, agreeable to the inſtructions of Chriſtian charity. I pray God to pardon all my ſins, which I have endeavoured ſcrupulouſly to recollect; and I deteſt and humiliate myſelf in his preſence. Deprived of the aſſiſtance of a Catholic Prieſt, I entreat God to receive the confeſſion which I have made to him, and particularly my profound repentance of having ſigned my name, although ſtrongly againſt my will, to inſtruments which may be contrary to the faith and diſcipline of the Catholic Church, to which I have in my heart continued ſincerely attached. I pray God to receive my firm reſolution, ſhould he grant me life, to avail myſelf, as ſoon as I can, of the Miniſtry of a Catholic Prieſt, to confeſs all my ſins, and to receive the ſacrament of repentance.

'I pray thoſe whom I may have inadvertently offended (for I do not recollect to have wilfully offended any one) or thoſe to whom I may have given any bad example,

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ample, to pardon me the evil which they ſuppoſe I may have done them.

'I pray all charitable perſons to unite their prayers to mine, to obtain from God the pardon of my ſins.

'I forgive with all my heart thoſe who have made themſelves my enemies without my having given them any cauſe; I pray God to pardon them, as well as thoſe who, by a falſe or miſguided zeal, have done me much injury.

'I recommend to God, my wife, my children, my ſiſter, my aunts, my brothers, and all who are related to me by ties of blood or otherwiſe. I particularly beſeech the Almighty to look with eyes of mercy upon my wife, my children, and my ſiſter, who have ſuffered ſo long with me; that it will pleaſe him to ſupport them with his grace, if they ſhould loſe me, and as long as they remain on this periſhable earth.

'I recommend my children to my wife; I never doubted of her tenderneſs for them. I recommend her particularly to make them good Chriſtians and worthy members of ſociety; to teach them to look upon the grandeur of the world (if they are condemned to experience it) as a dangerous and periſhable thing; and to turn their thoughts to eternity, as the only ſolid and durable glory. I requeſt my ſiſter to continue her tenderneſs for my children, and to ſupply the place of a mother if they have the misfortune to loſe theirs.

'I beſeech my wife to forgive all the evils ſhe ſuffers for me, and all the uneaſineſs I may have given her during the term of our union, as ſhe may be ſure that ſhould ſhe think ſhe has any thing to reproach herſelf with, I can never think ſo.

'I warmly recommend to my children, after their duty to God, which muſt take the lead of all things elſe, to be united among themſelves; to be ſubmiſſive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for all her care and ſolicitude for them: I deſire them to look upon my ſiſter as a ſecond mother. I recommend to my ſon, if ever he has the misfortune to become king, to devote himſelf to the good of his fellow citizens; to forget all hatred and reſentment, and particularly every thing relative to my misfortunes and griefs; to recollect that he can only further the welfare of the people by reigning according to the laws, but at the ſame time to remember that a king cannot cauſe the laws to be reſpected, or do the good he may have in his heart, unleſs he poſſeſſes the neceſſary authority; otherwiſe he is cramped in his operations, and, inſpiring no reſpect, he is more hurtful than uſeful.

'I recommend to my ſon to take care of all thoſe who were attached to me, as far as the circumſtances he may be in may allow him; to remember that it is a ſacred debt which I have contracted toward the children or relations of thoſe who have periſhed for me, and who have become unfortunate on my account. I know there are many who were attached to me, who have not conducted themſelves toward me as they ought, and who have even been guilty of ingratitude; but I forgive them (often in times of trouble and effervescence we are not maſters of ourſelves); and I requeſt my ſon, if occaſion ſhould offer, to recollect their misfortunes only.

'I ſhould here wiſh to teſtify my acknowledgments to thoſe who have ſhewn me a true and diſintereſted attachment: if, on the one hand, I have been ſenſibly affected by the ingratitude and diſloyalty of perſons to whom, or to their friends and relatives I did all the good I could, I have, on the other hand, had the conſolation to ſee the gratuitous attachment and intereſt of many, all of whom I requeſt, in the preſent ſituation of things, to accept my ſincere thanks.

'I fear to endanger their ſafety, were I to ſpeak explicitly; but I ſpecially recommend it to my ſon to ſeek opportunities to acknowledge their ſervices.

'I ſhould think, however, that I was calumniating the ſentiments of the nation, were I not openly to recommend to my ſon, Meſſieurs de Chemilly and Hue, whoſe true attachment to me induced them to ſhut themſelves up with me in this place of confinement, and who thought they might become victims for ſo doing. I alſo recommend Clery to him, whoſe care and attention I have every reaſon to be ſatisfied with ever ſince he has been with me.

'I freely pardon thoſe who guarded me in ſight, for the ill-treatment and reſtraints they imagined they ought to ſhew me. I have found ſome ſenſible and compaſſionate minds: May they have the heart-felt ſatisfaction of enjoying that tranquillity to which their way of thinking juſtly entitles them!

'I requeſt Meſſ. Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Deſeze, to accept my ſincere thanks, and warmeſt expreſſions of ſenſibility, for all the care and trouble they have had on my account. (Signed) LOUIS.'

*** *The full Account given in this Number of the dreadful Cataſtrophe in* France, *and the awful Proceedings anterior to it, will be a ſufficient Apology for poſtponing our* Poetical Articles, Hiſtorical Chronicle, *&c. till next Month.*

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PRICES of STOCKS, from DECEMBER 28, 1792, to JANUARY 26, 1793, both inclusive.

By ANTHONY CLARKE, Stock-Broker, No. 13, Sweeting's-Alley, Cornhill.

Days	Bank Stock.	3 per C. reduced.	3 per C. consols. shut.	4 per C. consols.	5 per C. consols. shut.	Long Ans.	Short Ans.	India Stock. shut.	India Ans.	India Bonds.	South Sea Stock. shut.	Old Ann.	New Ann. shut.	Navy Bills.	English. Lot.	Tic.
28																
29	176 7/8	78 1/4	78 1/2 a 5/8	92 5/8		22 7/8	10 5/8	185 1/4		12s.pr		78 1/8		5 1/2 dif.	16 10	6
31	175	77 3/4	77 3/8 a 78 7/8	92 1/8		22 1/4	10 1/2	184 1/2		10					16 10	0
1																
2	175 1/2	78 1/8	78 5/8 a 78	92 1/8		22 1/4	10 1/8	184 1/2	73 3/4	12		78		5 1/2	16 10	0
3		78 1/8	78 3/8 a 1/2	92		22 1/4	10 1/8	187		12				5 1/2	16 10	0
4	176 1/2	78 1/4	78 3/8 a 1/2	92		22 1/4	10 1/8	186 1/2	73 1/8	14		78		5 1/2	16 9	6
5	175 7/8	77 3/4	78 1/4 a 77 1/2	92		22 1/4	10 1/8	186		15				5 3/4		
7	173	77	77 3/4 a 77	91		22 1/4	10 1/8	182 1/2		14		76 3/8		6	16 6	0
8	172 1/8	76 7/8	77 1/8 a 77 1/2	91		22 1/4		182		7				6	16 3	0
9	172 1/4	77 1/8	77 1/4 a 7/8	91		22 1/4	10 1/8	182 1/2		7				6 1/2	16 0	6
10	172 1/4	77	77 3/8 a 5/8	91		22 1/4	10 1/8	180 1/2		10				6 1/2	16 3	6
11	172 1/4	77 1/8	77 1/8 a 1/4	91		22 1/4	10 1/8	180	72 1/2	9				7	16 3	6
12		76 3/4	77 1/2 a 1/4	90		22 1/4	10 1/8	179		8		76 7/8		7 1/2	16 4	0
14	175	77 1/4	77 1/4 a 78 5/8	91		22 1/4	10 1/8	182 1/4		9		77 1/8		7 1/4	16 6	0
15	177 1/4	79	78 7/8 a 79 7/8	92		23	10 1/8	185		11					16 8	0
16	177 1/4	78 1/4	79 1/8 a 1/2	92 1/4		22 1/4	10 1/8	184 1/2	73 1/2	12				6	16 7	0
17	176	78 1/2	78 3/8 a 79 1/4	92 1/8		22 1/4	10 1/2	186		11				6	16 3	6
18																
19	176	78 1/4	79 a 78 1/4	92 1/4		22 1/4	10 1/8	180 1/2	74 1/8	12				6	16 3	6
21		77 7/8	77 3/4 a 1/2	91 1/8		22 1/4	10 1/8	179 1/2		11				6 1/4	15 18	6
22	174 1/2	77 3/8	78 1/4 a 76 3/4	91 1/2		22 1/4	10 1/8	185 1/2		10				6 1/4	15 18	0
23	172 1/4	76 3/4	75 1/2 a 74 1/8	90 3/4	106 1/2	22 1/4	10 1/8	187		11		76		7	15 16	6
24	169 3/4	75 1/4	74 1/4 a 73 1/2	90 1/4	105 1/4	22	10 1/8	182 1/2		11				6 3/4	15 15	0
25	169	74 1/4	74 a 73 1/2	89 1/4	104 1/4	21 3/4	10	180 1/4		12				6 3/4	15 8	0
26		74	73 1/2 a 73 1/4	89 3/8	104 3/8	21 1/4	10 1/8	178 1/2		11					15 7	6

☞ In the 3 per Cent. consols. the higheſt and loweſt Price of each Day is given; in every other Article the higheſt Price only, the Long and Short Annuities excepted, which are given within a fixteenth of the higheſt Price. In the different Funds that are ſhut, the Prices are given with the Dividend till the Days of Opening.

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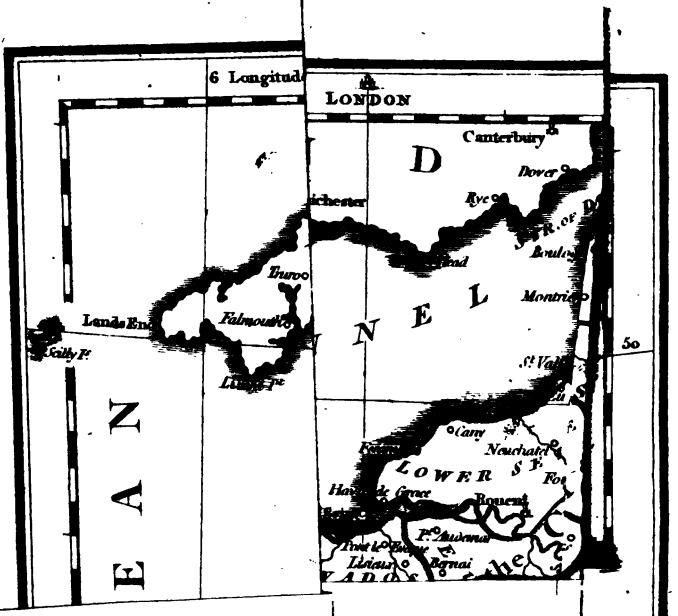

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A New Geographical ACCOUNT *of* FRANCE: *With an accurate* MAP *of that Country, as divided into* DEPARTMENTS, *by the* National Conſtituent Aſſembly, *in* 1791; *including the preſent* SEAT *of* WAR *in the* Netherlands, *the* Empire, Savoy, Nice, *&c.*

FRANCE is bounded, on the north, by the Britiſh Channel and the Netherlands; on the eaſt, by Germany, Switzerland, and the Alps; on the ſouth, by the Mediterranean Sea and the Pyrenean Mountains; and, on the weſt, by the Atlantic Ocean. It is about 720 miles long, and 675 miles broad. The number of the inhabitants is eſtimated at 25,000,000.

Of France, as it was divided into *provinces*, before the new diviſion of the country into *departments*, in 1791, we gave an accurate Map in our Magazine for May 1783, with a general deſcription of the country, to which we refer our readers.

Anterior to this new diviſion, France contained eighteen archbiſhopricks and 114 epiſcopal ſees; excluſive of the five dioceſes in Corſica, and of the biſhopricks of Avignon, Carpentras, Cavaillon, and Vaiſon, which were ſubject to the Pope. But, according to the preſent diviſion, there are ten metropolitan circles, and eighty-three departments; each of the latter having an archiepiſcopal or epiſcopal ſee. Of theſe metropolitan circles, and the dioceſes in each, the following is an account:

I. CIRCLE OF THE COAST OF THE CHANNEL.

Archiepiſcopal See—ROUEN, in the Department of the Lower Seine.

Epiſcopal Sees.	*Departments.*
Bayeux	Calvados
Contances	Manche, *Channel*
Seez	Orne
Evreux	Eure
Beauvais	Oiſe
Amiens	Somme
St. Omer	Pas de (*Straits of*) Calais

II. CIRCLE OF THE NORTH EAST.

Archiepiſcopal See—RHEIMS, in the Department of the Marne.

Epiſcopal Sees.	*Departments.*
Verdun	Meuſe
Nancy	Meurthe
Metz	Moſelle
Sedan *	Ardennes
Soiſſons	Aiſne
Cambray	The North

III. CIRCLE OF THE EAST.

Archiepiſcopal See—BESANÇON, in the Department of the Doubs.

Colmar *	Upper Rhine
Straſburgh	Lower Rhine
St. Diez	Voſges
Veſoul *	Upper Saone
Langres	Upper Marne
Dijon	Cote d'Or
St. Claude	Jura

IV. CIRCLE OF THE NORTH WEST.

Archiepiſcopal See—RENNES, in the Department of Ille and Vilaine.

St. Brieux	North Coaſt
Quimper	Finiſterre
Vannes	Morbihan
Nantes	Lower Loire
Angers	Mayenne & Loire
Mans	Sarte
Laval *	Mayenne

V. CIRCLE OF PARIS.

Archiepiſcopal See—PARIS.

Verſailles	Seine and Oiſe
Chartres	Eure and Loire
Orleans	Loiret
Sens	Yonne
Troyes	Aube
Meaux	Seine and Marne

* Theſe are newly-created.

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VI. CENTRAL CIRCLE.

Archiepiſcopal See—BOURGES, in the Department of the Cher.

Epiſcopal Sees.	*Departments.*
Blois	Loire and Cher
Tours	Indre and Loire
Poitiers	Vienne
Chateauroux *	Indre
Gueret *	Creuſe
Moulins	Allier
Nevers	Nyevre

VII. CIRCLE OF THE SOUTH WEST.

Archiepiſcopal See—BOURDEAUX, in the Department of the Gironde.

Luçon	Vendée
Saintes	Lower Charente
Dax	Landes
Agen	Lot and Garonne
Perigneux	Dordogne
Tulles	Correze
Limoges	Upper Vienne
Angoulême	Charente
St. Maixent *	Two Sevres

VIII. CIRCLE OF THE SOUTH.

Archiepiſcopal See—TOULOUSE, in the Department of the Upper Garonne.

Auch	Gers
Oleron	Lower Pyrenées
Tarbes	Upper Pyrenées
Pamiers	Arriege
Perpignan	Eaſtern Pyrenées
Carcaſſonne	Aude
Rodez	Aveiron
Cahors	Lot
Alby	Tarn

IX. CIRCLE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN.

Archiepiſcopal See—AIX, in the Department of the Mouths of the Rhone.

Baſtia	Corſica
Frejus	Var
Digne	Lower Alps
Embrun	Upper Alps
Valence	Drôme
Mende	Lozere
Niſmes	Gard
Montpelier	Herault

X. CIRCLE OF THE SOUTH EAST.

Archiepiſcopal See—LYONS, in the Department of Rhone and Loire.

Epiſcopal Sees.	*Departments.*
Clermont	Puy de Dôme
St. Flour	Cantal
Puy	Upper Loire
Viviers	Ardeche
Grenoble	Iſere
Belley	Ain
Autun	Saone and Loire

Each of the departments is divided into diſtricts, and each diſtrict into cantons. The firſt column that follows is a liſt of the eighty-three departments in alphabetical order: the ſecond column contains the names of the provinces or territories to which the countries included in each department formerly belonged. The departments marked thus * take their name from mountains; thoſe marked thus † from their reſpective ſituations; this marked thus ‡ from a rock; and the others (the departments of Paris, Cote d'Or, and Corſica excepted) from rivers; as the departments of the Ain, of the Eure and Loire, of the Two Sevres, &c.

Departments.	*Ancient Provinces.*
Ain	Breſſe
Aiſne	Soiſſonnois & Vermandois
Allier	Bourbonnois
Alps, Upper *	Dauphiny
Alps, Lower *	Provence
Ardeche	Dauphiny
Ardennes *	Champagne
Arriege	Couſerans & Foix
Aube	Champagne
Aude	Languedoc
Aveiron	Rouergue
Calvados ‡	Normandy
Cantal *	Auvergne
Charente	Angoumois
Charente, Lower	Aunis & Saintonge
Cher	Berry
Correze	Limoſin
Corſica	
Côte d'Or	Burgundy
Côtes du Nord, *North Coaſt*	Bretagne

Creuſe

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Departments.	*Ancient Provinces.*
Creuſe	Marche
Dordogne	Perigord
Doubs	Franche Comté
Drôme	Dauphiny
Eure	Normandy
Eure and Loire	Beauce
Finiſterre †	Bretagne
Gard	Languedoc
Garonne, Upper	Languedoc
Gers	Gaſcony and Armagnac
Gironde	Guienne
Herault	Languedoc
Indre	Berry
Indre and Loire	Touraine
Iſere	Dauphiny
Ille and Vilaine	Bretagne
Jura *	Franche Comté
Landes †	Marſan
Loire and Cher	Blaſois
Loire, Upper	Velay
Loire, Lower	Bretagne
Loiret	Orleanois
Lot	Querci
Lot and Garonne	Guienne
Lozere *	Gevaudan
Manche †, *The Channel*	Normandy
Marne	Champagne
Marne, Upper	Champagne
Mayenne or Maine	Maine
Mayenne & Loire	Anjou
Meurthe	Lorraine
Meuſe	Barrois
Morbihan †	Bretagne
Moſelle	Lorraine
Nord †, *North*	French Netherlands
Nyevre	Nivernois
Oiſe	Iſle of France
Orne	Normandy and Perche
Paris	Iſle of France
Pas de Calais †, *Straits of Calais*	Artois and Boulonnois
Puy de Dôme *	Auvergne
Pyrenées, Upper *	Bigorre
Pyrenées, Lower *	Baſques & Bearn
Pyrenées, Eaſtern *	Rouſſillon
Rhine, Upper	Alſace
Rhine, Lower	Alſace
Rhone, Bouches du, *Mouths of the*	Provence
Rhone and Loire	Foreſt & Lyonois
Saone, Upper	Franche Comté
Saone and Loire	Burgundy
Sarte	Maine
Seine and Oiſe	Iſle of France
Seine, Lower	Normandy
Seine and Marne	Iſle of France
Sevres, the two	Poitou
Somme	Picardy
Tarn	Languedoc
Var	Provence
Vendée	Poitou
Vienne	Poitou
Vienne, Upper	Limoſin
Voſges *	Lorraine
Yonne	Burgundy

On the 27th of November 1792, the national convention of France decreed, that the duchy of Savoy, which had been recently conquered from the king of Sardinia, and the inhabitants of which had deſired to be united to the French republic, ſhould accordingly be conſidered as an eighty-fourth department, by the name of the department of Mont Blanc. Whether this is to continue ſo, or whether any other countries are thus to be added to the number of the French departments, remains for the events of war to determine.

The conſiſtent CONSCIENCE: *An Anecdote.*

A FEW years ago, a Neapolitan aſſaſſin, who had grown grey in murder, was, by ſome unforeſeen accident, apprehended. He not only acknowledged the crime laid to his charge, but alſo many others. A monk, who was preſent, happened to ſay, that probably he had never confeſſed himſelf, or obſerved the diſcipline of the church. This reflection was too ſevere: he loſt all patience; and thus addreſſed himſelf to the prieſt, with extreme indignation. 'Come, padre, mi ſoſpettate dunque di non eſſer Chriſtiano?—What! father, do you ſuſpect me then to be no Chriſtian!'

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PARTIES OF PLEASURE.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

YOUR valuable miscellany has survived many good old customs and practices, which we in this age would have known little of, but for so faithful a record. And I hope you will persevere in exhibiting to posterity, such a 'brief chronicle of the times,' as may instruct or amuse them, as we have been instructed and amused by the manners of our ancestors.

The subject on which I am to address you is, I believe, a virgin. I know not at least that it has been touched by any late writer, and I hope you will admit that it has some claims on your attention, merely on the score of originality.

I lay it down as a principle incontrovertible, that the purpose of our parties of pleasure, whether held at each others' houses or in taverns, is, to make one another happy and comfortable. But were this purpose always or even often answered, there would have been no occasion to trouble you with this letter. So far, however, is that from being the case, that I, who belong to the 'old school' of manners and customs, are seldom more unhappy than when invited to what are called parties of pleasure.

Why they operate thus upon me must be gathered from my regular habits of life, habits contracted in my youth, and which old age will not now allow me to depart from. I rise early; I breakfast early; and I feel an inclination for 'the substantial meal,' much about the same hour that it came on me fifty years ago. To this let me add, that I am obliged, from motives of health, to go to bed early; and have at the same time a strong propensity toward company of the cheerful and social kind.

After this declaration, you will not be surprised, if I find myself ill at ease, from being obliged to conform to the reigning manners.—What is the mode now, sir, of giving invitations?—An hour is appointed for dinner, always a late one, and the rule is—never to keep it. Punctuality is not only unfashionable (for to be unfashionable might be pardoned at my time of life) but is really disreputable. It is something that is always mentioned to a man's discredit, as what he ought to be ashamed of, as what nobody does who 'knows the world,' and consequently as what can never be expected according to the etiquette of good breeding.

An hour, as I have observed, is mentioned, and very frequently the word *exactly* is added to it, as if it were not enough to transgress the truth, but it must be done in a formal and solemn manner. 'You asked me to dine at five,' said I to a gentleman the other day, 'and you see I am come at five.'—'My dear sir,' replied he, 'have you lived so short a time *in the world*, as not to know that five means half past five, or perhaps a quarter before six?'

Now, Mr. Editor, (for I did not argue the point with my friend) can you inform me whether my living long in the world would have been sufficient to convert one hour into another? By what logic can five o'clock mean half past five? If there be a positive law on this subject, why is it not promulgated for the benefit of us who lived in days when most words had but one meaning, when five meant five, and six, six? But if five is really to mean half past five, and *I* have not lived long enough to know it, in what a deplorable state of ignorance did those examples of longevity, the antediluvians, expire? I have great reason to believe that the oldest of them never conceived that sun-rising meant sun-setting.

The fact, however, is, though I

cannot

cannot make out the *rationale* of it, that whatever hour be fixed, it is proper and becoming *not* to keep it. Now, sir, this law is not sufficiently expreſs and limited, which is indeed the caſe with the *common* law of this kingdom, and makes it far inferior to the *ſtatute* law in point of certainty. For there is no time fixed for the exceſs over the hour. This exceſs is regulated by the moſt indefinite and uncertain of all earthly things. As far as my obſervation goes, it depends entirely on the rank of the parties. A citizen, for inſtance, muſt not exceed ten minutes over the hour; a member of parliament may go as far as half an hour; a lord may give great uneaſineſs to the hoſt and hoſteſs; and a duke, I ſuppoſe, may ſtarve the gueſts and ſpoil the dinner.

A man of conſequnce, or one who thinks himſelf a man of conſequence, for the expreſſions are ſynonymous, ſeems to have a right to every indulgence of this kind, and if twenty perſons are met together, all keenly bent on the feaſt, and the feaſt more than ready, not a diſh muſt be ſerved up before the man of conſequence arrives; becauſe, if it were otherwiſe, the lady of the houſe would be deprived of an opportunity to pay him the greateſt poſſible compliment, by calling aloud —'John, order the dinner up *now!*'

But, Mr. Editor, is this irregularity, though faſhionable, really agreeable? So far from it, that I never go into a party of pleaſure without hearing peeviſh whiſpers about 'making people wait,' and 'ſpoiling one's dinner.' Who, then, ſhall break the ſpell that thus enchants us to our ſelf-tormenting? The experiment would be a bold one, and indeed attended with ſo much danger that no perſon of faſhion would venture to make it. For, no inconvenience, whether imaginary or real, no uneaſineſs, comic or ſerious, is to be put in competition with the high honour of being viſited by perſons who are above keeping their time. Whoever, therefore, would dare to infringe on a law ſo binding, muſt expect to ſit down with none but toad-eaters, led captains and poor relations, who have more inducements than one for being punctual at the dinner hour.

The ideas I mean to throw out, as they can never be carried into practice, will, I hope, paſs for one of thoſe harmleſs ſpeculations in which old men and politicians ſometimes indulge themſelves.

I beg leave, then, to propoſe, that a party of pleaſure ſhall in all time forthcoming, be conſidered as any other company or body of men met to tranſact buſineſs; nor will this propoſal appear ſo abſurd if you conſider how many men make pleaſure their only buſineſs. This being granted, I would wiſh to eſtabliſh in parties of pleaſure, that ſovereign, ſenſible, and judicious law, which governs in all meetings upon buſineſs; namely, that the majority is greater than the minority, that the majority have a right to proceed without the minority, and that the majority may decide even if the minority are preſent.

Nothing ſurely can be more equitable than this. To apply it to the caſe in point. I ſay, that, where twelve perſons are invited to a party of pleaſure, ſeven ſhall be conſidered as a *quorum* fit to proceed to the *buſineſs* of the meeting, provided the remaining five do not appear within the hour appointed. This would be juſt and proper; and ſuch a compliment paid to punctuality, might perhaps tend to bring punctuality once more into public life. As matters are at preſent, I cannot conceive a greater abſurdity, than that eleven perſons ſhould be obliged to wait in diſagreeable ſuſpenſe, for one who perhaps is in no reſpect their ſuperior, and who, when he enters, offers a paltry excuſe for which a ſchoolboy would be whipt.

This, ſir, is my humble propoſal. I have already ſtated, that there would be danger in adopting it, and therefore I hope it will be conſidered as the whim of an old man, whoſe viſits cannot long be of importance to any

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one, and who is too feeble in perſonal conſequence to attempt his own plan. I ſhould in all probability die before I could bring it to bear, and my hopeful heir, it is very certain, would not continue it.

Whatever may be thought of changing the meaning of plain words, and eſtabliſhing a kind of deceit which all excuſe, becauſe all practiſe, I am afraid that truth and ſincerity are not gainers by the colluſion. A favourite author of mine ſays, that every man has daily occaſion to remark what vexations ariſe from this privilege of deceiving one another. The active and vivacious have ſo long diſdained the reſtraints of truth, that promiſes and appointments have loſt their cogency, and both parties neglect their ſtipulations, becauſe each conclude, that they will be broken by the other.

Negligence, ſays the ſame author, is firſt admitted in ſmall affairs, and ſtrengthened by petty indulgences. He that is not yet hardened by cuſtom, ventures not on the violation of important engagements, but thinks himſelf bound by his word in caſes of property or danger, though he allows himſelf to forget at what time he is to meet ladies in the park, or at what tavern his friends are expecting him. This laxity of honour would be more tolerable, if it could be reſtrained to the playhouſe, the ball-room, or the card-table; yet even there it is ſufficiently troubleſome, and darkens thoſe moments with expectation, ſuſpenſe, and reſentment, which are ſet aſide for pleaſure, and from which we naturally hope for unmingled enjoyment, and total relaxation. But he that ſuffers the ſlighteſt breach in his morality, can ſeldom tell what ſhall enter it, or how wide it ſhall be made. When a paſſage is open, the influx of corruption is every moment wearing down oppoſition, and by ſlow degrees deluges the heart.

I propoſed, ſir, to have entered on another part of my ſubject, the revolution that has taken place in our hours. But I ſhall leave this to a future opportunity. The preſent hours will probably laſt my time, and as the day is paſſing rapidly into the night, the next generation will complete the circle, and the faſhionable world of the eighteenth, will be juſt where they were in the ſeventeenth century. I am, ſir, your humble ſervant,

OLIVER OLDSTILE.

Curious DESCRIPTION *of Sublime and Picturesque* SCENERY, *in* Savoy *and the* Vaillais.

[From Watkins' Travels through Swiſſerland, &c.]

Prieuré in the Vale of Chamounie, July 26, 1787.

ON Monday the 23d we left Geneva, with a determined reſolution of overcoming all difficulties on the road, and I believe that never were two men better qualified for a Swiſs tour. Having entered the territories of his Sardinian majeſty, we ſoon came to the little town of Bonneville, built at the foot of a mountain called the Mole, which from its height, and fine ſloping peak, is an object of great beauty when ſeen from the lake of Geneva. Our road continued up a deep valley, through which the polluted Arve runs with great rapidity, and empties itſelf into the Rhone. The exact reſemblance of the oppoſite rocks, on the one ſide concave, on the other convex; their correſpondent qualities, equal height, and little diſtance between them, convince me, that this valley was formed by ſome great convulſion of nature. We ſtopped a ſhort time on the road to admire two noble waterfalls that ruſhed over a mountain, and formed two large ſtreams below. They appeared to the greateſt advantage from the heavy rains that had lately fallen. Soon after

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after we croſſed the Arve, and arrived at Salenche, a place that has given me a moſt unfavorable idea of the Savoy towns. Our inn, though bad, is the beſt habitation in it; the other houſes preſent an appearance miſerable in the extreme, and the ſtreets are ſo dirty, that it was impoſſible to walk out. However, the accommodations were better than we expected, and fortunately for us, as the continued rain which fell the next day, prevented our departure. On leaving Salenche, we continued our route up the ſame valley on the banks of the Arve, and under Mount Varens. Having travelled about five miles, we left our horſes, and were conducted by our guide to the waterfall of Cheyde, at a little diſtance from the road. We ſtood on the ſide of a deep woody dingle, oppoſite to a lofty rock overgrown with wild ſhrubs, from which, about twenty feet below the brow, ruſhes a large body of water, daſhing down a conſiderable height in an irregular direction, the ſpar of which, produced by the breaking of the current againſt the projecting parts of the rock, extends itſelf in a thick miſt to the diſtance of forty or fifty yards; and we, being fortunately there while the ſun's rays were ſtrongly reflected on it, beheld a moſt beautiful rainbow with all its variety and happy mixture of colours. On leaving this charming ſpot, we rode along the mountain d'Enterne, which was conſiderably higher than it now is. In 1751, clouds of thick ſmoke iſſued out of it for ſix weeks ſucceſſively, when all the upper part gave way with a moſt tremendous craſh, and covered the ſides and bottom with its ruins. Under it is the little hamlet of Cerve, in which a company of French miners is eſtabliſhed, near ſome copper and lead mines of great value. The gentlemen permitted us to examine different pieces of the ore, which anſwered the deſcription we had heard of it. They alſo ſhewed us a very large model of the neighbouring country finely finiſhed. This ſhould be ſeen by all travellers who viſit the Alps of Savoy, as they are more naturally repreſented than they poſſibly can be on a chart. The mountains of this country abound in Chamois, a quadruped of the goat ſpecies, and very ſimilar to that animal, but rounder in the head, and much lower in the ſhoulder than the hinder part. We ſaw two of them at Cerve quite tame. The further we proceeded, the worſe we found the road, which had been ſo broken up by the late rains, as to be almoſt impaſſable. However, we entered the vale of Chamounie, and arrived at a comfortable little inn, kept by one Taire, whom I have found to be a honeſt and an attentive landlord.

Before I ſay any thing of our preſent ſituation, I muſt intreat you to aſſiſt the poverty of my deſcription by giving your fancy the moſt ample range. This attention, I think, due to every writer of travels, from thoſe who read him, as without it the moſt lively imagery would be flat and unintereſting. Conceive then this little village in a deep valley, fronted by the moſt vaſt, moſt ſublime, and moſt beautiful objects of ſavage nature. When looking up in an almoſt perpendicular direction, I beheld a chain of rocks higher than I could poſſibly have conceived from deſcription, which, as their cragged and ſpiry ſides terminate in acute points, are called Les Aiguilles, or Needles. Amid, but far above theſe, is Mont Blanc, the higheſt mountain of the old world, and covered with eternal ice or frozen ſnow. Its perpendicular height, as taken from the level of the Mediterranean, meaſures little ſhort of three miles, that is, 15,663 feet. It was firſt aſcended in 1786 by monſieur Paccard, a phyſician of Prieuré, and this year three guides, after much labour and difficulty, effected the ſame dangerous enterprize. They lay the firſt night on the ice, where, though prepared with warm covering, it was with extreme difficulty they withſtood the cold; proceeding, however, the

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next morning, they gained the top, after a journey of twenty-one hours. The profeſſors Bourrit and Sauſſeur, of Geneva, are now here waiting for a favorable opportunity to aſcend, and, I think, I never longed ſo much, as to be of their party; but our time will not admit of it.

The morning after our arrival, having hired a guide and mules, we croſſed the vale of Chamounie, and aſcended through groves of immenſe fir trees by a rugged path, a hill, much ſteeper than any of our mountains in Brecknockſhire. I was ſurprized to find the animals we rode ſo ſure footed, as not to make one falſe ſtep. When they had carried us more than half way up the mountain, we alighted, as it was impoſſible for them to proceed any higher; and, after great fatigue, arrived at a little wooden hovel, which the Engliſh travellers, who have viſited theſe icy regions, have dignified with the appellation of Blair's caſtle; probably in honour of the gentleman who built it. I here found the names of many of my friends carved on the caſtle walls, particularly thoſe of lord Breadalbane, and his brother Mr. Campbell. This hill is named Mont Anvert, and aſcended for the purpoſe of ſeeing to advantage what is called La Mer de Glace, or Sea of Ice, which is directly below it. From this place I beheld above us, at an immenſe height, the Aiguille de Charmeaux, which I thought, from its very ſuperior elevation, would command a much fuller proſpect of the object of our curioſity than Blair's Caſtle. I therefore quitted my company, and after an hour and a half's walking, climbing, and creeping along a ridge of ſharp rocks, arrived under the ſecond point of this Aiguille de Charmeaux, which, I believe, no mortal ever touched before. Indeed I muſt acknowledge, now the danger is over, it was extremely young in me to attempt it. From this pinnacle I looked down on one ſide over the vale of Chamounie, and on the other over the ſea of ice, which I perceived communicated with Mont Blanc by two broad channels, and then left it, but not without extreme difficulty. Having rejoined my companions, we deſcended and walked half way acroſs this Mer de Glace with the aſſiſtance of our guide, who had provided long poles with ſpikes in the end to prevent our falling. It is almoſt impoſſible to give a perſon, who has never ſeen this extraordinary production of nature, an adequate idea of it. However, to make the attempt, I muſt deſire you to ſuppoſe a deep valley full of ice, little leſs than a mile in breadth, that winds down from Mont Blanc into the vale of Chamounie, the ſurface of which you may conceive, by ſuppoſing the ſeas round the northern pole frozen into a ſolid maſs, when raiſed into immenſe waves by a tempeſt. Now I recollect, the following lines in Thompſon's Seaſons are very deſcriptive of its appearance.

Ocean itſelf no longer can reſiſt
The binding fury; but in all its rage
Of tempeſt taken by the boundleſs froſt,
Is many a fathom to the bottom chain'd,
And bid to roar no more; a bleak expanſe
Shagg'd o'er with wavy rocks, cheerleſs.

We had the curioſity to look down many of theſe vaſt chaſms, where the ice had opened as deep as forty or fifty feet, but they were inconſiderable when compared to others, as our guide, who is an admirable pilot in theſe frozen tracts, aſſured us, that in many parts of them they meaſured from two to three hundred. It is thought impoſſible to form any right conjecture of the cauſe of this phenomenon, as its preſent appearance leads but little to an inveſtigation of it. One circumſtance, however, might perhaps afford a clue, and that is, its being known to increaſe and decreaſe by the immenſe mounds of earth that are forced up in its ſwell. Whenever any of the projecting parts give way, and fall in, the noiſe is inferior only to that of thunder. We were ſo full of admiration at this grand and horrid object,

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object, as to continue on it almoſt an hour; after which, we were obliged to reclimb the Mont Anvert for the purpoſe of deſcending to the place where this ſea of ice terminates in the valley below. We here found an arch ſeventy feet high, equally wide, and I ſhould ſuppoſe not leſs than thirty deep, out of which ruſhes a rapid ſtream called the Arveron. We got to ſome rocks in the channel that ſtand before the center of it, from which we gazed with delight and wonder on this beautiful grotto of clear and ſolid ice. However, as there was danger from the falling in of its parts, we thought it prudent to quit our ſituation, and return to Prieuré, where we arrived much tired, but not more tired than pleaſed with all the wonders of the ſcene.

Gheſtinen, July 30th.

We quitted the vale of Chamounie, having aſcended, at its ſouthern extremity, the Col de Balme, a ſteep hill, from the top of which we took leave of Mont Blanc, the Glaciers, and Needles, whoſe points we had ſo frequently ſeen above the clouds. On the other ſide we enjoyed a moſt noble proſpect. The depth and windings of the vale below; the ſurrounding mountains, and their hanging woods of aged pine, made the view moſt ſolemn and majeſtic. After a long walk up the Col de Balme (for we gave our mules but little trouble) Pocock diſcovered two boys, who were employed in milking a herd of goats. We immediately approached them, and almoſt drank a pail full of exquiſite milk, with which we were ſo pleaſed, that we paid them ten times more than its real value. At the bottom of this deep deſcent we had to mount another hill, called La Fourcle, from which we gazed with the moſt favorable anticipation on the Vallais, Rouſſeau's terreſtrial paradiſe. At the beginning of it is the little town of * Martignie, or Martinac, built of wooden houſes on the banks of the Drance, over which hang the mouldering ruins of a caſtle, the former reſidence of the biſhops of Sion. I climbed the ramparts, and had an extenſive view of the country through which we were to travel. We retired early to reſt for the purpoſe of riſing with the ſun, but were ſo ſtung and peſtered with venomous gnats, as to put ſleep out of the queſtion. The next morning I made an excurſion to ſee the celebrated water fall of the Piſſe Vache, about two leagues from Martignie. Though conſiderably higher and larger, it did not pleaſe me ſo much as that of Cheyde, on account of its naked ſituation, and the ſtraight direction in which it falls. The ſpar of the water extends, without being urged forward by any great wind, above five hundred yards. I continued ſome time at this place, and then returned to Martignie.

Having read ſuch favorable accounts of the Vallais, both in the Nouvelle Heloiſe of Rouſſeau, and in the publications of modern travellers, we were impatient for the contemplation of its beauties. The deſcription of Rouſſeau is the moſt pleaſing picture of rural ſcenery I ever read. It

* Near this place was the winter ſtation of Sergius Galba, Cæſar's lieutenant; but I could find no remains of his encampment. Cæſar, ſays 'Galba, having fought ſome ſucceſsful battles, many of the enemy's caſtles being taken, ambaſſadors from all parts being ſent to him, hoſtages given, and peace concluded, determined to ſtation two cohorts among the Nantuates, while he with the others of his own legion ſhould winter in a village of the Veragri, called Octodunes, which being ſituated in a narrow valley, is ſhut in by lofty mountains. As it would be divided in two parts by the river Drance, he aſſigned one to the Gauls, and the other (being left by them) he appointed for the winter quarters of his cohorts, and fortified the place with a rampart and trench.' Cæſ. Gall. War, book 3. chap. 1.

This is the exact ſituation of Martignie.

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really induced us to consider this vale as a second Tempé, or even a country to which nature had been singularly bountiful. How surprized will you be when I add, that our impatience was punished by the greatest disappointment imaginable. I think it most unpardonable in travellers implicitly to adopt the opinions of their predecessors, and retail them on the public. Of this you shall never complain in my letters; for however singular I may appear, I am determined, on these occasions, to think for myself.

The Vallais, or, as it is called in German das Walliserland, is an independent republic allied to the Swiss, and situated between the canton of Berne and the Alps. Its direction is east to west, extending from a mountain called the Fourche [or Fork], to the glaciers of Faucignie. It is reputed to be one hundred and nine miles in length, and in its broadest part forty-eight; but I believe this latter distance considerably exaggerated. It is watered by the Rhone, which entering at one end, passes nearly to the other, where it turns off, and empties itself into the lake of Geneva. There are two principal passes that lead out of it into Italy; the first by the great St. Bernard, and the second through Simplon. A few other roads are known, but from the difficulty and danger of attempting them even in the summer months, they are only travelled by smugglers, or huntsmen, who pursue among these inhospitable rocks the Marmot, or wild Chamois. The most frequented of the two passes is that of St. Bernard, where there is a convent of Augustin friars built upon the most elevated part of the road, which receives the traveller of the Alps, and by affording a comfortable shelter from the inclemency of their frozen regions, has preserved the lives of many. Such a convent is indeed useful, and, I believe, would even meet the approbation and patronage of the emperor, if in his dominions.

From Martignie to Sion, the capital and extremity of the Lower Vallais, the country presented no object deserving of attention. The land is so low, that we supposed it marshy from the frequent overflowings of the Rhone, and our supposition was afterward confirmed by the declaration of the inhabitants. However, we did not complain, as we expected to be more satisfied with that part of the Vallais which lay beyond it. This city (for such it is, being an episcopal see) is built on the banks of the Rhone, which, instead of flowing in the same clear stream as we had left it at Geneva, is like the Arve polluted by the melting snow, and the white clay through which it passes. Of all the miserable places I ever had the misfortune to visit, Sion is the most disgusting. The houses are meaner than the poorest suburbs I had ever seen, and so insufferably dirty, that I really am at a loss to find any thing by way of simile or comparison to it. For the purpose of diverting our attention from objects so offensive, we walked up a steep hill to the ruins of an ancient castle, which was of great extent, and considerable strength. When returned, we found our entertainment at the inn perfectly consistent with the appearance of the town; the scanty dinner they served being so dirty, that though pinched with hunger, it was impossible to satisfy it; as to avoid disgust, it was necessary to cut off all the outside of the food; indeed the appearance of the people was sufficient to damp the appetite of a Hottentot. You may be assured we were very happy when the following morning appeared, and delayed our departure no longer than the necessary time for putting on our clothes, and paying the bill; but with our journey to Brieg, a wooden town, that for filth and misery is no less remarkable than Sion, we had as little reason to be content as before. The mountains on each side of us, and part of the country through which we travelled, were covered with dark groves of gloomy and ragged fir, unmixed with

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tiny trees of a more lively green, that might have relieved the tireſome and melancholy ſameneſs of their appearance. The land, though in many places fertile, had but little ſign of cultivation. No incloſures, few herds or flocks, and fewer inhabitants, who were in a condition to labour. From Brieg to the place in which I am now writing (Ober Gheſtinen) the Vallais is more elevated, and leſs deſolate; our road lay on the banks of the Rhone, many parts of which were extremely dangerous from its narrow limits, and from the precipices that hang over the river. The nearer we approached to Gheſtinen, the more the land appeared cultivated; but far, very far, from the condition that Jean Jaques deſcribes. The appearance of the houſes is ſingular; they are built of wood, and generally painted red. The upper part is the abode of the family, and the lower converted into ſtables or hovels. This village is, to our great joy, ſituate at the extremity of the Vallais. We are lodged in a private houſe (there being no inn in the place) where I am ſorry to find a great ſcarcity of proviſions, bread and cheeſe excepted. The different climates which authors remark in this country are indeed very perceptible, and conſequently, as the land is rich, in ſummer and autumn many fruits may probably be found in the ſame day's journey, which in other countries are only to be had in ſucceſſion, or as the ſeaſons advance. This advantage (if it may be ſo conſidered) is in conſequence of the different gradations of the ſun's heat, and the freer or more confined circulation of air occaſioned by the mountains; an advantage which muſt exiſt more or leſs in all hilly countries, in proportion to their ſouthern ſituations. Such is the real ſtate and appearance of the Vallais, though ſo differently deſcribed in the 23d letter of Rouſſeau's celebrated novel. But what is ſtill more unaccountable, he ſpeaks of the inhabitants in higher terms of praiſe than he does of the country, particularly of the women, whom St. Prieux, the hero of the piece, raiſes by compariſon even to his angelic Julia. Inſtead of theſe *rare beauties* (for ſuch is his expreſſion) the eye is offended with a ſtinted race of females, ill formed, and worſe featured; whoſe complexions are of a ſettled ſallow, and whoſe ſingular dreſs would appear to no people but themſelves, an embelliſhment of their perſons. But there is another impediment to their beauty which is much more ſerious, and this is, a loathſome diſeaſe called the Goitres, that affects a conſiderable number of the inhabitants. It is an excreſcence in the neck, which though in ſome no larger than an egg, in others hangs half way down their bodies,—in appearance the moſt unſightly and diſguſting that can be imagined. Theſe Goitres are preceded (as I had frequent opportunities of perceiving in the children) by a yellow and ſickly countenance, deformed features, and a languor or heavineſs in their eyes. They bring on, for the moſt part, a total privation of the intellectual faculties, which we conſidered a happy circumſtance for theſe poor creatures, from its rendering them inſenſible of their ſituation; but very different are the ſentiments of the Vallaiſans with regard to goitrous appearance, for, from ideas as happy in effect, as they are abſurd in principle, they conſider theſe people as a bleſſing in their family, and regard them with affection as the gifts of Providence preſerved by the intervention of this malady, from ſin and future puniſhment. They go ſtill further, and marry them together, as they are known even in this ſtate of mental imbecility, to be prone to ſenſual enjoyments; though without aſſiſtance they would remain ſeated in the ſame place, until nature ſunk under the oppreſſion of hunger.

The cauſes that are aſſigned for this evil are phyſical and moral; that is, its origin is attributed to the former, and its increaſe to the latter. We perceived, that the greater number of goitrous perſons was in the neighbour-

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hood of Sion; and there it is that the water, which the people drink, is more impregnated with *tufo* ſtone. I was well informed (being very particular in my enquiries) that this was the principal cauſe of the diſeaſe, as in the diſſection of theſe Goitres, ſeveral particles of *tufo* had been lately found. As another proof (though a ſurer I think cannot be adduced than the former) it was told me, that the children of goitrous parents being ſent out of the country, or even to the mountains that bound the Vallais, are quite free from the complaint. It is increaſed by their inattention to cleanlineſs, and that ſupine and torpid ſtate in which they live. This, my dear ſir, is the melancholy ſituation of ſo many of the Vallaiſans, and you will now judge whether I could, with any degree of propriety, join in the panegyric that is beſtowed upon it.

The republic of the Vallais is compoſed of ſeven great commonalties; in French called Dizains, in German Zindhen. Six of theſe have popular governments, and their adminiſtration of juſtice is committed to twelve magiſtrates, over whom preſides a ſuperior officer. The names of theſe commonalties are Siders, Leuk, Viſp, Raren, Brieg and Goms. The city of Sion, and its diſtrict, make up the ſeventh Dizain, the government of which is ariſtocratic, and the police adminiſtered by a council of twenty-four, the preſident of which is ſtiled Burgomaſter.

Near Sion are three caſtles, which belong to the ſee; the firſt, called Majoria, is inhabited by the biſhop; the ſecond, Valeria, by the dean and ſome of the canons; and the third, Tourbillon, formerly ſerved as a retirement for the biſhops. When a vacancy happens in the ſee of Sion, the chief officer of the country calls together, in the caſtle of Valeria, the chapter and the deputies of the Dizains; the canons propoſe four candidates, one of whom is elected by the deputies, and confirmed by the general body. This aſſembly, called Landrath (of which the biſhop is preſident) is generally convoked in May and December by the chief officer of the country, or Landſhauptmann, for the purpoſe of deliberating on the general intereſt of the Vallais, and determining cauſes in the dernier reſort. It is by the inſtitution of this ſupreme council, that the different parts of the republic are united in one political body; they are nevertheleſs ſo independent of each other, that formerly one or more Dizains contracted ſeparate alliances, or waged war with the neighbouring ſtates. The language of the upper valley is Swiſs-German, and of the lower a corrupt French.

The firſt treaty of alliance entered into by the biſhop and people of the Vallais, was with Berne in 1250. In 1473 all the Dizains united in a perpetual confederacy with the four foreſt Cantons, or Waldſtœtt, being alſo at that time allied to Freyburg and Soleure. By theſe different leagues the republic attached itſelf to the Helvetic corps, as an aſſociate of the general confederacy. Its firſt alliance with France was in 1500. The population of the Vallais is eſtimated at 90,000 ſouls, and the military conſiſts of 18,000 men.

The WATERMAN *of* BESONS: *A Moral Tale.*

Continued from page 14.

MY ſtory, ſaid the good old man, has nothing in it ſufficiently intereſting to deſerve the attention of theſe ladies; nor would I, but for my daughter's misfortune, mention my own. Heaven has reſtored her to me; and that is the moſt marvellous part of my deſtiny. The reſt is nothing uncommon: what has happened to me may happen to every body.

My father, Stephen Lorizan, was a ſkilful watch-maker. He was one of

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of thoſe artiſts whom the czar Peter ſent for from Paris to Ruſſia. In a country where all the elegant arts were new and ſcarce, it was not difficult for a good watch-maker to make a decent fortune in a ſhort time. But you know that in a father the moſt common weakneſs is a deſire to place his ſon in a rank above his own. Mine, who did not perhaps hold the art that had enriched him in ſufficient eſtimation, made me neglect it for the ſtudy of mathematics, of which Peter had founded a ſchool. Before I was a great proficient, the czar died. My father did not ſurvive him long: his delicate conſtitution could not reſiſt the aſperity of the climate.

Before his death, he had married me to a Ruſſian girl, whoſe fortune was ſituated in the kingdom of Kaſan, in one of the plains near the Wolga. His tender foreſight had hoped by this to ſave me from the danger to which he was falling a victim himſelf. He dreaded leſt my health ſhould be affected by the piercing cold of the north of Ruſſia. My ſon, ſaid he, go, and grow old beneath a ſouthern ſun. I delayed to follow this advice, and the favour of Catherine and Anne kept me at their court. But, on the revolution that was effected by Eliſabeth, grieved to ſee the diſgrace of Oſterman and Munich, my father's two patrons, and the firſt men in the ſtate; and ſtill more afflicted at the declining health of my wife, which had been in a languid ſtate ever ſince ſhe brought her only child into the world, I recollected my father's counſel, and repaired to the banks of the Wolga to ſeek a milder ſky, and a better certainty of repoſe.

You will eaſily believe, that in a country where men are the chief riches of the ſoil to which they belong, that it is not leſs a rule of economy than of humanity for the proprietor to behave well to his vaſſals; and that if it were eaſy to teach them to be free, he would not neglect that mean of making them happy. Such was my ambition; and, in improving their morals, by the progreſs of knowledge, example, and habit, I was in hopes of rendering them deſerving of leſs rigorous laws.

This hope was blaſted by an event which I might have foreſeen in a time of revolution. The Tartars inhabiting the vicinity of the Wolga made frequent incurſions; and my abode was ſacked by one of their parties that was on a plundering expedition. My wife was no more; my daughter was torn from my arms at the age of fifteen; and I was reduced to ſlavery myſelf. Alas! it was neither the loſs of my fortune, nor of my liberty, that I deplored. I was a father; my daughter was in the hands of the Tartars; and I thought I had loſt her for ever. That was the only care that ſat heavy on my heart; the reſt was nothing. But my daughter! my daughter! I did not even dare to think of the fate ſhe muſt have undergone.

More than once, among the Muſſulmans, I ſhould have remained in the ſervice of maſters tolerably kind, if I had poſſeſſed the talents of a ſlave. I was docile and diligent, but weak, awkward, and unfit for every thing: the ſpade was the only inſtrument that I handled with dexterity; and I was ſoon tired of that laborious exerciſe. When any one aſked me what I had learnt, by way of knowing what I was good for, I always anſwered, languages and mathematics: this was not what the good Muſſulman wanted; and without quarrelling with me, they ſold me as a uſeleſs animal, at a very low rate.

Thus from place to place was I carried about that part of Aſia formerly ſo celebrated, and now called Natolia. I trudged patiently over the ruins of the empire of Darius and Alexander, and along the plains where Scipio defeated Antiochus. I ſaw the ſtraits through which Xerxes paſſed with his army; and I recollected his return. I travelled through the kingdom of Mithridates and that of Crœſus. I perceived, at a diſtance, the

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ſeraglio that fills the ſite of the ancient palace of Conſtantine. I croſſed the fields where towered the walls of Troy; and I thought that I could ſtill diſtinguiſh the Scamander. Sometimes digging in a garden above the ruins of Epheſus, I thought of Munich, who was in Siberia, digging the earth like me. You may ſuppoſe, that compared with theſe revolutions, mine ſeemed but a trifle.

At length, I found a place that ſuited me, at the houſe of a merchant of Damaſcus, who held me in ſome eſteem on account of my talent for calculation. He was a worthy man, of a feeling heart, indulgent, and equitable: his diſpoſition was a mixture of gentleneſs and gravity; but unfortunately I did not know that he was a follower of the doctrine of Pythagoras.—Of Pythagoras! Yes, ladies, I have met with all the ancient philoſophy; ſchools of ſtoics, ſceptics, and epicureans. Why wonder at this? I was in their country; nor is it very ſtrange that, after a few thouſand years, the ſpirits of Zeno, Epicurus, and Pythagoras, ſhould ſtill be hovering there.

The philoſopher one day heard the cries of a dog that I had driven out of the houſe: why, ſaid he, mildly, did you beat that dog? Do you know by what ſoul he is animated? 'Tis certainly that of an obliging and grateful man, of an affectionate and faithful friend. Why then make him ſuffer? Beat a wild boar or a voracious wolf, and you will only puniſh the ſoul of a bad man, the ſoul of a baſhaw or a viſir. But in the dog, the camel, and the elephant, let us reſpect, my friend, the misfortune of a man of worth, whoſe ſoul is only doing penance for ſome fault, a very trifling one, perhaps. As he ſaw that I was rather ſurpriſed at his doctrine, he was deſirous of explaining it.

When a man expires, ſaid he, if his ſoul be not very pure, his chaſtiſement conſiſts in paſſing into the body of ſome animal of a diſpoſition analogous to his own. (and here he gave me a long account of theſe different metamorphoſes) but after an expiation of longer or ſhorter duration, added he, it returns, in a purified ſtate, to animate the body of ſome new-born child.

Nothing would be more comfortable than your doctrine, ſaid I, if we could but recollect what we have been: but, unfortunately, oblivion cuts the thread of exiſtence, and after each mutation the man is a new one, and the ſoul likewiſe. He liſtened to me with his eyes caſt down.—The objection you ſtart, ſaid he, after a few moments reflection, is that of a man hard of belief. You muſt think that it would afflict me; and it does not become you to furniſh me with matter for affliction. I never did you harm; but you do me a cruel injury by diſturbing me in my belief.—The next day he ſold me.

The Dey of Algiers had ordered ſearch to be made for a ſlave that might ſerve as interpreter of the European languages. As I was acquainted with ſeveral, I was bought for him, and entered into his ſervice. He was the laſt man in the world to give himſelf the trouble of thinking. He was curious, and a great aſker of queſtions, but very eaſily ſatisfied; and provided, like a child, he received an anſwer that he thought he underſtood, true or not, he was contented.

For inſtance, when I had told him whence I came, he aſked me if in my country there were a ſun, moon, and ſtars. I anſwered, no; but that the people there warmed themſelves by his ſun at a diſtance; and that at night they were lighted by his moon and ſtars. I plainly ſaw that he was proud that all theſe fine things belonged to nobody but him.

Do you, who are learned, ſaid he, one evening, know what becomes of the ſtars that fall? I had no inclination to tell him that the ſtars did not fall; for he would have put himſelf in a paſſion. Luckily, I recollected the ſaying of Fontenelle; and I anſwered,

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fwered, that the ſtars went to form the new moons!—Very well, ſaid he; and the old moons? They break into ſtars, ſaid I, to ſupply the place of thoſe that fall.—I underſtand, ſaid he; and that explains to me what became of the moon that Mahomet ſplit aſunder.

Another time he aſked me, why the beaſts did not ſpeak? Some, anſwered I, do not ſpeak, becauſe they do not know what to ſay; others, becauſe they are afraid of talking nonſenſe, and like better to be ſilent than to ſpeak imprudently.—They are in the right, ſaid he, and if my parrot had been as wiſe, I ſhould not have cut his head off for an imprudent thing he ſaid to me the other day.—This example of the parrot was a piece of advice to the interpreter.

When ſpeaking of the European arts, he aſked me, if any body there had the art of making rain and fair weather? I anſwered, yes; but that it was an art practiſed only by the women *. He aſked me, in what conſiſted the ſecret?—I do not very well know, ſaid I; but it is with weather-cocks, which they make ſo as to turn the way they like. He thought he underſtood this mechaniſm.—I ſhould be glad, ſaid he, to have one of theſe workwomen ſent over to me; and if ever I ſhould ſend you to your country on an embaſſy, you ſhall do me that piece of ſervice. I aſſured him he might depend upon my zeal. But I was neceſſary to him in my quality of interpreter, and ſhould have been with him ſtill, if heaven, whoſe will it was that I ſhould regain my daughter, had not permitted a beautiful time-piece, which the king had made a preſent of to the curious Algerine, ſuddenly to ſtop.

When it was found to be motionleſs, the whole palace was in an uproar. It was wound up; but it went firſt too faſt, then too ſlow, and at laſt ſtopped again. The Dey ſaid it had loſt its wits, and promiſed wonders to any one who would reſtore it to its ſenſes; for he was determined, let the expence be what it might, to know what was the hour of the day. I even perceived, that he conſidered this accident as an unlucky omen; and that it broke his reſt.

Then recollecting the firſt leſſons I had received from my father, of an art he afterward made me quit, I hoped ſtill to know enough of it to find a remedy for the accident that had happened to the time-piece; and I ventured to ſay, that if the Dey, as a reward, would pleaſe to give me my liberty, I thought I was well enough acquainted with the wonderful machine to ſet its ſprings to rights again. Liberty was promiſed me; and Mahomet, by whom a true believer never ſwears in vain, was called to witneſs the agreement. I ſucceeded in reſtoring the time-piece to its ſenſes; and the Dey, overjoyed at finding it more reaſonable than ever, kept his word, and conſented to my being one of the number of redeemed captives.

Hark'ee, ſaid he, when I threw myſelf proſtrate at his feet to return him thanks, do not forget my commiſſion. I have nothing here but weather-cocks, which the winds turns; and I ſhould be glad to have ſome of thoſe that turn the wind: if you can procure me any, I ſhall be ſtill more obliged to you than for curing my time-piece.—In this manner, ladies, did I find my way out of ſlavery; and thus carried naturally down the ſtream of life, although by a circuitous courſe, was I conducted from Paris to Moſcow, from Ruſſia to Africa, and from Algiers to Beſons.

Why, indeed, ſaid my two companions, there is nothing in all this but what is ſimple and natural.

The matelote was then ſerved up

* *Faire la pluie et le beau temps*, to make rain and fine weather, is a proverbial expreſſion of nearly the ſame import as the vulgar Engliſh ſaying, rule the roaſt; and is often applied to the fair ſex, to expreſs the abſolute ſway they exerciſe.—Note of the tranſlator.

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by way of interlude. We found it delicious; and after supper it was the turn of the waterman's wife to gratify the desire we felt of hearing her eventful history.

When I was taken by the Tartars, said Bathilda, I had in my heart two sentiments, which, thank heaven, never abandoned me, modesty and piety. The idea I had of their object was but a confused one; but I knew that to be spotless in the eyes of God, and of the world, I ought to allow no liberties to any man but my husband; and that no man unless a Christian could call me his wife. These, ladies, were the simple means that preserved my innocence.

What! said Adelaide, even among the Tartars!—Yes, among the Tartars, replied she: I owed, it is true, my safety to the avarice of the robber, who had seized me as his booty; for he considered me as a diamond of a pure water, which, if tarnished, would lose its value. He had taken me up behind him: he was mounted on a horse as swift as the wind; and I, all disconsolate and in tears, was still, I confess, afraid of falling off. I wept, I bewailed my destiny, I called my father to my assistance; but an involuntary impulse made me still hold fast by the Tartar's girdle. The cruel wretch, turning his head behind, with a smile and a look which make me shudder still, insulted at once my sorrow and my fear.

We arrived at his camp; and there I saw his countrymen crowd around me, and congratulate their comrade; while he, proud of his prey, but jealously watchful, stood leaning on his bow, ready to defend it against any one who might dare attempt to snatch it from his hands.

When we were alone in his tent, he offered, with as gentle a look as a Tartar could assume, to share his supper with me: it consisted of a little mangled flesh, raw and bloody, grown somewhat tender beneath the saddle of his horse. I refused this food; but his invitations, repeated with an air of impatience, forced me to drink a little milk. I was obliged to obey. I was in his power; and was desirous, if possible, to inspire him with a little compassion. But I leave you to judge, ladies, of the compassion of a Tartar for a girl of fifteen. He saw me weep, without being affected by my tears; and his look, could I have understood it, expressed something very unlike compassion. However, without knowing what he was internally ruminating, I plainly perceived that he was struggling violently with himself. All on a sudden, muttering a few words, and rising hastily from the bank of turf on which we were sitting, he stepped a few paces without his tent, mused for a moment; and then returning to me, and shaking his head, shewed me the bear's skin that was to serve me as a bed. Weak, trembling, at his mercy, and worn out with affliction, what could I have done? I invoked my good angel; I recommended myself to his protection; and, stretched out by the side of the Tartar, whose muttering I heard, I watched and wept a long time; but at length I was overpowered by sleep. Never did innocence run a greater risk. But as I have told you, I was like a treasure in the hands of a miser; the price he expected for it making him abstain from its enjoyment.

The next day we arrived at the port of Azoph, where I was sold for the seraglio of the grand signior; and the vessel that I sail in was an asylum in which I was treated with the greatest respect.

On landing near the seraglio, I was conducted by the Kislir Aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, to the apartment of the novices. There, under the inspection of a governess, called Kadan-Kahia, we were educated in the manners of the seraglio. Severe modesty, perfect docility, a few innocent sports, a little work of an easy kind, an assiduous study of the oriental languages, and the most ardent emulation in the acquisition of those talents that render beauty more enchanting,

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ing were our employments. I was afflicted at being a captive; but I did not quite despair. Far from having any mistrust of the care that was taken to teach us the art of pleasing, I was astonished at so much kindness. Nor did the elegance of our dress, or the attention with which we were treated alarm me more; and without knowing what was required from me, I had no idea of any ill. But the first time it was in my power to have a secret conversation with one of my companions, I understood my destiny; and from that moment I was immersed in grief. To be delivered up to the fancies of a man who would not be my husband, nay, who was not even a Christian; to be a prisoner in his palace till the moment when I might become a mother; or, when tired of me, he might deign to transfer me to one of his favorites as a wife; and then to be obliged to conceal my faith, by way of conforming to his; to turn Mahometan, because he was a Mussulman: all this was odious to me.

The women who instructed us, and the sultana-mother, to whom we were carried to pay our court, were for ever saying that our greatest happiness would be to please the sublime sultan, and to deserve his favours. These humiliating lessons wrung my heart; and a melancholy seized me that nothing could dispel. I did not know how to get dismissed. I should have rejoiced at being ugly; and many a time I had an inclination to disfigure myself, but I never had sufficient courage. Night and morning I prayed to my good angel to extricate me from this distress; and I believe it was he who suggested the means.

One day, my companions, to flatter the sultana-mother, were extolling the grandeur of her son.—My son, alas! said she, would be the most happy, as he is already the most powerful sovereign in the world, but for having had the misfortune, in his infancy, to see a cat kill a mouse. The impression it left behind has made him conceive an aversion for these two animals. If he sees one, or only thinks he hears it, he is seized with an agitation it is difficult to calm. This is a secret that it is proper you should be acquainted with, that in case this accident should happen when you are with him, you may send for me with all speed: for the best remedy for his convulsions is the presence of his mother.

One of the girls took the liberty of telling her that it would be very easy to prevent such accidents. Why no, said the sultana; it is not so easy. If the sultan only detested mice, cats would be his safeguard; or if he only hated cats, the mice might remain unheeded. Without one species, how keep away the other? Traps are not certain means of destruction: a few mice may be taken, but the greater number escape; and to hinder the whole seraglio from being over-run with them, a few cats at least must be suffered there. Such has been the result of the wisdom of our council; according to the great maxim, that of two evils which cannot be removed together, and of which one serves as a remedy for the other, the least must be chosen.

We all seemed to feel for the affliction of the sultana; and I said myself, that it was a great pity that a cause apparently so trifling, should be the bane of so much prosperity.

When they thought we had acquired sufficient graces to appear pleasing in the eyes of our sovereign, he was prevailed upon to do us the honour of seeing us. At first, I appeared before him with little success. My singing, my dancing, my countenance, all appeared to him as cold as ice; and, when speaking of me, I had the pleasure of hearing him say that I was a girl without a soul. As to a soul, I did not want one, however; but I had none for him.

Those among my companions who, destined to slavery from their infancy, had scarcely any idea of shame or liberty, contended with each other for

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the honour of a look; but I had no occaſion to bluſh either for the lively Neapolitan or the tender Spaniſh maid, who were ſharers in my fate. With a noble decency they waited at leaſt for the homage due to their beauty. The preference was given to them; and they enjoyed it unenvied by me.

Every time the ſultan came to chooſe a new favorite, I trembled leſt I ſhould be the object of his choice. I ſtood motionleſs, with downcaſt eyes, horror at my heart, and confuſion in my countenance; but he took my ſadneſs for jealouſy, and my coldneſs for envy. Emira, for that was the name that had been given me: Emira is diſcontented, ſaid he with a ſmile; nor is it without reaſon that ſhe is offended. I have too long delayed to ſhow her how lovely ſhe is in my eyes: but I am ſparing of my pleaſures; and I know how to make amends for my neglect. On ſaying this, he preſented me with the handkerchief, thinking to overwhelm me with happineſs. My trembling hand had nearly let it fall. But what would he not have done with me, had I excited his anger? I appeared then ſubmiſſive, without appearing pleaſed, and bent my knee with reluctance. I was ſeverely ſcolded for it by the old governeſs; and I was ſtrictly enjoined to lay aſide my ridiculous modeſty in the evening.

[To be concluded in our next.]

ANECDOTES *of* FEMALE HEROISM.

NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been ſaid of the neceſſity of women, who wiſh to be amiable, confining themſelves to the virtues of domeſtic life, I think that no one ever met with any genuine inſtance of courage and magnanimity in the ſex, but who felt the glow of admiration in as ſtrong a degree, as if the exploit, or ſentiment, had been recorded of that part of the ſpecies to which we have ſo often been told, the bolder traits of character ought to be confined.

Cornelia, it is true, boaſting of her children as her only jewels, brings to the imagination a picture of maternal tenderneſs, which every lover of domeſtic life muſt contemplate with delight; and the charming delineation of the mild virtues and innocence of Shakſpeare's Deſdemona, muſt awaken in every heart the moſt tender feelings of pity; but a tide of bolder paſſion ſwells the heart, when we think of the more than manly fortitude of 'the daughter of the virtuous Southampton *,' or behold the noble vengeance of 'the Grecian Daughter.' I even confeſs, that ſome of the martial heroines of antiquity command my regard; and that Voltaire, in my opinion, would have had leſs to anſwer for, if he had never made the celebrated Maid of Orleans the object of his buffoonery.

Indeed, I ſhould not be fond of a nation of Amazons, who would meet our careſſes claſped in coats of mail; but there are inſtances of military exploits performed by the ſex, that appear to me to demand univerſal admiration.

Among theſe, the two following may be particularly inſtanced.

Dartmouth having twice been burned by the French, once in the reign of Richard I, and once in that of Henry IV, the ſame daring depredators made a third attempt to repeat their dreadful ravages, when female valour effected what our bolder ſex were unable to perform. Charging them with Amazonian courage, they defeated the invaders, and took their general, three lords, and twenty-three knights, priſoners of war.

When the Turks, in the year 1507,

* Lady Ruſſel.

made

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made a descent on Corzola, one of the Dalmatian islands, the men, struck with a panic, deserted the capital, and fled into the country, leaving the women to the mercy of the enemy; but these, far from submitting, defended the place, and repulsed the enemy.

In short, the bold exertions to which women have been roused, when the exigencies of the times demanded them, have a tendency to persuade us, that the timidity so generally remarkable in them, is rather an artificial than a natural trait of female character; and that there is some degree of truth in the observation, that men affect to have more, and women less courage than in reality belongs to them.

To those, however, who cannot so far subdue their prejudices, as to admire these instances of female valour, the following anecdote, which displays the highest elevation of spirit, without any mixture of ferocity, may perhaps be more agreeable.

Barneveldt, the celebrated Dutch statesman, having given umbrage by his patriotic zeal, to Maurice prince of Orange, was falsely accused of a design to deliver his country into the hands of the Spanish monarch; and upon this absurd charge was tried, condemned, and beheaded in 1619. His sons William and René, to revenge his death, formed a real conspiracy against the stadtholder, which was discovered. William fled: but René was taken and condemned to die; which fatal circumstance has immortalized the memory of his mother, who immediately went to prince Maurice to solicit a pardon for her son; upon which the prince expressed his surprise that she should do that for her son which she had refused for her husband. To this remark, she replied with indignation—'I would not ask a pardon for my husband, because he was innocent: I solicit it for my son, because he is guilty.'

A WINTER EXCURSION.

AN ingenious friend of mine, an ardent lover of picturesque beauty, is, however, so enthusiastically attached to the charming prospects of a particular season, that he refuses to open his eyes to the attractions of any other. Constitutionally disposed to a kind of melancholy indolence, (which he never thinks of throwing off, except when the return of his favorite season prompts him to a few occasional exertions) he has, like the generality of students, rather fortified than corrected his foible by the complexion of his favorite studies, and defends them with all the inveterate obstinacy of unfounded prejudice. The luxuriant beauties of the maturer year, the solemn and magnificent variety of autumn, and the awful and extensive, nay, the sometimes *refulgent* scenery of winter, are all obstinately overlooked in the regret that spring, the gay season of hope and joy, of harmony and love, is fled with all her vivid tints and delightful sensations, and has left only a gloomy vacuum behind.

Unlike my friend, I can enjoy, it is true, all the lively impressions of the vernal season—its hues, its odours, its inspiring song; and, above all, its reviving gales and resuscitating beams: but I can gaze, also, with rapture, on the fruitful luxuriancy of summer, her exulting orchards, and fields of vegetable gold; and when, pensive and alone, I wander among the embrowning hues and flitting foliage of autumn, I am struck with a kind of divine melancholy, a species of moral enthusiasm, which I would not exchange for all the exhilarating scenery of the early year. Nay, even in winter itself (to say nothing of its social pleasures) I can verify the observation of Addison, and find some clear and sunshiny days, in which the pleasures of a rural walk, though inferior, it is true, to those of the other seasons, give tone and vivacity to the system, and present a variety of

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objects not unworthy the attention of the contemplative philosopher, and well calculated to give, by the recollection of striking contrasts, and additional varieties, an increasing charm to the beauties of the favoured seasons, as they successively revolve.

Yes, Nature! yes: to my enthusiast eye,
When vernal brightness flushes every charm,
Thy vivid rays and breathing tints supply
The fond delights that youthful fancy warm.

Thy budding sweets, thy universal green,
(Save where the hawthorn blossoms to the view)
Thy caroll'd strains, and perfum'd gales serene,
Thy midday blush, and tears of matin dew,—

All, all enchant; and in my glowing breast
Rouse from long slumber joy's ecstatic train,
While the gay spirits, now no more oppress't,
Fly thro' each nerve, and glow in every vein:

Nor less gay Summer, bounteous in her charms,
The grateful heart of admiration warms!

But, ah! when Autumn, sober-suited pow'r!
O'er the luxuriant herbage flings her veil,
With browner tints to tinge each artless bow'r,
When first the foliage flies before the gale,—

Then when each object drinks the deeper die,
And fresh varieties of sombre hue
Sort with the solemn glories of the sky,
With new delight thy alter'd charms I view:

Charms that each vain fantastic joy restrain,
And lull each tumult of the wayward soul,
While Contemplation's heav'n-instructed vein
Awakes of Reason's pow'r the soft control:

Ah! then, how sweet, how lasting, and serene
Thy poet's joy to trace the rural scene!

It was in this kind of humour that I seized the opportunity of one of the cheerful and invigorating days, during the present season, and sallied forth in quest of such picturesque observations as Nature might yet afford, and such traits of human character as the circumstances I might encounter should reveal.

In my *adventures*, there was little which, according to general calculation, could be thought worthy of remark. Yet was my excursion both instructive and entertaining; for there needs no miracle to operate on the rational mind, or fix the attention of the contemplative rambler, who seeks abroad for instruction; no wonderful adventure to entertain the mind of him, who can look into the movements of the human heart, and penetrate, from the superficial beauties, to the curious operations of Nature: the *wonder!* the *miracle!* is, that in every scene, every object to which we turn, the various lessons of delight and mental improvement are not impressed on our imagination! This deep snow, for example, that invests the whole wintry prospect, as it presents itself, in every direction, to our view, does it not stimulate enquiry into those mysterious laws of nature, by which, as by a warm mantle, the springing products of the frozen glebe are not only defended, but cherished?

If mere imagination is to be gratified, when is the season, when the day, the hour, in which the eye may not be regaled by some new shade, some variety of phenomena which nature had never before presented. Even yon group of leafless trees that imperfectly screen the noble mansion, they lately embowered with such luxuriant beauty, is not without its charms in the midst of its barrenness; and the intersecting sprays that seemed, at a distance, like a dark exhalation curling from the ground, now shaking their fleecy honours in the breeze, display an amusing spectacle.

And as for the better feelings of the heart, the important instructions of morality,

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morality, every ſcene, and every period is fertile enough with incidents and objects, by which theſe may be cheriſhed and improved, if the ſoil is but favorable to the culture.

This cold breeze, for example, mercileſs as the inſenſate heart of pride and luxury, does it not preach, to thoſe who will expoſe themſelves to feel it, the neceſſity of benevolence? Theſe naked hedges, theſe diſmantled trees, do they not remind us how many poor, ſhivering, uſeful members of ſociety (whoſe toil, though ſuperior to their ſtrength, is inadequate to the demands of nature and affection) are in want even of the comforts of raiment? In theſe little cottages alſo, that are ſcattered by the way ſide, in the ſcanty fagot blazing on that hearth, and yon ruddy ſhivering group of half-clothed children flocking round the feeble flame, how many admonitions will be felt by every being of genuine benevolence, to prompt his liberality and ſtimulate his exertions for the melioration of the condition of the induſtrious poor!—Alas! are there no ſuperfluities in our annual expenditure, that might be applied, during theſe inclement ſeaſons, to the relief of theſe little friendleſs innocents—to the clothing of their ſhivering limbs, to the cultivation of their neglected minds?

Nor is this little decent thatch, whoſe aged tenant, with ſilent reſpect, opens the gate as I approach it, uneloquent to the ſympathizing heart. Stop, gentle traveller! who poſſeſſeſt the bleſſings of a proſperous fortune; let her pleading courteſy awaken thy generous feelings; and as thou droppeſt thy benediction in her grateful hand, liſten to her ſimple ſtory. It is neither intricate nor rare, but it is not, on that account, the leſs worthy of thy commiſeration. She has known better days; and the ſimple plenty of her homely board, was once bleſſed by the preſence of all thoſe connexions that ſweeten life. She has known alſo the ſeaſon of more melancholy depreſſion; and the calm humility of her preſent ſituation, which her piety conſiders as the crown of her former reſignation to the will of heaven, appears like the ſunſhine of proſperity to the ſtorms and troubles ſhe has encountered. She is the widow of an induſtrious huſbandman, whoſe aſſiduity and good fortune had placed him a little above the loweſt order of rural labourers, and whoſe frugality, ſeconded by her endeavours, procured for their little family the neceſſaries and decencies of life. But war, fatal war, the deſtroyer alike of private happineſs and public proſperity, blaſted all the enjoyments and proſpects of this little family. The poor man had unfortunately been to ſea, in his youth, and a preſſ-gang hurried him away from all thoſe tender and helpleſs connexions, whoſe ſubſiſtence and felicity he found himſelf ſo competent to procure, while peace ſpread her ſheltering plumage over his cottage, and protected the uſeful tillage of the field. The diſtreſs of their ſeparation was ſhortly followed by the intelligence of his death; and the poor family was not only left without ſupport, but without hope; till a benevolent gentleman, in the neighbourhood, built and furniſhed the preſent little habitation by the road ſide, againſt the gate which marks the boundary of a common. Here, upon the fruits of her own induſtry, aſſiſted by the liberality of her patron, and the contributions of the generous traveller, the poor widow continues to ſupport her orphan children.

She is fallen now into the fere of the leaf, and the hardſhips with which ſhe has ſtruggled, have haſtened the encroachments of old age; but there is a cheerful modeſty, a reſignation in her looks and deportment, that cannot fail of intereſting the phyſiognomiſt in her favour; nor could I diſcover, in all the furrows of her aged countenance, a ſingle line that ſeemed reproachfully to enquire of Providence 'Wherefore haſt thou dealt thus with thy ſervant?'

Such are the humble objects which often

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often employ my meditations—the '*Little things*,' which, in defiance of the ſneers of ſcientific ignorance, I muſt ſtill continue to conſider as '*great to little man*;' and by the inceſſant ſearch after which I place the pleaſure of my rambles, in ſome degree, beyond the reach of accidental changes in the weather. If, in ſome ſummer ramble, a ſudden cloud envelopes the ſplendid face of heaven, I compare the phenomenon with the philoſophical theories, by which it has been explained. If a ſtorm ariſes, I fly for ſhelter to ſome cottage, or little alehouſe by the way ſide, where the converſation and manners of an order of ſociety, whoſe habits, ſentiments, and opinions are ſo different from my own, paſs in entertaining review before me; or accommodate myſelf under the protecting roof of ſome barn, or hovel, where I can contemplate, at my leiſure, the varying appearances of nature, and increaſe the delightful treaſures of imagination.

The Winter's Excurſion I am here relating, I flatter myſelf has not been barren of inſtruction.—When the poſition of the ſun warned me of the neceſſity of return, I began to exult in the acquiſition of ideas and of a vivacity which had been the conſequences of my exertion; and to turn my face once more toward that ſcene, where I have always been taught to hope, and where at length I have been happy enough to find, the enjoyment of the moſt ſincere and permanent ſatisfaction.

Dear ſocial dome, from whom awhile,
With truant ſteps, I rove,
That ſo at eve thy cheerful ſmile
May more endearing prove!

That ſo, as my eccentric feet
Thro' wilds and woodlands ſtray,
Or quit awhile the lone retreat
Life's follies to ſurvey;

What ſcenes in human life prevail,
And Nature's varying hues,
May lengthen out the cheerful tale,
Thy circle to amuſe!

To thee, thus pleas'd and gay at heart,
My anxious ſtep returns,
The day's adventures to impart
While blithe thy fagot burns.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *and* WRITINGS *of* DANIEL DE FOE:

Concluded from page 23.

ABOUT this time, lord Godolphin, who knew how to diſcriminate characters, determined to employ De Foe on a very important commiſſion. The queen ſaid to him, while he kiſſed her hand, ſhe had ſuch ſatisfaction in his former ſervices, that ſhe had again appointed him for another affair, which was ſomething nice, but the treaſurer would tell him the reſt. In three days he was ſent to Scotland. His knowledge of commerce and revenue, his powers of inſinuation, and his readineſs of pen, were deemed of no ſmall utility in promoting the union. He arrived at Edinburgh, in October 1706; and we find him no inconſiderable actor in that greateſt of all good works. He attended the committees of parliament, for whoſe uſe he made ſeveral of the calculations on the ſubject of trade and taxes. He endeavoured to confute all that was publiſhed by the writers in Scotland againſt the union; and he had his ſhare of danger, ſince, as he ſays, he was watched by the mob; had his chamber windows inſulted; but, by the prudence of his friends, and God's providence, he eſcaped *. In the midſt of this great ſcene of buſineſs and tumult, he collected the documents, which he afterward publiſhed for the inſtruction of poſterity, with regard to one of the moſt difficult tranſactions in our annals.

In December 1706, he publiſhed Caledonia, a poem, in honour of the

* Hiſtory of the Union, page 239.

Scots

Scots nation. On the 16th of January, the act of union was paſſed by the Scots parliament; and De Foe returned to London, in February 1707. How he was rewarded by the miniſters who derived a benefit from ſuch ſervices, and from ſuch danger, as he does not tell, cannot now be known: Mr. Chalmers is inclined to think, that it was not by an office, but by a penſion *.

His Hiſtory of the Union he publiſhed in 1709, though he was engaged in other lucubrations, and gave the world a Review three times a week. His hiſtory ſeems to have been little noticed when it firſt appeared. Yet it was republiſhed in 1712; and a third time in 1786, when a ſimilar union had become a public topic. The ſubject of this work is the completion of a meaſure, which was carried into effect, notwithſtanding obſtructions apparently inſurmountable, and tumults approaching to rebellion; and which has produced the ends deſigned, beyond expectation, whether we conſider its influence on the government, or its operation on the governed.

De Foe publiſhed in 1709, The Hiſtory of Addreſſes; which was followed, in 1711, by a ſecond volume, with remarks ſerious and comical. His purpoſe plainly was to abate, by ridicule, the public ferment with regard to Sacheverel, whoſe conduct, by a kind of fatality or folly, occaſioned ſome eventful changes.

It is impoſſible to follow De Foe through the whole of his political warfare. He now lived at Newington, in comfortable circumſtances, and was principally employed in writing the Review; which, at laſt, he relinquiſhed, after nine years continuance; in Newgate it began, and in Newgate it ended. Whether we conſider the frequency of the publication, or the power of his diſquiſitions, the pertinacity of his opponents, or the addreſs of his defences, amid other ſtudies, without aſſiſtants, this muſt be allowed to be ſuch a work, as few of our writers have equalled. When he relinquiſhed the Review, he began to write A General Hiſtory of Trade, which he propoſed to publiſh in monthly numbers; but this hiſtory, which exhibits the ingenuity, the ſtrength, and the piety of De Foe, extended only to two numbers. He appears, at laſt, to have been ſilenced by noiſe, obloquy, and inſult; and finding himſelf treated in this manner, he declined writing at all, and ſecreted himſelf, for a time, at Halifax, or the borders of Lancaſhire. And obſerving here the inſolence of the Jacobite party, and how they inſinuated the Pretender's rights into the common people, he ſays, 'I ſet pen to paper again, by writing A ſeaſonable Caution; and, to open the eyes of the poor ignorant country people, I gave away this all over the kingdom.' With the ſame laudable purpoſe he wrote three other pamphlets; the firſt, 'What, if the Pretender ſhould come?' the ſecond, 'Reaſons againſt the Succeſſion of the Houſe of Hanover;' the third, 'What if the Queen ſhould die?'—'Nothing could be more plain,' ſays he, 'than that the titles of theſe were amuſements †, in order to put the books into the hands of thoſe people, who had been deluded by the Jacobites.' Theſe pamphlets were ſo much approved by the zealous friends of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, that they were diligent to diſperſe them through the moſt diſtant counties. And yet the reader will learn, with indignation, that for theſe De Foe was arreſted, obliged to give 800l. bail, contrary to the Bill of Rights, and proſecuted by information, in Trinity term 1713. This

* Life, page 33.

† Theſe pamphlets were filled with palpable banter. He recommends the Pretender by ſaying, that 'the Prince would confer on every one the privilege of wearing wooden ſhoes,' and, at the ſame time, 'eaſe the nobility and gentry of the hazard and expence of winter journies to parliament.'

perſecu-

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profecution was inſtituted by the abſurd zeal of Mr. Auditor Benſon. Our author attributes it to the malice of his enemies, who were numerous and powerful. No inconſiderable people were heard to ſay, that they knew the books were againſt the Pretender, but that De Foe had diſobliged them in other things, and they reſolved to take this advantage to puniſh him. He was prompted by conſciouſneſs of innocence to defend himſelf in the Review during the proſecution, which offended the judges, who, being infected with the violent ſpirit of the times, committed him to Newgate in Eaſter term 1713. He was, however, ſoon releaſed, on making a proper ſubmiſſion. But it was happy for De Foe that the earl of Oxford was ſtill in power; for that nobleman procured him the queen's pardon, in November 1713.

'No ſooner was the queen dead,' ſays De Foe, 'but the rage of men increaſed upon me to that degree, that their threats were ſuch as I am unable to expreſs. Though I have written nothing ſince the queen's death; yet, a great many things are called by my name, and I bear the anſwerers inſults. I have not ſeen or ſpoken with the earl of Oxford, ſince the king's landing, but once; yet, he bears the reproach of my writing for him, and I the rage of men for doing it.'—De Foe appears, indeed, to have been ſtunned by factious clamour, and overborne, though not ſilenced, by unmerited obloquy. He probably loſt his original appointment, when the earl of Oxford was finally expelled. Inſtead of meeting with reward for his zealous ſervices in ſupport of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, he was, on the acceſſion of George I, diſcountenanced even by thoſe who had derived a benefit from his active exertions. Thus cruelly circumſtanced, he publiſhed in 1715, his 'Appeal to Honour and Juſtice, being a true Account of his Conduct in public Affairs.' As a motive for this intrepid meaſure, he affectingly ſays, 'By the hints of mortality, and the infirmities of a life of ſorrow and fatigue, I have reaſon to think, that I am very near to the great ocean of eternity; and the time may not be long ere I embark on the laſt voyage: wherefore, I think I ſhould even accounts with this world before I go; that no ſlanders may lie againſt my heirs, to diſturb them in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their father's inheritance, his character.'—Before he could finiſh his appeal, he was ſtruck with an apoplexy. After languiſhing more than ſix weeks, neither able to go on, nor likely to recover, his friends would delay the publication no longer. 'It is the opinion of moſt who know him,' ſays Baker, the publiſher, 'that the treatment which he here complains of, and others of which he would have ſpoken, have been the cauſe of this diſaſter.' When the ardent mind of De Foe reflected on what he had done, and what he had ſuffered, his heart melted in deſpair. His ſpirit, like a candle ſtruggling in the ſocket, blazed and ſunk, and blazed and ſunk, till it diſappeared in darkneſs.

The year 1715 may be regarded as the period of our author's political life. The death of Anne, and the acceſſion of George the firſt, ſeem to have convinced him of the vanity of party-writing. And from this eventful epoch, he appears to have ſtudied how to meliorate the heart; and how to regulate the practice of life.

In 1715 he publiſhed The Family Inſtructor, in three parts; firſt, relating to Fathers and Children; 2d, to Maſters and Servants; 3d, to Huſbands and Wives. To this he added a ſecond volume, in two parts; firſt, relating to Family Breaches; 2dly, to the great Miſtake, of mixing the Paſſions in the managing of Children. Both volumes conſiſt of a ſeries of pleaſing and inſtructive Dialogues. His Religious Courtſhip, publiſhed in 1722, may be conſidered as a third volume: the deſign is equally moral, and the manner equally attractive.

In 1719, he publiſhed the Life and ſur-

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ſurpriſing Adventures of Robinſon Cruſoe, the moſt popular of all his performances. The reception was immediate and univerſal; and Taylor, who purchaſed the manuſcript, after every bookſeller had refuſed it, is ſaid to have gained by it 1000l. 'If it be inquired,' ſays Mr. Chalmers, 'by what charm it is that theſe ſurpriſing Adventures ſhould have inſtantly pleaſed, and always pleaſed, it will be found, that few books have ever ſo naturally mingled amuſement with inſtruction. The attention is fixed, either by the ſimplicity of the narration, or by the variety of the incidents; the heart is amended by "a vindication of the ways of God to man;" and the underſtanding is informed, by various examples, how much utility ought to be preferred to ornament: the young are inſtructed, while the old are amuſed.'—'Was there ever,' ſaid Johnſon to Piozzi, 'any thing written by mere man, that was wiſhed longer by its readers, except Don Quixote, Robinſon Cruſoe, and the Pilgrim's Progreſs?' The Life of Cruſoe has paſſed through innumerable editions, and has been tranſlated into foreign languages, while the criticiſms upon it (for it was immediately attacked by all the weapons of dulneſs and malignity) have ſunk into oblivion.

In 1719, De Foe publiſhed a ſecond volume of 'Surpriſing Adventures,' with ſimilar ſucceſs. In 1720, he produced 'Serious Reflections during the Life of Robinſon Cruſoe, with his Viſion of the Angelic World.' But this third volume did not meet with equal applauſe. It is now never enquired after.

The tongue of detraction is ſeldom at reſt. It has often been repeated, that De Foe had ſurreptitiouſly appropriated the papers of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotch mariner, who having lived ſolitarily on the iſle of Juan Fernandez, four years and four months, was relieved on the 2d of February, 1708-9, by captain Woodes Rogers, in his Voyage round the World. 'But let no one,' ſays Mr. Chalmers, 'draw inferences till the fact be aſcertained. The adventures of Selkirk had been thrown into the air, in 1712, for literary hawks to devour*; and De Foe may have caught a common prey, which he converted to the uſes of his intellect, and diſtributed for the purpoſes of his intereſt. Thus he may have fairly acquired the fundamental incident of Cruſoe's life; but he did not borrow the various events, the uſeful moralities, or the engaging ſtyle. Few men could write ſuch a poem; and few Selkirks could imitate ſo pathetic an original. It was the happineſs of De Foe, that as many writers have ſucceeded in relating enterpriſes by land, he excelled in narrating adventures by ſea, with ſuch felicities of language, ſuch attractive varieties, ſuch inſinuative inſtruction, as have ſeldom been equalled, but never ſurpaſſed.'

* The whole ſtory of Selkirk is told in Rogers' voyage, publiſhed in 1712; whence it appears, that Selkirk had preſerved no pen, ink, or paper, and had loſt his language; ſo that he had no papers to communicate. There is an account of Selkirk in The Engliſhman, No. 26. The manner how Selkirk lived in the iſle of Juan Fernandez, is related in captain Cook's voyage into the South Sea, publiſhed in 1712; and Selkirk's tale was told in the Memoirs of Literature, vol. 5. ſo that the world was fully poſſeſſed of it in 1712, ſeven years prior to the publication of Cruſoe. Nor were his adventures ſingular; for Ringroſe mentions, in his account of captain Sharp's voyage, a perſon who had eſcaped ſingly from a ſhip that had been wrecked on Juan Fernandez, and who had lived alone five years before he was relieved; and Dampier mentions a Moſquito Indian, who having been accidentally left on this iſland, ſubſiſted three years ſolitarily, till that voyager carried him off. From which of theſe De Foe borrowed his great incident, it is not eaſy to diſcover. In the preface to The Serious Reflections, he indeed ſays, 'That there is a man alive and well known, the actions of whoſe life are the juſt ſubject of theſe volumes, and to whom the moſt part of the ſtory directly alludes.' This turns the ſcale in favour of Selkirk. Chalmers, page 55.

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De Foe published, in 1720, 'The complete Art of Painting,' which he *did into English* from the French of Du Fresnoy. Dryden had before given a translation of this poem, which has been esteemed for its knowledge of the sister arts. What could tempt De Foe to this undertaking it is not easy to discover. Dryden has been praised for relinquishing vicious habits of composition, and adopting better models for his muse. De Foe, after he had seen the correctness of Pope, remained regardless of sweeter numbers. His politics and his poetry would not have preserved his name beyond the fleeting day.

It does not appear that De Foe lived, at this period, in pecuniary distress: for his genius and industry were to him the mines of Potosi: and, in 1722, he obtained from the corporation of Colchester, a ninety-nine years lease of Kingswood Heath, at a yearly rent of 120l. with a fine of 500l. This transaction seems to evince some degree of wealth; though the assignment of his lease, not long after, to Walter Bernard, equally proves, that he could not easily hold what he had obtained. Kingswood Heath is now worth 300l. a year.

The success of Crusoe induced De Foe to publish, in 1720, 'The Life and Piracies of captain Singleton,' though not with similar success. In 1725, he gave 'A New Voyage round the World, by a Course never sailed before.' In the life of Crusoe we are gratified by continually imagining that the fiction is a fact: in the Voyage round the World we are pleased, by constantly perceiving that the fact is a fiction, which, by uncommon skill, is made more interesting than a genuine voyage.

He published, in 1720, the History of Duncan Campbell, who was born deaf and dumb, but who himself taught the deaf and dumb to understand. The author has contrived, that the merriest passages shall end with some edifying moral. The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders followed in 1721. In this book, De Foe artfully endeavours, that the reader shall be more pleased with the moral than the fable, and with the application than the relation. The same year he published a work of a similar tendency, the Life of Colonel Jaque, who was born a gentleman but bred a pickpocket. In 1724, appeared the 'Fortunate Mistress, or the Adventures of Roxana.' Perhaps the world has not been made much wiser or better by the perusal of these lives: they may have diverted the lower orders; but it may be a question whether they have much improved them: They certainly do not exhibit many scenes which are welcome to cultivated minds. Of a very different quality are the 'Memoirs of a Cavalier, during the Civil Wars in England.' This is a romance the most like to truth that ever was written; a narrative of great events, drawn with such simplicity, and enlivened with such reflections, as to inform the ignorant and entertain the wise.

The moral writings of De Foe must at last give him a superiority over the crowd of his contemporaries. The approbation which has been long given to his Family Instructor and Religious Courtship, seems to contain the favourable decision of his countrymen. But there are still other performances of this nature, of not inferior merit. In 1722, he published 'A Journal of the Plague in 1665.' The author's artifice consists in fixing the reader's attention by the deep distress of fellow-men; and, by recalling his recollection to striking examples of mortality, he endeavours to inculcate the necessity of reformation. In 1724, he published 'The great Law of Subordination;' an admirable commentary on the unsufferable behaviour of servants. He gave the Political History of the Devil, in 1726; a charming performance, in which he engages reasoning and wit, persuasion and ridicule, on the side of religion, with wonderful efficacy. He wrote 'A System of Magic,' in 1726. This

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may be regarded as a ſupplement to the Hiſtory of the Devil. His views and execution are exactly the ſame. In 1727, he publiſhed his 'Treatiſe on the Uſe and Abuſe of the Marriage-bed;' an excellent book, with an improper title-page.

He publiſhed his Tour through England, in 1724 and 1725; and through Scotland, in 1727. He was not one of thoſe travellers who ſeldom quit the banks of the Thames. He had made extenſive excurſions, with obſervant eyes and a vigorous intellect. The great art of theſe volumes conſiſts in the frequent mention of ſuch men and things, as are always welcome to the reader's mind.

De Foe publiſhed, in 1727, 'The Complete Engliſh Tradeſman;' directing him in the ſeveral parts of trade. A ſecond volume followed, addreſſed to the more experienced and opulent traders. In theſe treatiſes are many directions of buſineſs, and many leſſons of prudence; and, with the ſame ſalutary views, he publiſhed, in 1728, 'A Plan of the Engliſh Commerce.'

De Foe died in April 1731, in the pariſh of St. Giles' Cripplegate. He left a widow, who did not long ſurvive him, and ſix ſons and daughters. His ſon Daniel is ſaid to have emigrated to Carolina: of Benjamin, his ſecond ſon, no account can be given. His daughter Sophia, married Mr. Henry Baker, a reſpectable natural philoſopher, who died in 1774. His daughter Maria married one Langley; but Hannah and Henrietta probably remained unmarried, ſince they were heireſſes only of a name, which did not recommend them *. In this information, reſpecting the family of De Foe, Mr. Chalmers is no doubt accurate as far as he goes. But either Daniel or Benjamin certainly left daughters. About the year 1745, miſs Mary De Foe, a grandaughter of our author's, boarded in a private family at Chelmsford in Eſſex. She was married, about the year 1749, to Mr. John Thorne, a ſhopkeeper, at Braintree, in the ſame county. She died a widow, about the year 1775, leaving a ſon (ſince dead) and two daughters. She was a zealous diſſenter, and ſeemed to inherit her grandfather's ſarcaſtic ſpirit. A ſiſter of her's was alſo living within a few years: ſhe was the wife of Mr. Standerwick, haberdaſher and milliner, in Cornhill.

De Foe probably died inſolvent; for letters of adminiſtration were granted to Mary Brooke, widow, a creditrix, in September 1733, after ſummoning in official form the next of kin to appear. John Dunton †, who perſonally knew our author, deſcribes him, in 1705, as a man of good parts and clear ſenſe; of a converſation, ingenious and briſk; of a ſpirit, enterpriſing and bold, but of little prudence; with good nature and real honeſty.

'De Foe,' ſays Mr. Chalmers, in the concluſion of his excellent Life of our Author, 'has not yet outlived his century. Yet the time is come, when he muſt be acknowledged as one of the ableſt and moſt captivating writers of which this iſland can boaſt. Before he can be admitted to this pre-eminence, he muſt be conſidered diſtinctly, as a poet, a noveliſt, a polemic, a commercial writer, and a grave hiſtorian.

'As a poet, we muſt look to the end of his effuſions rather than to his execution, ere we can allow him conſiderable praiſe. To mollify national animoſities, and to vindicate national rights, are certainly noble objects, which merit the vigour and imagination of Milton, or the flow and preciſion of Pope; but our author's energy runs into harſhneſs, and his ſweetneſs is to be taſted in his proſe more than in his poeſy. If we regard the Adventures of Cruſoe, like the Adventures of Telemachus, as a poem, his moral incidents, and lan-

* Chalmers, page 63. † John Dunton's Life and Errors, 239-42.

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guage, muſt lift him high on the poet's ſcale. His profeſſed poems, whether we contemplate the propriety of ſentiment, or the ſuavity of numbers, may indeed, without much loſs of pleaſure or inſtruction, be reſigned to thoſe, who, in imitation of Pope, poach in the fields of obſolete poetry for brilliant thoughts, felicities of phraſe, or for happy rhymes.

'As a noveliſt, every one will place him in the foremoſt rank, who conſiders his originality, his performance, and his purpoſe. 'The Ship of Fools,' had indeed been launched in early times; but who, like De Foe, had ever carried his reader to ſea, in order to mend the heart, and regulate the practice of life, by ſhewing his readers the effects of adverſity, or how they might equally be called to ſuſtain his hero's trials, as they ſailed round the world. But, without attractions, neither the originality, nor the end, can have any ſalutary conſequence. This he had foreſeen; and for this he has provided, by giving his adventures in a ſtyle ſo pleaſing, becauſe it is ſimple, and ſo intereſting becauſe it is particular, that every one fancies he could write a ſimilar language. It was then idle in Boyer formerly, or in Smollet lately, to ſpeak of De Foe as 'a party writer, in little eſtimation.' The writings of no author ſince have run through more numerous editions. And he whoſe works have pleaſed generally and pleaſed long, muſt be deemed a writer of no ſmall eſtimation; the people's verdict being the proper teſt of what they are the proper judges.

'As a polemic, I fear we muſt regard our author with leſs kindneſs, though it muſt be recollected, that he lived during a contentious period, when two parties diſtracted the nation, and writers indulged in great aſperities. But, in oppoſition to reproach, let it ever be remembered, that he defended freedom, without anarchy; that he ſupported toleration, without libertiniſm; that he pleaded for moderation, even amid violence. With acuteneſs of intellect, with keenneſs of wit, with archneſs of diction, and pertinacity of deſign; it muſt be allowed that nature had qualified, in a high degree, De Foe for a diſputant. His polemical treatiſes, whatever might have been their attractions once, may now be delivered without reſerve to thoſe who delight in polemical reading. De Foe, it muſt be allowed, was a party-writer: but, were not Swift and Prior, Steele and Addiſon, Halifax and Bolingbroke, party-writers? De Foe, being a party-writer upon ſettled principles, did not change his ſentiments with a change of parties: Addiſon and Steele, Prior and Swift, connected as they were with perſons, changed their note as perſons were elevated or depreſſed.

'As a commercial writer, De Foe is fairly intitled to ſtand in the foremoſt rank among his contemporaries, whatever may be their performances or their fame. Little would be his praiſe, to ſay of him, that he wrote on commercial legiſlation like Addiſon, who, when he touches on trade, ſinks into imbecility, without knowledge of fact, or power of argument. The diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of De Foe, as a commercial diſquiſitor, are originality and depth. He has many ſentiments with regard to traffic, which are ſcattered through his Reviews, and which I never read in any other book. His 'Giving Alms no Charity' is a capital performance, with the exception of one or two thoughts about the abridgment of labour by machinery, which are either half-formed or half-expreſſed. Were we to compare De Foe with D'Avenant, it would be found, that D'Avenant, has more detail from official documents; that De Foe has more fact from wider inquiry. D'Avenant is more apt to conſider laws in their particular application; De Foe more frequently inveſtigates commercial legiſlation in its general effects. From the publications of D'Avenant it is, ſufficiently clear, that he was not very regardful of means, or very attentive

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attentive to consequences. De Foe is more correct in his motives, and more salutary in his ends. But, as a commercial prophet, De Foe must yield the palm to Child *; who foreseeing from experience that men's conduct must finally be directed by their principles, foretold the colonial revolt: De Foe, allowing his prejudices to obscure his sagacity, reprobated that suggestion, because he deemed interest a more strenuous prompter than enthusiasm. Were we, however, to form an opinion, not from special passages, but from whole performances, we must incline to De Foe, when compared with the ablest contemporary: we must allow him the preference; on recollection, that when he writes on commerce he seldom fails to insinuate some axiom of morals, or to inculcate some precept of religion.

'As an historian, it will be found, that our author had few equals in the English language, when he wrote. His Memoirs of a Cavalier shew how well he could execute the lighter narratives. His History of the Union evinces that he was equal to the higher department of historic composition. This is an account of a single event, difficult indeed in its execution, but beneficial certainly in its consequences. With extraordinary skill and information, our author relates, not only the event, but the transactions which preceded, and the effects which followed. He is at once learned and intelligent. Considering the factiousness of the age, his candour is admirable. His moderation is exemplary. And if he spoke of James I as a tyrant, he only exercised the prerogative, which our historians formerly enjoyed, of casting obloquy on an unfortunate race, in order to supply deficience of knowledge, of elegance, and of style. In this instance De Foe allowed his prejudice to overpower his philosophy. If the language of his narrative want the dignity of the great historians of the current times, it has greater facility; if it be not always grammatical, it is generally precise; and if it be thought defective in strength, it must be allowed to excel in sweetness.

'Such then are the pretensions of De Foe to be acknowledged as one of the ablest and most useful writers of our island.'—As the best proof of this assertion, Mr. Chalmers has compiled a copious chronological catalogue of our author's works, comprising no less than sixteen pages. To this, of course, we refer our readers.

ANECDOTE *of King* GEORGE II.

GEORGE II was very exact in trifles. His handkerchiefs, shirts, cravats, &c. were regularly numbered; and it would put him in a great passion to give him one of those articles that did not correspond in number with the others. He was equally exact in other circumstances. One day, as the page was carrying a bag after him, to be deposited in a small iron chest, in a closet near his bedchamber, the bag burst, and one of the guineas that fell rolled under the door of another closet, where some piles of wood lay.—'Have you picked up all the money?' said the king.—'All but one guinea, sire,' answered the page, 'which has rolled in among the wood, and which I shall look for presently.'—'We will look for it *now*,' said the king; 'set the bag down, and assist me to remove the wood.'—To work they both went, when, after toiling about a quarter of an hour, the guinea was found.—'Well!' said the king, quite pleased, 'I think we have worked hard for this guinea; but as you seem to have laboured the most, do you take it for your pains; I would have nothing lost.'

* Sir Josiah Child, grandfather to the late earl Tylney.

METEO-

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METEOROLOGICAL JOURNAL, January 1793.

D.	H.	Baro.	T. out	T. in	Hyg.	C.	Wind.	Weather, &c.
1	8	29,87	35,5	43	51,5	f	SSW 1	: rain
	2	29,81	38,5	42	50	f	S 1	. little wet at times : rain
2	8	29,81	35,5	46	51,5	f	S 1	little rain
	2	29,81	39	47	50	f	N 1	
3	8	29,95	32	43,5	50	f	N 1	. very foggy
	2	29,93	33,5	44,5	50,5	f	N 1	very foggy. leſs fog at eve
4	8	30,14	34,5	44,5	53	5	E 1	
	2	29,79	36,5	43,5	50	4	E 1	. fine eve
5	8	29,82	37,5	42	50	4	SSE 1	. chiefly gentle rain
	2	29,68	40,5	44	53,5	5	S 1	little rain. fine night
6	8	29,98	36	44	50	4	W 1	. fine
	2	30,08	40	45,5	49,5	2	WNW 2	
7	8	30,23	33,5	42	50	f	W 1	. chiefly drizzling
	2	30,12	40	46	54	5	SSE 1	. little rain : much rain
8	8	29,74	45,5	48	59	5	SW 2	. fine and wind NW
	2	29,91	45	50	50,5	3	NW 3	. leſs wind
9	8	30,15	34	46	50	f	WNW 1	. very foggy : leſs fog
	2	30,17	38,5	47	50,5	3	W 1	hazy
10	8	29,86	41,5	47	58	5	SSW 1	. little rain at times
	2	29,73	49	49	57	5	S 1	. little wet at times. fine night
11	8	29,60	45	47	56	3	SSW 2	: cloudy
	2	29,52	47	51,5	53	5	S 3	chiefly rain and more wind
12	8	29,01	44	48	54	5	S 4	rain at times. fine
N	2	29,16	43,5	49,5	50	4	W 3	. clear night
13	8	29,37	37,5	47,5	52,5	2	SW 1	
	2	29,37	45	49,5	50	3	S 1	. cloudy and little rain
14	8	29,59	39,5	46,5	60	5	NE 2	. little rain
	2	29,62	43	46	55,5	5	NNE 1	. fine eve
15	8	30,20	36,5	45	54,5	5	NNE 2	
	2	30,12	40	47	53	5	NE 2	. little wet
16	8	29,86	35	44	55	5	NNE 1	
	2	29,93	36,5	43,5	50,5	5	NE 2	
17	8	30,26	38	44	55	5	N 2	little rain. leſs cloudy
	2	30,33	37,5	44,5	51	4	NE 2	
18	8	30,51	34,5	42	50,5	4	E 2	. fine
	2	30,52	36	43	50	2	ENE 2	
19	8	30,55	29	40,5	52,5	2	NE 1	
	2	30,52	33,5	42	51	2	NNE 1	. cloudy night
20	8	30,52	36	42	54,5	h	WNW 1	
	2	30,52	35	43	50,5	h	W 1	
21	8	30,53	32	42	49	f	W 1	
	2	30,51	35	44,5	50	f	W 1	. moonlight but very hazy
22	8	30,53	37	44,5	51	f	W 1	
	2	30,54	40,5	45	49,5	h	W 1	
23	8	30,52	35	43,5	51	f	W 1	
	2	30,47	37	44,5	50	5	SW 2	
24	8	30,26	40,5	46	51	f	SW 1	. much gentle rain
	2	30,21	43	47,5	53	f	SW 1	continual rain
25	8	30,05	41	47	59,5	5	NE 1	drizzling. fair
	2	30,12	42,5	47,5	53,5	4	NE 1	. foggy. fine night
26	8	30,26	32,5	44	59	f	NE 1	: fine
	2	30,26	37	45	50,5	3	SSE 2	
27	8	30,46	34	44	50	h	S 2	
F	2	30,42	40	45,5	49	h	WSW 1	. fine eve. foggy
28	8	30,22	39,5	45,5	55	f	WSW 1	. fine
	2	30,20	45	47	51	1	W 2	: cloudy
29	8	30,03	41,5	45	58,5	5	WSW 1	
	2	29,96	47	49	57	5	SW 2	: fine
30	8	29,87	40,5	48,5	51	h	WNW 1	. fine
	2	29,87	44	49	49	3	WSW 2	
31	8	29,92	37	46,5	50,5	2	W 1	hazy : cloudy
	2	29,92	45	49	50	5	WSW 1	. little wet at night

EXPLA-

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EXPLANATION *of the* METEOROLOGICAL JOURNAL *.

THIS Journal is kept in London, on the south side and near the middle of Pater noster row, which is 51 feet higher than the bed of the river Thames. The instruments used are, a perpendicular Barometer with an open cistern, two Fahrenheit's Thermometers, and a De Luc's Hygrometer; the latter being a new-invented instrument, it may be necessary to mention that the point of extreme dryness is o, and that of extreme moisture 100 †. The Journal of each month is divided into nine columns, which contain as follow:

1. The Day of the month, with the letter N or F affixed to that on which the moon is new or full.

2. The Hour of observation, morning and afternoon.

3. The height of the Barometer, in inches and 100 parts: it is placed in a room on the ground floor.

4. The degrees of the Thermometer out of door, facing the north.

5. The degrees of the Thermometer in the house, placed in a passage at the bottom of a staircase, where there is no fire-place.

6. The degrees of the Hygrometer, which is placed close to an outward door constantly open, in the day-time.

7. The degrees of Cloudiness; the sun being frequently obscured with 3, and seldom visible with 4; but when *h* is inserted, the atmosphere is so hazy above, and when *f*, so foggy below, that no distinction of clouds is perceptible.

8. The point and force of the Wind; 3 being rather brisk, and 4 blowing strong.

9. Further observations and intermediate alteration of the Weather; in which the period [.] and colon [:] are used to denote a space of time between any change, the latter being a distinction for midday and midnight.

OBSERVATIONS *on* EPIDEMICS, *as connected with the* STATE *of the* ATMOSPHERE.

THE atmosphere has so great an influence on the human frame, that a History of Epidemics and the general tendency of diseases is naturally connected with a Meteorological Journal. Its effects are obvious to the most common observer; but to the medical practitioner it is of the utmost consequence to note its changes, diseases being so altered by them as to require, at one period, a treatment diametrically opposite from that which they demand at another. Thus, after a continuance of moist warm weather, all diseases have a putrid tendency; when a cold and dry air constantly produces an inflammatory diathesis.

It is rather extraordinary, that in this country, where physicians are so deservedly esteemed for their skill and abilities, so few observations on this subject should be published: a subject, of all others, the most important, and on which a man of abilities may not only be employed to the advantage of his contemporaries, but of posterity.

Hippocrates, who is justly termed the father of physic, was so accurate an observer of the state of the air, the winds, &c. that he was thereby enabled frequently to foretel what diseases would prevail, and, from that circumstance, to obviate them. His observations on this subject, and his accurate histories, have entitled him to the applause of all his successors.

* For an Explanation of the preceding Journals, see the Magazine for February 1785 and 1791.

† A Description of this Instrument, illustrated by a Plate, will be given in the Magazine for next Month.

Sydenham,

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Sydenham, who is deſervedly termed the Britiſh Hippocrates, has given an excellent hiſtory of the prevailing epidemics of his period; but a conſiderable blank is left, by his omitting to mention the ſtate of the air, &c.

Sir Clifton Wintringham and the late Dr. Huxham, have given excellent treatiſes on this ſubject; and their obſervations are more complete than thoſe of preceding writers, as they have added a ſtate of the barometer, thermometer, and a tolerably accurate account of the weather; but they were made at ſome diſtance from the capital (the former reſiding at York, the latter at Plymouth) ſo that their practice is not perfectly adapted to very large and populous cities.

Theſe obſervations are introductory to an account (which is intended to be added after the future Meteorological Journals in the Univerſal Magazine) of the diſeaſes which prevail in London, with occaſional remarks on the treatment of them.

The relation will be conciſe, and it is intended that they ſhall form a ſeries of obſervations particularly intitled to the attention of the medical practitioner.

Diseases of January,

With ſome Obſervations on the general Complaints of the Winter.

From the uncommon mildneſs of the ſeaſon, coughs, aſthmas, rheumatiſms, and thoſe other complaints which are uſual at an advanced period of life, have been very moderate, and a much ſmaller number than uſual of old people died; pulmonic complaints likewiſe have been mild, but fevers of a putrid tendency prevailed, and proved rather fatal; all the diſeaſes which occurred in the early part of January had that tendency. Smallpox likewiſe and meaſles (which at this ſeaſon of the year uſed to lay dormant) were frequent, but in general mild, particularly the latter. Scarlet fever appeared here and there, but in general mild, and with no particular ſymptoms. Toward the end of the month, a catarrh became ſo frequent as to merit the diſtinction of an epidemic—the throat and fauces were in general ſlightly inflamed, which in moſt caſes ſeemed to be continued to the bronchiæ, and was accompanied with ſtraitneſs and tightneſs of the cheſt; hoarſeneſs was a conſtant ſymptom, and in general there was a dry troubleſome cough, accompanied with conſiderable heat of the ſkin; the pulſe were frequent but not ſtrong; an expectoration in general took place in two or three days, the ſkin became moiſt, the urine depoſited a ſediment, and the diſeaſe gradually diſappeared. It was neceſſary in the cure of this diſeaſe, to uſe the lancet with caution, on account of the general tendency of diſeaſes at this period, though the blood when drawn was in general ſizy and inflamed; the antiphlogiſtic plan with ſquills, and the application of bliſters to the cheſt and fauces, in general relieved, though the patients mended but ſlowly. It rarely proved fatal.

Receipt *for deſtroying* Bugs: *By Mr.* Preſton Hornby, *Chymiſt, in* York.

Diſſolve half a dram of corroſive ſublimate, in a quarter of an ounce of ſpirit of ſalt, and mix it with one quart of ſpirit of turpentine; ſhake the whole well together, and waſh all the places where the bugs are ſuppoſed to lodge with a bruſh, in the ſame manner that rooms are whitewaſhed.

The beſt time to uſe any means for the deſtruction of theſe noxious inſects, is the latter part of March.

Advice

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ADVICE *to a Young* OFFICER *of the* MILITIA.

DEAR TOM,

I AM informed by colonel Maraud, that you have obtained a commiſſion in his battalion.—I know not as yet, whether to congratulate or condole with you on your promotion, for I have not yet weighed the diſadvantages and advantages of it, ſo as to give a decided opinion upon the ſubject. However, as it is no doubt very agreeable to yourſelf, I would not be thought to diſſuade you from the career of glory, which probably your ſtars have marked out for you, but on the contrary, preſuming on my ſuperiority in point of age, and my long experience in the ſervice you have embraced, I trouble you with this letter, to let you partly into the nature of that ſervice, and to offer you ſome advice reſpecting thoſe parts of it, which to a young man are moſt important, and may ſeem moſt arduous.

The grand diviſions of your duty are:

Firſt, To handle the bottle with a good and ready grace.

Secondly, To intrigue with the girls without any grace at all.

Thirdly, When you leave a place, always to leave ſomething behind you.

Laſtly, When you approach a place, to drive every thing before you.

The firſt of theſe duties is conſiderably dangerous, and has been found to add greatly to the horrors of war.—But, inheriting, as you do, the ſpirit of a long line of anceſtors, whoſe love of liquor may be traced up to the flood itſelf, it is impoſſible that you can ſhrink from your duty, though you ſhould *fall* a victim to the fatigues of the day. It will be neceſſary for you, therefore, to ſtudy the whole art of *military libation*, and be perfect maſter of the whole manual and vocal exerciſe, ſuch as *twirling* a *cork*, *inſpecting* the *cruſt*, *calling* for a *toaſt*, giving a *toaſt*, *ſaying more*, challenging with *pint bumpers*, or *filling* the *conſtable*.

On the right performance of this part of your duty depends much of that courage, which your country will expect you to exhibit in the day of battle. Why is it that men are given to fighting in their cups, if not from their drinking in freſh draughts of courage, which enables them to defy, as colonel Toper of our regiment uſed to ſay, even the devil himſelf? It is very neceſſary to acquire a daſhing, helterſkelter kind of heroiſm, which impels a man to fight with no matter *whom*, *when*, or *where*. In all the annals of the art military, I never knew any good done by an army, who went to work ſoberly; in fact, as far as my own experience goes, I conſider fighting to be one of thoſe things, which few men attempt in their ſober ſenſes.

Again, to ſhow how generally the principle of drinking in military affairs is adopted, conſider that our language has borrowed a ſet of phraſes from this only. How often, for inſtance, do we hear gentlemen ſay, 'our courage is out;' when you know, this means no more than that the bottle is out.—Happy is it, my dear Tom, that we have acquired ſuch ſkill in the philoſophy of the human mind, as to be able to recruit and repair its beſt paſſions by mechanical means, and that now-a-days a gentleman may lay in a pipe of fortitude that ſhall invigorate him and his friends for a twelvemonth.

The ſecond branch of your duty, or your employment (which is juſt the ſame thing) is *Intrigue*. As by the laws of war, the women are not allowed to follow the regiment, it is very proper that the regiment ſhould follow the women. But intrigue is neceſſary to you on another and more important account, namely, that it includes in it all the various ſtrata-

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gems, dangers, and manœuvres of war, and particularly is a happy emblem of that very momentous art, the art of beſieging. Some towns are to be approached gradually, ſome to be taken by ſtorm, and ſome no doubt aſſailed by treachery, for 'tricking in love is all fair.'

With reſpect to the mode of intriguing, I do not know that it is neceſſary to give you any rules. Such as are neceſſary will readily occur to you. To have as many intrigues upon your hands at a time as poſſible, and where you have been ſucceſsful, to make it as public as you can—is one precept. Another is to enjoin the common men to meddle with no intrigues at their quarters, without giving *you notice*.

I ſhould pay a poor compliment to your courage, were I to hint that the dangers on this ſervice are conſiderable. I truſt you are a ſtranger to fear. As to fathers, uncles, brothers, and ſuch troubleſome fellows, they may be intimidated in various ways; you may eaſily turn their pitchforks againſt themſelves, and make their horſeponds a covering for their impertinence.

The third branch of your duty is, '*When you leave a place, always leave ſomething behind you.*' To the performance of this duty you will be induced from gratitude. For, where you have been well treated, it is but natural to think you would wiſh to make ſome return. The two preſents moſt commonly made on ſuch occaſions are *children* and *debts*. How the former may be procured, I have already hinted, and, as from the tender years, ſome not perhaps above a month old, and ſome not born at all, it is impoſſible you can take them with you, and turn majors into milk-nurſes, or a battalion into a baby-houſe, you muſt of courſe leave them to thoſe who may be inclined to take care of them from natural affection. *Humanity* alſo require this, for what can be ſo ſhocking as to render a mother childleſs?

No, my dear Tom, leave it to foreign monſters to tear from mothers their innocent offspring.—Be it yours to repair the ravages of foreign wars, by cultivating the arts of population, and providing for the neceſſities of poſterity.—I beg leave here to allude to the preſent ſtate of oak in this country. It was lately diſcovered that that valuable tree was becoming ſcarce, owing to the narrow notions of ſome noblemen, who would not plant young trees, becauſe forſooth (they ſaid) they could not live to ſee them full grown.—Narrow and ſelfiſh is ſuch an idea!—It reminds me of a man who would do nothing for poſterity, becauſe poſterity had done nothing for *him*.

No—I truſt that, if military propagation continues as it has begun, a regiment may perpetuate its exiſtence, and all but commiſſioned officers, exhibit a ſeries of generations as regular as Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob.—I have dwelt ſo long on this part of the ſubject to convince you that, if *you think* you are doing good to yourſelf, you are at the ſame time doing good to your country. I have heard it ſaid, that '*He* is a patriot who makes a blade of graſs grow where graſs never grew before'—I need not make a *parody* on this poſition, to ſhow that children are preferable to clover.

As to the leaving *debts*, the ſubject is ſo well known and underſtood, that I will not affront your experience by ſuppoſing you ignorant of it. In point of *fame*, however, it is neceſſary you ſhould leave ſomething of this kind behind you wherever you go. For, if it ſhould happen that *hiſtory* is ſilent as to your deeds, your memory will not periſh, but be recorded in black and white, in every town through which you paſs. It is not material how one obtains *fame*. Fame is a variegated animal, full of ſpots, and ſtripes, and ſtreaks—and the *credit* which has been refuſed to a man in the day of battle, has often been granted in the bill of parcels.

On

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On this subject, permit me, my dear Tom, to digress a little. It sometimes happens that a tradesman will grumble, and sometimes perhaps really may suffer; for a vintner, for example, is not paid as an apothecary would fully be, merely by returning the empty bottles.—In such cases, why cannot tradesmen take a hint from men of honour, make a bonfire of their books, and proclaim that all their debts are 'debts of honour?' In this case, they would have the laws of honour to secure payment, whereas at present they actually affront men of honour, by their paltry demands, and, as you read in that admirable system of morality, the School for Scandal, 'paying tradesmen is but *encouraging* them.'

It certainly is a most shameful thing that an officer (as yourself I hope will one day prove) who has undauntedly braved a battery of cannon, should turn pale at the sight of a bit of paper that would not stop a whistle.

What would you think! How would your gorge rise, if, when you had conducted some dangerous expedition, captured, for instance, a whole detachment of poultry, made a breach in the demibastion of a tavern, marched without fear and without danger through a meadow of terror-inspiring bulls and oxen, or perhaps, had conducted a party of ladies through the perils of the Bridgewater canal, with one chance of being buried, and two of being drowned;—I say, if, when you returned victorious from these and other like expeditions incident to your profession, you were to have your fear excited, and your laurels blasted by the vile hand of an attorney, egged on to insult you by that *discount* of human nature called a taylor!—By the dignity of Mars! could you bear it,

——'When you might *his* quietus make
'By a bare *bodkin?*'——

I am afraid, my dear Tom, that I have made this letter longer than you will have leisure to read, especially as you are going into a service where you must accomplish *actions*, and not mind *words*. I hasten, therefore, to close with remarking, that the fourth great branch of your duty is, '*When you approach a place, to drive every thing before you.*'—I shall dwell the less on this subject, as you must be convinced that it is essential to your progress, to overcome all obstacles, and inspire a proper terror in all beholders. I would not have you, therefore, to regard such trifles as corn-fields, farmers yards, broad-wheeled waggons, detachments of gleaners or hop-pickers.—The military road has time out of mind been a deviation from the highway, though apparently leading to it.

I have now offered you a few hints on some of the most material parts of your service. Time will not permit me to enlarge upon all of them, and you know enough naturally to render that unnecessary.—I have said nothing, for instance, on gaming, because you may soon be inoculated in that disorder, if you have it not the natural way I have likewise said nothing of *betting* but, by the way, I would not have you bet upon such things as battles abroad, and sea-fights, for these are generally so artfully misrepresented by both parties, that it becomes as difficult to know who gained the *bet*, as who gained the *battle*.—No—I would have your bets turn on objects, more within your inspection and more important—such as the race of a pair of maggots from a filbert—the colour of your landlady's stockings—two to one that Kate Matchlock has twins—three to two that corporal Filch is hanged before Christmas—five to one you don't produce a man who can repeat the Lord's prayer, &c. &c. &c. These are not only important in themselves, but equally so as affording materials for rational and improving conversation.

One thing yet remains, which it would be unpardonable to pass by.—I suppose you have already been look-

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ing for it, and gueſs I mean 'an affair of honour,' *alias* duelling, *alias*, pinking a man. This would require a treatiſe inſtead of a letter, and therefore I muſt be brief, and confine myſelf principally to one topic, the *cauſes* of duelling.—Now, as no challenge can be refuſed, I hope that you will ſelect ſuch cauſes as may appear dignified and becoming your character, ſuch as the fleetneſs of a horſe, or the flightineſs of a woman.—I mean no diſreſpect to either of theſe perſonages by claſſing them together, but I am vindicated in my arrangement from a conſideration of the cauſes of above a hundred duels, which have happened in my time, and which puzzle me very much to find where the ſeat of honour really is. I am not, however, afraid of your perſonal danger in the affair of duelling—Independent of your good temper, I am of opinion that duelling will very ſoon be baniſhed from the army. It is impoſſible that gentlemen of the army can continue a faſhion, which has been polluted by the loweſt mechanics, who now talk of their honour, as formerly they uſed to talk of their honeſty; who load their piſtols oftener than they diſcharge their debts, and are more ambitious of a character behind Montague-houſe, than on the Royal Exchange.

I will now take my leave, my dear Tom, wiſhing you health and happineſs, and a glorious retreat to the manſions of peace, when the 'dogs of war,' ſhall be again chained; when you ſhall pare down your ſpontoon to a walking-ſtick, ſhoot nothing but partridges with your fuſil, and beat your ſword into a carving-knife. I am, dear Tom, yours ſincerely,

CHRISTOPHER CARBONADE,
Late major of the Brentford militia.

The MAN *of* BUSINESS: *A Deſcriptive Sketch.*

IT muſt be acknowledged, with no leſs regret than conviction, that the manners of the preſent age are not ſo favorable to the due performance of the civil and the ſocial duties of life, as they are to the advancement of pleaſure, and the perverſion of intellect. There is much reaſon to fear that an increaſed demand for pleaſure, with its natural concomitant, a vicious taſte in the enjoyment of it, is faſt haſtening to render ſcarce a deſcription of men, who are diſtinguiſhed from the common maſs of mankind as being *men of buſineſs*.

The *man of buſineſs* is, however, ſo juſtly valuable in every relative ſituation of life, and ſo eminently contributes to the ſtrength and well-being of ſociety, that it is impoſſible not to contemplate the character with an enthuſiatic veneration. The man of buſineſs is not only the ornament, but the firm ſupport of ſociety, and by preſerving order, regularity, and conſiſtency, as far as the ſphere of his action can be enlarged, becomes one of the moſt uſeful benefactors to his fellow-creatures.

Various qualifications are neceſſary to compoſe a *man of buſineſs*. The principal of theſe I would enumerate thus:

1. Education. 2. Good-ſenſe. 3. Virtue. 4. Temperance. 5. Regulation of time. 6. Punctuality. 7. Eaſe in doing buſineſs. 8. Proper expence in living. 9. Averſion to the various branches of gaming. 10. Firmneſs of mind to ſupport his character.

The *Education* of a *man of buſineſs*, though not always what is termed *liberal*, though he is neither a profound logician, nor a critical linguiſt, is nevertheleſs ſuch as ſupplies every neceſſary want, ſuch as places him above the embarraſſments and miſtakes of the totally ignorant and illiterate. If not qualified to obtain the honours of an univerſity, his fund of knowledge will be ſufficient to prevent his giving diſguſt. He has what may be termed a general acquaintance with common topics, while his more intimate

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intimate researches are reserved for that *business*, at the head of which chance or industry has placed him. In other matters, he will not be found impertinent or forward; and on the subject of his own particular pursuit, he will enhance the information by that facility of communication, which shows him to be perfectly master of it.

Next to such an education, we may class *Good Sense*, on the use of which depends much of his fame and ability to deserve the character of a *man of business*. It is difficult to define good sense, for every one has a different notion of it. As a gift of nature, and not easily attainable by study, it is, like all nature's gifts, hard to be analyzed. It is not easy to say what goes to form good sense. Yet this much we may observe; that it is a quality which renders the possession of all other qualities, virtues, or accomplishments, really useful and engaging. It prevents learning from degenerating into pedantry; it preserves opulence from pride; and the busy from a confused and useless bustle; it cools and tempers the passions; is an enemy to excess of expression or action; and in a word, so amply supplies the want of knowledge and genius, that it is often mistaken for the complete possession of them. In the various and complicated concerns of public life, nothing can be more valuable than good sense.

The third ingredient in the character of a *man of business*, is *Virtue*. I am aware, that to insist on personal virtue may seem fastidious—that the relaxation of morals has introduced a way of thinking upon this subject, which, under the name of *liberal*, has become really *licentious*. But when we consider the reputation that is invariably attached by the bulk of mankind to personal virtue; when we consider that this is what all men can judge of, (who are very indifferent judges of every thing else) because it is level to their understanding, we must be convinced that, if there were no better motives than *interest* and *reputation*, these are sufficiently urgent to persuade us to embrace a regular and good life.

But, to a *man of business*, a life of moral rectitude is absolutely necessary; for business is absolutely inconsistent with vices, which consume health and time, and tend to the embarrassment of affairs. Of two men whose credit is altogether or nearly equal, the one a licentious profligate, and the other a good man, there can be little doubt that the latter will be longest trusted, and that the former will incur suspicions even when they are without foundation. Besides, in a life of immoral pleasures, there is nothing manly, nothing dignified, nothing that can exhibit to the world a character to be envied or loved, nothing but what the meanest and vilest of mankind can practise.

Connected with this is *Temperance*, which to a *man of business* will appear no less indispensable. Few words are wanting to recommend this quality, because intemperance is equally destructive to men of all ranks and all situations. It consumes time, the true value of which a man of business will always ascertain, and it destroys health and peace of mind, without which no affairs of consequence can be regularly carried on. If I were asked, to what are owing those repeated disputes and trifling disagreements between men, which often break out in scurrilous language and indecent heat, which destroy friendship, and blast the hopes of social happiness, I would answer, to that inequality of temper which habits of intemperance create, and which in some men is so uninterrupted, that they can seldom be said to think with reason or express themselves with candour, unless they are confined to solitude, or calmed by sickness.

The due *Regulation of Time* is one of the principal studies of a *man of business*, and the necessity of it becomes more evident in proportion as his business becomes more extensive. In men of trade, there is nothing more

to

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to be regretted, than that few of them have ſketched out and perſevered in a regular diviſion of time. For want of ſuch a diviſion, all is hurry without expedition, buſtle without buſineſs, and inceſſant promiſe with continued diſappointment. Of this the real man of buſineſs is at all times ſo ſenſible, that nothing can divert him from perſevering in his arrangements. Nor can any thing incommode or perplex him, more than a want of regularity in others; and it may with ſome probability be ſuppoſed, that he would often be more inclined to forgive a debt, than a breach in an appointment.

So very neceſſary is the due regulation of time to a *man of buſineſs*, that he will often hazard the diſpleaſing of perſons, for whom he may have a regard, rather than deviate from that rule on which the beauty and order of his affairs depend. By ſuch a faithful adherence to his plan, he may no doubt often acquire the character, and really aſſume the appearance of auſterity; but when it is conſidered, that without this punctuality his affairs cannot be conducted to advantage, or attended either by *pleaſure* or *profit*, we muſt allow that his auſterity is an act of juſtice due to himſelf and his concerns, and which all perſons engaged with him muſt applaud, becauſe it is equally important and favourable to them.

I have mentioned *pleaſure* as well as profit; and what pleaſure can be greater than his, who, at the cloſe of a buſy day, has left nothing undone which required to be done, and which he intended to do? Let us contraſt the happineſs of ſuch a man with the painful reflections of him, who at the cloſe of the day finds that he has accompliſhed no regular purpoſe, and that he has been ſo much every where as to have done nothing any where. When to-morrow comes, he knows not where to begin, and deſpairing to be able to do every thing, another day paſſes without his having done any thing. Such a man's mind cannot be at eaſe; in fact, the confuſion of his thoughts preciſely reſembles the confuſion of his affairs, and thoſe whoſe advice he is compelled to ſeek in order to extricate him from his difficulties, at once diſcover that he is unfit for his buſineſs.

To the due regulation of time, the *man of buſineſs* will add *punctuality* in all his engagements. This indeed flows from the other. The *man of buſineſs* is punctual to a degree of nicety and preciſeneſs. But what is the conſequence? He thereby completely does his duty, by executing every thing he had undertaken to do. The ſyſtem goes ſmoothly and gently on. The hour is known, and he keeps it to a minute; the failure in point of punctual attendance is never on his ſide, and he conſequently has no ſelf-accuſing reflection to diſcompoſe the ſerenity of his mind. Nor has he occaſion to corrupt his heart by that ſtudied ſyſtem of duplicity, evaſion, and meanneſs, which creates vague excuſes which nobody accepts, and ſolemn aſſertions which every body knows to be falſe. He will conſider the ſmalleſt deviation from truth as diſhonourable, even if it ſhould not be detected, and will never leſſen any man's confidence in him, by deceiving him in the moſt trifling point.

Punctuality leads the way to another characteriſtic of the *man of buſineſs*—I mean the *eaſe with which he conducts his affairs*, and which is not more agreeable to himſelf, than it is pleaſing to others to behold. Having apportioned out his day, he is not to be taken unawares. A new and unexpected buſineſs will not ſurpriſe him; if he cannot diſcuſs it now, he will appoint its due time, and keep it. Knowing how neceſſary it is to be cool, collected, and in full poſſeſſion of himſelf in the various important tranſactions of buſineſs, he will not be guilty of any delay or neglect, which may embarraſs him, and diſturb his temper. He does nothing raſhly; what is in the common courſe of buſineſs, he knows readily how to perform;

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form; what is new and uncommon, he will refer to a future deciſion. This eaſe ariſes from habits of deliberation and thoughtfulneſs, indulged at times when they give no interruption to hilarity, nor prevent his enjoyment of the ſocial pleaſures of life. The man who knows the value of time and punctuality, cannot but be perfectly at his eaſe in the tranſaction of buſineſs.

I know no ſubject leſs underſtood, or at leaſt leſs practiced with a ſeeming underſtanding of it, than the *expences of living*. It has become the faſhion of the times, however enlightened they may be in other reſpects, to err in this. The general error is, to launch out in expences that are beyond one's income, and to attempt (for it is but an attempt) a clumſy imitation of the expences and manners of high life. A volume might be employed on this ſubject, yet a ſimple appeal to experience is all that is neceſſary to ſhow how abſurd, impolitic, and ruinous this conduct muſt be to the middling ranks of ſociety. So prevalent, however, is the moſt unbounded extravagance of thoſe who can leaſt afford it, that I am afraid the Gazette more frequently records the fruits of folly, than the iſſues of misfortune.

To ſuch impolitic expences the *man of buſineſs* will be a ſtranger from choice, and an enemy from intereſt. He will avoid improper expences in himſelf, becauſe they would lead him to injure others, and he will deteſt extravagance in others, becauſe he may be involved in their ruin. As a man of ſenſe, too, he cannot attempt an imitation of the manners of high life, becauſe he knows that ridicule and contempt follow the moſt ſucceſsful of ſuch endeavours; and as a father, a huſband, a friend, and a good citizen, he will avoid every thing that tends to bring that ruin on his concerns, which cannot be confined to himſelf, but muſt ſpread over an extenſive connexion. Conſcience, honour, peace of mind, every thing in ſhort that is dear to man, forbids a wilful abuſe of the advantages which Providence has thrown in his way.

In his expences, therefore, a *man of buſineſs* will be guided by prudence and good ſenſe; the one will teach him the *quantity*, if I may ſo ſpeak, of his expences, and the other the *quality*. Averſe from meanneſs, he will be elegant, liberal, and ſocial in his domeſtic arrangements, and while you cannot forget that he is man of buſineſs, he will evince how cloſely that character may be connected with the *Gentleman*. It muſt be ſaid in honour of the opulent merchants of this kingdom, that their expences are, with few exceptions, regulated in this manner, while abſurd extravagance, and *launching-out*, as it is called, belong to thoſe deſperate adventurers, whoſe ruin is heard of by the world without ſurpriſe or pity, and by themſelves without ſhame or remorſe.

As a natural conſequence of the due regulation of expences, a *man of buſineſs* will unqueſtionably diſplay a fixed *averſion to gaming* in all its branches. This infatuation, I know not how, ſeems of late years to have got complete poſſeſſion of the gay world, and is making great progreſs in the buſy one. An infatuation, or madneſs, it muſt be reckoned, in an age when men are not either by nature or education greater fools than formerly, and when one might ſuppoſe their eyes would be equally open to imminent danger. But whatever faſcinations gaming may have in the eyes of men of faſhion and rank, a man of buſineſs and a gambler are two characters which can never meet, or, if they do meet, it muſt be quickly to part. The honour, the integrity, the punctuality, the viciſſitudes of commercial life, are as oppoſite to the avarice, the prodigality, the chicanery, and cunning of gaming, as light is oppoſite to darkneſs, or virtue to vice. The very idea of a man of buſineſs being a gambler is ſuch a ſoleciſm in language, that I may diſmiſs the ſubject, with remarking, that the common ſenſe of mankind is ſo far

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far on my side of the question, that a gambler, will rarely, if ever be trusted in a legal transaction. It is a hundred to one that he has not the inclination to be honest, and ten hundred to one that he has not the power, if he had the inclination.

But there is a species of gambling, not uncommon among some men of business, into which they are betrayed through the means of a plausible and false name. This species of gambling is called *speculation*, a philosophical word dragged forcibly into the service of chicane and avarice. Needy men conceive the idea of becoming rich, but on looking round among rich men of business, they perceive that they have not attained riches, without their being accompanied with old age; that they have toiled through a long and industrious life to obtain what, the *dashing speculator* thinks, may be done at one stroke. There are not wanting many to encourage such a notion, and there are some, but very few examples of men who have been successful by a bold stroke. They attempt it, therefore, but fail; in their failure they draw down ruin not only on themselves, for that would be little, but on a large and extensive connexion, who have been induced to believe them from that confidence which subsists between man and man, and which, however necessary to the existence and happiness of society, will one day or other be completely destroyed by the frauds of speculators.

The *man of business*, however, such as I have attempted to describe, will consider such desperate attempts in their proper light, as in fact, combinations against the peace and prosperity of industrious individuals, and against the well-being of society itself. He will consider unprincipled speculators as men who prey upon the public by the most unjustifiable means, for all means are unjustifiable that can only be sanctioned by success. Such a speculator, in reality, is the man who commits a forgery on another, with the tacit hope that he shall be able to refund against the day of payment. Not more innocent in the eye of honour is he, who from an ideal scheme which he flatters himself will prove successful, entraps the guileless and the honest to embark their property with him who has none. Indeed, in whatever point of view we consider the speculations of needy men, as avarice is the motive, and imposition the means, there can no possible excuse be found, and nothing be said to recommend them to an honest man.

On this subject, permit me to repeat the words of Dr. Johnson, in a supposed address to a gambling speculator:

'There are few minds sufficiently firm to be trusted in the hands of chance. Whoever finds himself inclined to anticipate futurity, and exalt possibility to certainty, should avoid every kind of casual adventure, since his grief must be always proportionate to his hope. You have long wasted that time, which, by a proper application, would have certainly, though moderately, increased your fortune, in a laborious and anxious pursuit of a species of gain, which no labour or anxiety, no art or expedient, can secure or promote. You are now fretting away your life in repentance of an act, against which repentance can give no caution, but to avoid the occasion of committing it. Rouse from this lazy dream of fortuitous riches, which, if obtained, you could scarcely have enjoyed, because they could confer no consciousness of desert; return to rational and manly industry, and consider the mere gift of luck as below the care of a wise man.'

I have mentioned, as the last qualification of a *man of business*, that it is necessary for him to possess '*Firmness of mind to support his character.*' For this he will have perpetual occasion, especially in the early part of his progress, and perhaps before the system of life, here laid down, has become an unalterable habit, which

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time and ſucceſs will infallibly render it. To form good reſolutions is the ſign of a good mind; to keep them is the attribute of a great mind. The one is eaſy and natural, what moſt men do in the outſet of life; the latter is what few acquire without an inflexible ſteadineſs, which will be continually aſſailed, and a rigidity of ſelf-government, which to others will appear harſh and unneceſſary. But in all great objects, perſeverance, and ſomewhat of rigidity, are indiſpenſable. Whoever is engaged in an object of importance, muſt not be diverted by trifles; to yield to ſuch argues either weakneſs or inconſtancy. The *man of buſineſs* forms his plan, and is reſolute.

As a contraſt to the character which is here attempted to be drawn, and which I truſt will be found to have a real exiſtence, let us for a moment conſider that of a *pretended man of buſineſs*, one who has no plan, or, according to the vulgar phraſe, no *head* for buſineſs.

He is a kind of mimic of the qualities I have ſpoken of. He is not devoid, for inſtance, of *good ſenſe*, but uſes it ſo ſeldom, and ſo much out of place, that few are ſenſible of it. He is not intemperate, but the leaſt temptation will divert him from ſobriety—He is ſenſible of the value of time, ſo far as to be always doing ſomething, but he does every thing in a hurry, and though very averſe to idleneſs, can give no ſatisfactory account of what he has done.—He tries to be punctual, but ſo many things come in his way, that his walk of life is mere ſtumbling.—He wiſhes to do things eaſily, but meets with ſuch frequent interruptions, that he tranſacts buſineſs with peeviſhneſs and pain—He is not expenſive in his way of living, but you ſee nothing regular or pleaſant in his domeſtic economy.—He is always complaining of fatigue, and yet has no viſible labour, except mere bodily motion: he complains of the want of time, yet is continually running after ſome hour or other, without catching the preſent, which is within his graſp. In a word, the former character was a *man of buſineſs*—This is only a *buſy man*.

C. A.

STATE PAPERS.

Number I.

Copy of a Note ſent by Citizen Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, December 27, 1792.

'THE underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of France, has the honour to communicate to lord Grenville the inſtructions which he has received from the executive council of the French republic, with orders to lay them before his Britannic majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate for the department of foreign affairs, in caſe he ſhould think that he could not ſpeedily enough obtain an interview with the miniſter.

'The French government, by continuing ſince the recall of lord Gower from Paris, to leave at London a miniſter plenipotentiary, thought they gave to his Britannic majeſty an unequivocal proof of the deſire they had to remain in good underſtanding with the Britiſh court, and to ſee all thoſe clouds diſſipated, to which events, neceſſary and inſeparable from the internal government of France, ſeemed then to have given birth. The intentions of the executive council of France toward England have never ceaſed to be the ſame, but they cannot ſee with indifference the public conduct which the Britiſh miniſtry obſerve at preſent toward France. It is much to be regretted, that they have perceived in this conduct an indiſpoſition which they ſtill force themſelves not to believe. They think it a duty, however, which they owe to the French nation, not to leave it much longer in that ſtate of uncertainty in which it has been thrown by ſeveral meaſures lately adopted by the Britiſh government—an uncertainty in which the Engliſh nation muſt ſhare, and which muſt be equally unworthy of both. The executive council of the French republic have conſequently authorized the miniſter of France at London, to demand with openneſs of the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty, whether France ought to conſider England as a neutral or hoſtile power? and have particularly charged him to obtain on this point a definitive anſwer. But in demanding from the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty an open and candid explanation of their intentions toward France, the executive council do not wiſh that the ſmalleſt doubt ſhould exiſt reſpecting the

diſpoſition of France toward England, and of its deſire to remain at peace with it. They even wiſh to anſwer previouſly to all thoſe reproaches which may be thrown out againſt France, in order to juſtify England. Reflecting on the reaſons which might determine his Britannic majeſty to break with the French republic, the executive council can ſee them only in a falſe interpretation, given perhaps to the decree of the national convention of Nov. 19. If the Britiſh miniſtry are really alarmed by that decree, it can only be for want of comprehending the true meaning of it. The national convention never intended that the French republic ſhould favour inſurrections and eſpouſe the cauſe of a few ſeditious perſons, or, in a word, that it ſhould endeavour to excite diſturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever. Such an idea would be rejected by the French nation. It cannot without injuſtice be imputed to the national convention. This decree then is applicable only to thoſe people, who, after having conquered their liberty, may requeſt the fraternity and aſſiſtance of the French republic, by a ſolemn and unequivocal expreſſion of the general will. France not only ought, and wiſhes to reſpect the independence of England, but that alſo of its allies, with whom it is not at war. The underſigned therefore has been charged to declare formally, that France will not attack Holland while that power confines itſelf, on its part, within the bounds of ſtrict neutrality. The Britiſh government being thus aſſured reſpecting the two points, no pretence for the leaſt difficulty can remain, but on the queſtion of opening the Scheld—a queſtion irrevocably decided by reaſon and juſtice, of little importance in itſelf, and on which the opinion of England, and perhaps even of Holland, are too well known to render it difficult to make it ſeriouſly the ſole cauſe of a war. Should the Britiſh miniſtry, however, embrace this laſt motive to induce them to declare war againſt France, would it not then be probable that their private intention was to bring about a rupture at any rate, and to take advantage at preſent of the moſt futile of all pretences, to colour an unjuſt aggreſſion, long ago meditated?

'On this fatal ſuppoſition, which the executive council rejects, the underſigned would be authorized to ſupport with energy the dignity of the French people, and to declare with firmneſs that a free and powerful nation will accept war, and repel with indignation an aggreſſion ſo manifeſtly unjuſt, and ſo unprovoked on their part. When all theſe explanations, neceſſary to demonſtrate the purity of the intentions of France, and when all peaceful and conciliatory meaſures ſhall have been exhauſted by the French nation, it is evident that the whole weight, and the whole reſponſibility of the war, will ſooner or later fall upon thoſe who have provoked it. Such a war would really be the war of the Britiſh miniſtry only againſt the French republic; and ſhould this truth appear for a moment doubtful, it would not perhaps be impoſſible for France to render it ſoon evident to a nation, which, in giving its confidence, never renounced the exerciſe of reaſon, and its reſpect for juſtice and truth.

'Such are the inſtructions which the underſigned has received orders to communicate officially to lord Grenville; inviting him, as well as all the council of his Britannic majeſty, to weigh, with the moſt ſerious attention, the deliberations and demands which they contain. It is evident that the French nation deſires to preſerve peace with England. It proves this, by endeavouring with candour and openneſs to remove every ſuſpicion which ſo many paſſions and various prejudices are continually labouring to excite againſt it; but the more it ſhall have done to convince all Europe of the purity of its views, and the rectitude of its intentions, the greater right it will have to a claim of being no longer miſunderſtood.

'The underſigned has orders to demand a written anſwer to the preſent note; he hopes that the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty will be induced, by the explanations which it contains, to adopt ideas favourable to a good underſtanding between the two nations; and will have no occaſion, in order to return to them, to conſider the terrible reſponſibility of a declaration of war, which would inconteſtibly be their work; the conſequences of which could be only fatal to both countries, and to all mankind, and in which a generous and free people could not long conſent to betray their own intereſts, by ſerving to aſſiſt and ſupport a tyrannical coalition.'

(Signed) CHAUVELIN.

NUMBER II.

Anſwer of the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, to the Note preſented by M. Chauvelin, on the 27th of December 1792.

Whitehall, Dec. 31, 1792.

I HAVE received from you, ſir, a note,

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note, in which, ſtyling yourſelf miniſter plenipotentiary of France, you communicate to me, as the king's ſecretary of ſtate, the inſtructions which you ſtate to have yourſelf received from the executive council of the French republic. You are not ignorant, that ſince the unhappy events of the 10th of Auguſt, the king has thought proper to ſuſpend all official communication with France. You are yourſelf no otherwiſe accredited to the king, than in the name of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. The propoſition of receiving a miniſter accredited by any other authority or power in France, would be a new queſtion, which, whenever it ſhould occur, the king would have the right to decide according to the intereſts of his ſubjects, his own dignity, and the regard which he owes to his allies, and to the general ſyſtem of Europe. I am therefore to inform you, ſir, in expreſs and formal terms, that I acknowledge you in no other public character than that of miniſter from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and that conſequently you cannot be admitted to treat with the king's miniſters in the quality, and under the form ſtated in your note.

But obſerving that you have entered into explanations of ſome of the circumſtances which have given to England ſuch ſtrong grounds of uneaſineſs and jealouſy, and that you ſpeak of theſe explanations as being of a nature to bring our two countries nearer, I have been unwilling to convey to you the notification ſtated above, without at the ſame time explaining myſelf clearly and diſtinctly on the ſubject of what you have communicated to me, though under a form which is neither regular nor official.

Your explanations are confined to three points:

The firſt is, that of the decree of the national convention of the 19th of November, in the expreſſions of which all England ſaw the formal declaration of a deſign to extend univerſally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage diſorder and revolt in all countries, even in thoſe which are neutral. If this interpretation, which you repreſent as injurious to the convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well juſtified by the conduct of the convention itſelf. And the application of theſe principles to the king's dominions has been ſhewn unequivocally, by the public reception given to the promoters of ſedition in this country, and by the ſpeeches made to them preciſely at the time of this decree, and ſince, on ſeveral different occaſions.

Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe proofs, ſupported by other circumſtances which are but too notorious, it would have been with pleaſure that we ſhould have ſeen here ſuch explanations, and ſuch a conduct, as would have ſatisfied the dignity and honour of England, with reſpect to what has already paſſed, and would have offered a ſufficient ſecurity in future for the maintenance of that reſpect toward the rights, the government, and the tranquillity of neutral powers, which they have on every account the right to expect.

Neither this ſatisfaction, nor this ſecurity, is found in the terms of an explanation which ſtill declares to the promoters of ſedition in every country, what are the caſes in which they may count beforehand on the ſupport and ſuccour of France; and which reſerves to that country the right of mixing herſelf in our internal affairs, whenever ſhe ſhall judge it proper; and on principles incompatible with the political inſtitutions of all the countries of Europe. No one can avoid perceiving how much a declaration like this is calculated to encourage diſorder and revolt in every country. No one can be ignorant how contrary it is to the reſpect which is reciprocally due from independent nations, nor how repugnant to thoſe principles which the king has followed, on his part, by forbearing at all times from any interference whatever in the internal affairs of France. And this contraſt is alone ſufficient to ſhew, not only that England cannot conſider ſuch an explanation as ſatisfactory, but that ſhe muſt look upon it as a freſh avowal of thoſe diſpoſitions which ſhe ſees with ſo juſt an uneaſineſs and jealouſy.

I proceed to the two other points of your explanation, which concern the general diſpoſitions of France with regard to the allies of Great Britain, and the conduct of the convention and its officers relative to the Scheld. The declaration which you there make, 'that France will not attack Holland ſo long as that power ſhall obſerve an exact neutrality,' is conceived nearly in the ſame terms with that which you were charged to make in the name of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty in the month of June laſt. Since that firſt declaration was made, an officer, ſtating himſelf to be employed in the ſervice of France, has openly violated both the territory and the neutrality of the republic, in going up the Scheld, to attack the citadel of Antwerp, notwithſtanding the determination of the government not to grant this paſſage, and the formal proteſt by which they oppoſed it. Since the ſame

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declaration was made, the convention has thought itſelf authorized to annul the rights of the republic, exerciſed within the limits of its own territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the ſame treaties by which her independence is ſecured. And at the very moment when, under the name of an amicable explanation, you renew to me in the ſame terms the promiſe of reſpecting the independence and the rights of England and her allies, you announce to me, that thoſe in whoſe name you ſpeak, intend to maintain theſe open and injurious aggreſſions.

It is not, certainly, on ſuch a declaration as this, that any reliance can be placed for the continuance of public tranquillity.

But I am unwilling to leave without a more particular reply, what you ſay on the ſubject of the Scheld. If it were true that this queſtion is in itſelf of little importance, this would only ſerve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward only for the purpoſe of inſulting the allies of England, by the infraction of their neutrality, and by the violation of their rights, which the faith of treaties obliges us to maintain. But you cannot be ignorant that here the utmoſt importance is attached to thoſe principles which France wiſhes to eſtabliſh by this proceeding, and to thoſe conſequences which would naturally reſult from them: and that not only thoſe principles, and thoſe conſequences, will never be admitted by England, but that ſhe is, and ever will be, ready to oppoſe them with all her force.

France can have no right to annul the ſtipulations relative to the Scheld, unleſs ſhe have alſo the right to ſet aſide equally all the other treaties between all the powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England, or of her allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the queſtion of opening the Scheld, unleſs ſhe were the ſovereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe.

England never will conſent that France ſhall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleaſure, and under pretence of a pretended natural right, of which ſhe makes herſelf the only judge, the political ſyſtem of Europe, eſtabliſhed by ſolemn treaties, and guaranteed by the conſent of all the powers. This government, adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will alſo never ſee with indifference that France ſhall make herſelf, either directly or indirectly, ſovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitreſs of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really deſirous of maintaining friendſhip and peace with England, ſhe muſt ſhew herſelf diſpoſed to renounce her views of aggreſſion and aggrandizement, and to confine herſelf within her own territory, without inſulting other governments, without diſturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights.

With reſpect to that character of ill-will which is endeavoured to be found in the conduct of England toward France, I cannot diſcuſs it, becauſe you ſpeak of it in general terms only, without alleging a ſingle fact. All Europe has ſeen the juſtice and the generoſity which have characterized the conduct of the king: his majeſty has always been deſirous of peace: he deſires it ſtill, but ſuch as may be real, and ſolid, and conſiſtent with the intereſts and dignity of his own dominions, and with the general ſecurity of Europe.

On the reſt of your paper, I ſay nothing.—As to what relates to me and to my colleagues, the king's miniſters owe to his majeſty the account of their conduct: and I have no anſwer to give to you on this ſubject, any more than on that of the appeal which you propoſe to make to the Engliſh nation. This nation, according to that conſtitution by which its liberty and its proſperity are ſecured, and which it will always be able to defend againſt every attack, direct or indirect, will never have with foreign powers connection or correſpondence, except through the organ of its king; of a king whom it loves and reveres, and who has never for an inſtant ſeparated his rights, his intereſts, and his happineſs, from the rights, the intereſts, and the happineſs of his people.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.'

NUMBER III.

Official Note of the Executive Power of France, in anſwer to that of the Britiſh Miniſtry.

Paris, Jan. 4, 1793, Second Year of the Republic.

THE proviſional executive council of the French republic, before they reply more particularly to each of the points comprehended in the note remitted to them on the part of the miniſter of his Britannic majeſty, will begin by repeating to thoſe miniſters the moſt expreſs aſſurances of their ſincere deſire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. The ſentiments of the French nation toward the Engliſh have been manifeſted during the whole courſe of the revolution

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in ſo conſtant, ſo unanimous a manner, that there cannot remain the ſmalleſt doubt of the eſteem which it vows to them, and of its deſire to have them for friends.

It is then with great reluctance, that the republic would ſee itſelf forced to a rupture, much more contrary to its inclination than to its intereſt. Before it proceeds to ſuch a diſagreeable extremity, explanations are neceſſary; and the object of them is ſo highly important, that the executive council have not thought that they could intruſt them to a ſecret agent, always to be diſavowed. For this reaſon they have thought proper, under every point of view, to entruſt them to citizen Chauvelin, though he is not accredited to his Britannic majeſty but from the late king.

'The opinion of the executive council on this occaſion is juſtified by the manner in which our negotiations are at the ſame time carried on in Spain, where citizen Bourgoign was exactly in the ſame ſituation as citizen Chauvelin at London; which, however, has not prevented the miniſters of the Catholic king from treating with him on a convention of neutrality, the ratification of which is to be exchanged at Paris between the miniſter for foreign affairs and the chargé des affaires of Spain. We will even add, that the principal miniſter of his Catholic majeſty, when writing officially on this ſubject to citizen Bourgoign, did not forget to give him his title of miniſter plenipotentiary of France. The example of a power of the firſt rank, ſuch as Spain, might have induced the executive council to hope that we ſhould have found the ſame facility at London. The executive council, however, readily acknowledge that this demand of negotiation has not all the diplomatic rigours, and that citizen Chauvelin is not formally enough authorized. To remove entirely this obſtacle, and that they may not have to reproach themſelves with having ſtopt, by a ſimple defect in form, a negotiation on the ſucceſs of which depends the tranquillity of two great nations, they have ſent to citizen Chauvelin credential letters, which will give him the means of treating according to all the ſeverity of diplomatic forms.

To proceed now to the three points which can alone form an object of difficulty with the court of London, the executive council obſerve on the firſt, that is to ſay, the decree of November 19, that we have been miſunderſtood by the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty, when they accuſe us of having given an explanation, which announces to *the ſeditious of all nations*, what are the caſes in which they may depend, before-hand, on the ſuccour and ſupport of France. Nothing can be more foreign to the ſentiments of the national convention, and to this explanation which we have given, than this reproach; and we did not think it was poſſible that the open deſign of favouring ſeditious perſons could be imputed to us, at a moment even when we declared, 'that it would be doing an injury to the national convention to aſcribe to them the plan of protecting inſurrections and ſeditious commotions, which might ariſe in any corner of a ſtate; of aſſociating with the authors of them; and thus of making the cauſe of a few individuals that of the French nation.'

We have ſaid, and we chooſe to repeat it, that the decree of November 19, could not be applicable, but to the ſingle caſe where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expreſſed, ſhould call for the aſſiſtance and fraternity of the French nation. Sedition can certainly never exiſt, when there is an expreſſion of the general will; theſe two ideas mutually exclude each other; for ſedition is and can only be a commotion of a ſmall number againſt the majority of a nation; and this commotion would ceaſe to be ſeditious, if all the members of a ſociety ſhould ariſe at once, either to correct their government, to change its form entirely, or to accompliſh any other object.

The Dutch were certainly not ſeditious when they formed the generous reſolution of throwing off the Spaniſh yoke, and when the general will of that nation called on the aſſiſtance of France. It was not accounted a crime to Henry IV, nor to queen Eliſabeth, that they liſtened to them. A knowledge of the general will is the only baſis of tranſactions between nations; and we cannot treat with any government but becauſe that government is ſuppoſed to be the organ of the general will of the nation to which it belongs. When by this natural interpretation, therefore, the decree of November 19th is reduced to its real ſignification, it will be found that it announces nothing more than an act of the general will above all conteſt, and ſo founded in right, that it was not worth while to expreſs it. For this reaſon, the executive council think that the evidence of this right might have perhaps rendered it unneceſſary for the national convention to make it the object of a particular decree; but with the preceding interpretation it cannot give offence to any nation.

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'It appears that the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty have made no objections under the declaration reſpecting Holland: ſince their only obſervation on this ſubject relates to the diſcuſſion concerning the Scheld, it is on this laſt point, therefore, that we have to make ourſelves be underſtood.

'We hear repeat that this queſtion itſelf is of little importance. The Britiſh miniſters thence conclude, that it is therefore more evident that it has been brought forward only for the purpoſe of inſulting the allies of England. We reply with much leſs warmth and prejudice, that this queſtion is abſolutely indifferent to England, that it is little intereſting to Holland, but that it is of the utmoſt importance to the Belgians. That it is indifferent to England, does not even require to be proved. It is little intereſting to Holland, ſince the productions of the Belgic Netherlands can be conveyed through the canals which end at Oſtend; but it is of great importance for the Belgians, on account of the numerous advantages which they may derive from the port of Antwerp. It is therefore on account of this importance, to reſtore to the Belgians the enjoyment of a valuable right, and not to offend any one, that France has declared that it is ready to ſupport them in the exerciſe of ſo legal a right.

'But is France authorized to break ſtipulations which oppoſe the opening of the Scheld? If we conſult the right of nature, and not of nations, not only France, but all the nations of Europe are authorized to break them. No doubt can remain on this point.

If public right is conſulted, we ſay that it ought never to be, but the application of the principles of the general right of nations to the particular circumſtances in which nations may be in reſpect to each other; ſo that every private treaty which might violate theſe principles, could never be conſidered but as the work of violence. We will next add, that in regard to the Scheld, the treaty was concluded without the participation of the Belgians. The emperor, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, ſacrificed, without ſcruple, the moſt inviolable of rights. Being maſter of theſe beautiful provinces, he governed them, as Europe has ſeen, with a rod of abſolute deſpotiſm, reſpected none of their privileges but thoſe which were of importance for him to preſerve, and continually attacked or deſtroyed the reſt. France entering into a war with the houſe of Auſtria, expels it from the Low Countries, and reſtores liberty to thoſe people whom the court of Vienna had devoted to ſlavery. Their chains are broken: they are reſtored to all thoſe rights which the houſe of Auſtria had taken from them. How can that right which they had over the Scheld be excepted, eſpecially when it is of real importance only to thoſe who were deprived of it? In ſhort, France has too good a profeſſion of political faith to make, to be afraid of avowing its principles. The executive council declares then, not that it may appear to yield to ſome expreſſions of threatening language, but only to render homage to truth, that the French republic does not mean to eſtabliſh itſelf an univerſal arbiter of the treaties which bind nations together. It equally knows to reſpect other governments as to take care that it may make its own be reſpected. It does not wiſh to give law to any one, and it will never ſuffer any one to give laws to it. It has renounced, and ſtill renounces all conqueſt; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war, and during that time, which may be neceſſary for the Belgians to ſecure and conſolidate their liberty; after which, provided they be independent or happy, France will find its reward.

When that nation ſhall find itſelf in the full poſſeſſion of its liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfettered, then if England and Holland ſtill affix any importance to the opening of the Scheld, the executive council will leave that affair to a direct negotiation with the Belgians. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever, ſhall conſent to deprive themſelves of the navigation of the Scheld, France will not oppoſe it. It will reſpect their independence even in their errors.

After ſo free a declaration, which manifeſts the preſent deſigns of peace, the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty ought to entertain no doubt reſpecting the intentions of France. But if theſe explanations appear to them inſufficient, and if we are ſtill obliged to bear the language of haughtineſs, and if hoſtile preparations are continued in the ports of England, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war; conſcious at leaſt of the juſtice of our cauſe, and of the efforts we have made to avoid that extremity. We ſhall combat with regret the Engliſh, whom we eſteem, but we ſhall combat them without fear.

(Signed) LE BRUN.

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NUMB. IV.

Letter from Lord Grenville to M. Chauvelin, in anſwer to the Explanations of the Proviſional Executive Council.

Whitehall, Jan. 18, 1793.

I have examined, Sir, with the utmoſt attention, the paper you remitted to me on the 13th of this month. I cannot help remarking, that I have found nothing ſatisfactory in the reſult of it. The explanations which it contains are nearly reduced to the ſame points which I have already replied to at length. The declaration of wiſhing to intermeddle with the affairs of other countries, is therein renewed. No denial is made, nor reparation offered, for the outrageous proceedings I ſtated to you in my letter of December 31ſt; and the right of infringing treaties, and violating the rights of our allies, is ſtill maintained, by ſolely offering an illuſory negociation upon this ſubject, which is put off, as well as the evacuation of the Low Countries by the French armies, to the indefinite term, not only of the concluſion of the war, but likewiſe of the conſolidation of what is called the Liberty of the Belgians.

It is added, that if theſe explanations appear inſufficient to us; if you ſhould be again obliged to hear a haughty tone of language; if hoſtile preparations ſhould continue in the ports of England—after having tried every effort to preſerve peace, you will then take diſpoſitions for war.

If this notification, or that relative to the treaty of commerce had been made to me under a regular and official form, I ſhould have found myſelf under the neceſſity of replying to it, that to threaten Great Britain with a declaration of war becauſe ſhe judged it expedient to augment her forces, and alſo to declare that a ſolemn treaty ſhould be broken, becauſe England adopted for her own ſafety ſuch precautions as already exiſt in France, would only be conſidered both the one and the other, as new grounds of offence, which, as long as they ſhould ſubſiſt, would prove a bar to every kind of negociation.

Under this form of extra official communication, I think I may yet be permitted to tell you, not in a tone of haughtineſs but of firmneſs, that theſe explanations are not conſidered ſufficient, and that all the motives which gave riſe to the preparations ſtill continue. Theſe motives are already known to you by my letter of December 31ſt, in which I marked in preciſe terms what thoſe diſpoſitions were, which could alone maintain peace and a good underſtanding. I do not ſee that it can be uſeful to the object of conciliation to enter into a diſcuſſion with you on ſeparate points under the preſent circumſtances, as I have already acquainted you with my opinion concerning them. If you have any explanations to give me under the ſame extra official form, which will embrace all the objects contained in my letter of the 31ſt December, as well as all the points which relate to the preſent criſis with England, her allies, and the general ſyſtem of Europe, I ſhall willingly attend to them.

I think it, however, my duty to inform you in the moſt poſitive terms, in anſwer to what you tell me on the ſubject of our preparations, that under the preſent circumſtances all thoſe meaſures will be continued, which may be judged neceſſary to place us in a ſtate of protecting the ſafety, tranquillity, and the rights of this country, as well as to guarantee thoſe of our allies; and to ſet up a barrier to thoſe views of ambition and aggrandiſement, dangerous, at all times, to the reſt of Europe, but which become ſtill more ſo, being ſupported by the propagation of principles deſtructive of all ſocial order.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

NUMB. V.

Letter from the Same to the Same, on refuſing to receive his Letters of Credence from the French Republic.

Whitehall, Jan. 20, 1793.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 17th inſtant. I have already appriſed you that his majeſty has reſerved to himſelf the right of deciding according to his judgment upon the two queſtions of acknowledging a new form of government in France, and of receiving a miniſter accredited on the part of ſome other authority in France, than that of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. In anſwer to the demand you now make, whether his majeſty will receive your new letters of credence, I have to inform you, that under the preſent circumſtances, his majeſty does not think proper to receive them.

The requeſt you make of me is equally incompatible with the form of an extra-official communication, and that character in which you have hitherto been known, as miniſter of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

Nothing then remains for me to ſay, relative to the ſubject of your former letter, particularly after what has juſt happened in

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in France, than to inform you, that as an agent charged with a confidential communication, you ought certainly to have attended to the neceſſary meaſures taken by us, to ſecure your letters and couriers, that as miniſter of his moſt chriſtian majeſty you would have enjoyed all thoſe exemptions which the law affords to public miniſters, properly acknowledged as ſuch; but that as an individual, you can only be conſidered among the general maſs of foreigners reſident in England.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

NUMB. VI.

Letter from the Same to the Same, ordering his immediate Departure from the Realm.

Whitehall, Jan. 24, 1793.

'I am charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you had been inveſted at this court, and the functions of which have been ſo long ſuſpended, being now *entirely terminated* by the fatal death of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, you have no longer any public character here.

The king can no longer, after ſuch an event, permit your reſidence here. His majeſty has thought fit to order, that you ſhould retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days; and I herewith tranſmit to you a copy of the order which his majeſty, in his privy council has given to this effect.

I ſend you a paſſport for yourſelf and your ſuite; and I ſhall not fail to take all the other neceſſary ſteps, in order that you may return to France with all the attentions which are due to the character of miniſter-plenipotentiary from his moſt chriſtian majeſty, which you have exerciſed at this court.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

AFFAIRS OF FRANCE,

Continued from page 66.

ON Wedneſday, January 2, the convention decreed, that the preſent year 1793, ſhould be called, from the 1ſt of January, 'the ſecond year of the republic.'

On Thurſday, January 3, intelligence was received, that general Miranda had entered Pruſſian Guelderland, and laid that country (including the principality of Meurs, the duchy of Cleves) under contribution*. A letter from general Kellermann was then read, ſtating that a complete revolution had been effected at Geneva. The inhabitants had expelled the grand and petty council, and organized themſelves after the French manner.

On Monday, January 7, a letter was read from general Dumourier, complaining of the war office, on account of negligence in not properly ſupplying the army. He likewiſe intimated a wiſh to reſign, unleſs he were treated with that confidence, to which he thought himſelf entitled from a ſervice of thirty-ſix years, as well as from his recent victories. This letter was referred to a committee.

On Tueſday, January 8, a ſociety of Quakers appeared at the bar, and requeſted leave to purchaſe the land of Chambord, in order to form an eſtabliſhment for educating, at their own expence, 130 children, whom they bring up to trades; and when they attain the age of eighteen, give to each of them a capital of 500 livres.—This was referred to the committees of domains and public inſtruction.

Deputies from a ſociety of friends of equality, founded at Bruges, came to thank the convention for their decree of the 15th of December. They announced, that the wiſh of that city was, 'That Belgia ſhould form an 85th department of the French republic.—The deputies were admitted to the honour of the ſitting. On this occaſion, one of the members of the convention ſaid, 'The intention of the convention reſpecting this decree cannot appear doubtful.' It paſſed unanimouſly. It was the true touchſtone which the convention wiſhed for. When intelligence of it arrived, the ariſtocrats were ſoon diſtinguiſhed from the democrats. The former, inſtead of taking the oath of equality, took an oath of fidelity to their ancient deſpots, and to the holy, catholic, apoſtolic, and Romiſh religion; to make the people believe that we wiſhed to attack religion, which we reſpect, and of which no mention is made in that decree; while, on the contrary, we allude only to the eccleſiaſtical riches, which are inconſiſtent with the

* Soon after this invaſion of the Pruſſian territories, the unfortunate M. la Fayette, and his companions in captivity, were removed from Weſel to Magdeburgh.

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principles of that holy religion. That decree was forwarded without commiſſioners. Time was given to the parties to form a league againſt the execution of it, and yet it is now our buſineſs to be watchful in preſerving that property which God has reſerved for us to ſave our liberty. Belgia is the land of Canaan! the promiſed land where the people will now find the heavenly manna [a laugh.]. I move that the executive council may be ordered to give in a written account of the execution of the decree, and of ſending national commiſſioners. Decreed.

Marſhal Luckner, who has been detained at Paris by a decree of the convention, was ordered to be ſet free, with liberty to depart wherever he might think proper.

On Tueſday, January 9, advices from the department of Mont Blanc (Savoy) announced, that it was a prey to the moſt violent ferment, and that the Franco-Savoyards would ſoon have to combat a numerous army, which the king of Sardinia was to head in perſon. They add, that the *ci-devant* nobles and prieſts were uſing every art to ſtir up the people againſt the French, and that they were aſſiſted by the French emigrants, who were very numerous in that department.

From this day to Saturday the 19th, the only important buſineſs that occcupied the convention was the proceſs againſt the unfortunate Louis, an ample account of which was given in our laſt number, page 66. On the vote of death being carried, with many diſgraceful circumſtances of tumult and diſorder, two diſtinguiſhed members of the convention, Manuel and Kerſaint gave in their reſignations; the latter aſſigning as a reaſon, that he could no longer ſit in ſuch a tumultuous aſſembly, among the panegyriſts of the 2d of September. His reaſons were printed and poſted up all over Paris. This was complained of to the convention, and he was ordered to the bar. He obeyed, and addreſſed the convention as follows: 'I might have refuſed to appear at this bar, becauſe a deputy is not accountable to any one for opinions publiſhed under the ſhield of inviolability.—Through reſpect, however, for the convention, I ſhall give the required explanation. When I ſpoke of the promoters and panegyriſts of the maſſacres of the 2d of September, I alluded only to Marat; for I have always had a reluctance to ſit with a man who aſſerted in this hall, 'that thouſands of heads ought to fall for the good of the republic.'—When Kerſaint had finiſhed his ſpeech, ſeveral members moved, that he might be admitted to the honours of the ſitting. This motion was violently oppoſed, and a conſiderable tumult enſued. When it ſubſided, Kerſaint ſaid, 'I perſiſt in my reſignation, though I have been blamed by men whom I eſteem, and though I myſelf have repented it. With regard to the honours of the ſitting, my ill health prevents me from accepting them.'—He inſtantly retired.

The death of the king was diſtinguiſhed by a memorable circumſtance, the aſſaſſination of Pelletier, who had voted for the king's death, by Paris, who had been one of the king's body-guard. The aſſaſſin eſcaped; but the convention ordered the body of Pelletier to be interred with great funeral pomp, in the pantheon, at the expence of the nation, and that his daughter ſhould be adopted by the republic; and that the laſt words pronounced by Pelletier ſhall be engraven on his tomb: 'I cheerfully ſhed my blood for my country; I hope it will ſerve to conſolidate liberty and equality, and to diſcover their enemies.'

On the 23d of January, Roland, the miniſter of the home department (whoſe talents and virtues have been much extolled) ſent his reſignation to the convention in the following letter: 'I offer to the convention my accounts, my perſon, and my reſignation. I have done my duty, and I will not ſhrink from the reſponſibility attached to the deliberations in which I have taken a part: but I declare, that I will not ſign the general account of the ſtate of the nation, to be preſented by the executive council on the 1ſt of February. That account muſt contain matters with reſpect to which I am neither informed nor ſatisfied.—Since my private conduct, my public adminiſtration, my exact accounts, and my courage ſeem to increaſe, inſtead of removing the prejudices againſt me, it is time for me to withdraw from the public attention, and the uneaſineſs of a part of the convention.—It is not enough for a man in office to be pure; he muſt not be ſuſpected.—On theſe conſiderations, I do not conſult my repoſe, but my duty, in giving in my reſignation. If it be the pleaſure of the aſſembly to transfer the adminiſtration of the interior immediately to other hands, I ſhall receive my prompt releaſe with pleaſure; if I am deſired to wait till the appointment of a ſucceſſor, I ſhall continue to do the duties of my office; but I ſhall not attend the council, or take any

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part in its conſultations. To-morrow I ſhall cauſe copies of the report of my department to be diſtributed. Within three days I ſhall give in an account of the money that has paſſed through my hands ſince the firſt of Auguſt—I challenge all the ſeverity of the convention. I remain in Paris to anſwer every charge, and furniſh every document that may be required of me.'

Artigoilte and Thuriot attacked ſeveral parts of Roland's letter as falſe; and after a violent debate, his reſignation was accepted, the miniſter of juſtice directed to take charge of the buſineſs of his office proviſionally, and his letter ordered to be printed, and copies of it ſent to the 84 departments.

On the 25th of January, Dubois Crance, in the name of the committee of general ſafety, preſented a

Report on the Preparations neceſſary to ſupport the War during next Campaign.

'He conſidered France with relation to all the powers by which ſhe is ſurrounded, the ſovereigns of which had ſhewn hoſtile diſpoſitions, and the effects of which they muſt prevent, in oppoſing an equal force to thoſe brought againſt them into the field.

In the North,

'The war muſt be offenſive; on that account it demands a great force. Laſt year, Germany united againſt France an army of 100,000 men, compoſed of Auſtrians, Pruſſians, Heſſians, and emigrants. This army has been greatly diminiſhed; but the contingent that the German circles are to furniſh, will increaſe it this year, and will augment it to 180,000 men.

'England, neuter laſt year, will not be ſo, perhaps, next ſpring. The changes introduced into the ſyſtem of war, certainly favours an invaſion of England—an invaſion which has not hitherto been in contemplation.

To the Southward,

'The ſyſtem of war muſt be defenſive to France. Spain can only put 49,000 men on foot. Sardinia about the ſame number. It will not be difficult to oppoſe to them an equal force.' He next conſidered the means of defence, after the plan of the committee of general ſafety. The number of our troops will be five hundred and two thouſand eight hundred men; of whom 427,000 are infantry, 55,000 cavalry, and 20,000 artillery.

Diſtribution of the Army.

'This great force will be divided into eight armies; three in the North, three in the South, and two in the South-eaſt. There will alſo be a reſerve at Chalons; and an army of obſervation placed on the frontiers of France, oppoſite to England. The numbers of each ſhall be fixed in the following manner:

'From Dunkirk to the Meuſe, 150,000 men; between the Meuſe and the Sarte, 50,000 men; from Mentz to Beſancon, 350,000 men; at Chalons, a reſerve of 26,000 men; upon the borders of the Channel, 40,000 men; in the army of the Alps, 16,000 men; army of the Pyrennees, 16,000 men; the army of the Var, 40,000 men.'

The convention decreed the number of men abovementioned.

On the 26th of January, the vicars who enjoy proviſionally at preſent the livings vacant in the departments, petitioned for an augmentation of their ſalaries.

Several members embraced this opportunity of propoſing an entire abolition of all the livings in France as paid by the ſtate. They eſtimated that 36 millions per annum would be ſaved by this reform.

The convention charged the committee of finances to examine this propoſal, as well as the requeſt of the vicars.

Deputations from Flanders and Antwerp appeared, to requeſt the repeal of the decree of the 25th of December.

Some ſailors from Rochelle appeared at the bar, and took an oath, that in caſe England ſhould declare war, they would endeavour to gain as much glory at ſea, as their brethren in arms had gained at Jemappe. They complained alſo, that they found ſeveral traces of *inequality* in the eſtabliſhment of the naval ſervice.—This was referred to the committee of the marine.

On the 29th of January, a letter was read from the proviſional repreſentatives of Mons, approving of the decree of the 15th of December.

On the 30th, the miniſter for foreign affairs, appeared at the bar, and thus addreſſed the convention:

'Citizen Preſident, the proviſional executive council have given an account to the convention of the fatal miſunderſtanding which has lately ariſen between the French republic and the Britiſh government. We have already informed you what efforts we have made to avoid a rupture, the great misfortunes of which will doubtleſs fall upon thoſe who have provoked a war. It gives me great grief to communicate to the convention the inefficacy of our efforts. The feeble hopes of peace, entertained ſome days ago, have vaniſhed. His Britiſh majeſty has taken occaſion, from the juſt ri-

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gour exercised upon the last of our kings, to proceed to an open rupture. The necessary death of a foreign tyrant has been to the English the signal for an extraordinary mourning, and for an insult which nothing can palliate. Scarcely had the news of the death of Louis reached London, when the minister of the republic received the following order:

[Here follows the order of council, and the letter of lord Grenville, communicating orders to M. Chauvelin to quit England.]

'Citizen president, if any thing can soften those sentiments of indignation with which that treatment inspires the provisional executive council, it is the thought that the French nation will maintain its independence by sea as well as they have done by land.'

The national convention referred the papers read to the committee of general defence, with orders to report upon them in two days.

A letter from the council of the commons of *Farges les Eaux* informed the convention, that a man had been arrested there, travelling without a passport; that on offering to take him before a magistrate, he shot himself; and that from the description published of Paris, the assassin of Pelletier Saint Fargeau, they believed this man to be the person.—The convention ordered the body to be inspected before interment.

On the 31st, a letter from general Miranda stated, that the municipal body of that city had almost unanimously expressed a wish to be united to the French republic: of 9,700 voters, 9,660 had voted for the union. Some members moved that this business might be referred to the diplomatic committee. On this, Cambon said, 'We must not bury the wishes of the people in committees. The people of Nice have already presented to you the same wish, and the committees to whom you referred it are still silent respecting that important business. You ought to declare immediately that Nice is united to the French republic.

Many members supported, and some opposed the motion. The president, after collecting the votes, declared in the name of the French people, that the convention accepted the union freely requested by the country of Nice; and the convention ordered this decree to be immediately dispatched there by an express.

A member then moved that Liege might be united to the French republic; and Danton moved that the Belgic Netherlands might also be united to the French republic.

Breard observed that, with regard to Liege, the convention ought to wait until the will of those people, not yet expressed but by a letter, should be confirmed by authentic documents.

With regard to the Belgic Netherlands, the convention decreed, that the people of Brabant and Hainault, and all the inhabitants of the countries where the French have carried their arms, should be ordered to hold primary assemblies, to make choice of that form of popular government under which they wished to live; that the generals shall cause liberty of voting to be respected; that in countries where there are no primary assemblies, provisional authorities shall be established to put the French laws in execution; that two of the commissioners lately arrived thence, shall be ordered to return to join those who have remained in the Netherlands; and that the convention authorise their commissioners to remove every difficulty that may arise in the primary assemblies.

A letter from the commissioners in the Belgic Netherlands, dated Brussels, 27th of January, stated that the primary assemblies were beginning to be formed, and that the commissioners had annulled the decree of the representatives of Louvain, passed in opposition to that of the convention of the 15th of December. The convention applauded the conduct of the commissioners.

On Friday, February 1, Brissot presented to the convention, the following

REPORT:

'Your committee of general defence has charged me to present to you the plan of the following decree:

'The national convention, after having heard the report of their committee of general defence, on the conduct of the English government;

'Considering that the king of England has persisted, especially since the revolution of the 10th of August 1792, to give proofs of his being ill-disposed toward the French nation, and of his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads;

'That at the period aforesaid, he ordered his ambassador at Paris to withdraw, because he would not acknowledge the provisional executive council, created by the legislative assembly;

'That the cabinet of St. James' has ceased, since the same period, to correspond with the French ambassador at London, on pretext of the suspension of the heretofore king of the French;

'That

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'That ſince the opening of the national convention, it has refuſed to reſume the uſual correſpondence between the two ſtates, and to acknowledge the powers of this convention;

'That it has refuſed to acknowledge the ambaſſador of the French republic, although provided with letters of credit in its name;

'That it has endeavoured to impede the different purchaſes of corn, arms, and other commodities ordered in England, either by French citizens or the agents of the republic;

'That it has cauſed to be ſtopped ſeveral boats and ſhips loaded with grain for France, contrary to the treaty of 1786, while exportation to other foreign countries was free;

'That in order ſtill more effectually to obſtruct the commercial operations of the republic in England, it obtained an act of parliament prohibiting the circulation of aſſignats;

'That in violation of the fourth article of the treaty of 1789, it obtained another act, in the month of January laſt, which ſubjects all French citizens, reſiding in, or coming into England, to the moſt inquiſitorial, vexatious, and dangerous forms;

'That, at the ſame time, and contrary to the firſt article of the peace of 1783, it granted protection and pecuniary aid not only to the emigrants, but even to the chiefs of the rebels, who have already fought againſt France; that it has maintained with them a daily correſpondence, evidently directed againſt the French revolution; that it has alſo received the chiefs of the rebels of the French Weſt India colonies;

'That, in the ſame ſpirit, without any provocation, and when all the maritime powers are at peace with England, the cabinet of St. James' has ordered a conſiderable naval armament, and an augmentation of the land force;

'That this armament was ordered at a moment when the Engliſh miniſter was bitterly perſecuting thoſe who ſupported the principles of the French revolution in England, and was employing all poſſible means, both in parliament and out of it, to cover the French republic with ignominy, and to draw upon it the execration of the Engliſh nation, and of all Europe;

'That the object of this armament, intended againſt France, was not even diſguiſed in the Engliſh parliament;

'That although the proviſional executive council of France has employed every meaſure for preſerving peace and fraternity with the Engliſh nation, and has replied to calumnies and violation of treaties, only by remonſtrances founded on the principles of juſtice, and expreſſed with the dignity of free men, the Engliſh miniſter has perſevered in his ſyſtem of malevolence and hoſtility, continued the armaments, and ſent a ſquadron to the Scheld, to diſturb the operations of the French in Belgium;

'That on the news of the execution of Louis, he carried his outrages to the French republic to ſuch a length, as to order the ambaſſador of France to quit the Britiſh territory within eight days;

'That the king of England has manifeſted his attachment to the cauſe of that traitor, and his deſign of ſupporting it by different reſolutions adopted at the moment of his death, both by nominating generals of his land army, and by applying to parliament for a conſiderable addition of land and ſea forces, and putting ſhips of war in commiſſion;

'That his ſecret coalition with the enemies of France, and particularly with the emperor and Pruſſia, is confirmed by a treaty concluded with the firſt in the month of January; that he has drawn into the ſame coalition the ſtadtholder of Holland; that that prince, whoſe ſervile obſequiouſneſs to the orders of the court of St. James' and Berlin, is but too well known, has, in the courſe of the French revolution, and notwithſtanding the neutrality which he profeſſed, treated with diſdain the agents of France, received the emigrants, haraſſed the French patriots, counteracted their operations; releaſed, in oppoſition to eſtabliſhed uſage, and notwithſtanding the demand of the French miniſter, perſons who had been guilty of forging aſſignats; that, in the mean time, with a view to concur in the hoſtile deſigns of the court of London, he gave orders for a naval armament, named an admiral, appointed Dutch ſhips to join the Engliſh fleet, opened a loan to defray the expences of the war, put a ſtop to exportations to France, while he favoured ſending ſupplies of proviſion to the Pruſſian and Auſtrian magazines;

'Conſidering, in fine, that all theſe circumſtances no longer leave to the French republic any hope of obtaining by means of amicable negotiation the redreſs of their grievances, and that all the acts of the Britiſh court, and of the ſtadtholder of the United Provinces, are acts of hoſtility, equivalent to a declaration of war, the national convention decrees as follow:

Article

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Article I. The national convention declares in the name of the French nation, that, conſidering the multiplied acts of hoſtility and aggreſſion of the above-mentioned powers, the French nation is at war with the king of England and the ſtadtholder of the United Provinces.

II. The national convention charges the proviſional executive council to call forth ſuch forces as may appear to them neceſſary for repelling their aggreſſion, and for maintaining the independence, the dignity, and the intereſts of the French republic.

III. The national convention authoriſes the proviſional executive council to diſpoſe of the naval forces of the republic in ſuch a manner as the intereſts of the ſtate may appear to them to require; and it revokes all particular diſpoſitions ordered in this reſpect by preceding decrees.

Favre-Eglantine moved, that an addreſs to the Engliſh people might be drawn up, to inform them of the real motives which have brought on the war between the two countries; and that the convention would decree that all Engliſh and Dutch merchants, and other individuals who may be travelling in France on buſineſs, ſhall have every protection, provided they conform to the laws of the republic. Both theſe propoſitions were decreed.

PROCEEDINGS *of the Third* SESSION *of the Seventeenth Parliament of* Great Britain, *continued from page* 64.

THE houſe of commons met, purſuant to adjournment, on Wedneſday Jan. 23, and farther adjourned to the 28th, when Mr. Pitt moved, that the chaplain of the houſe do preach before the houſe, at St. Margaret's church, on Wedneſday the 30th.

Mr. Dundas then preſented the following meſſage from his majeſty:

'GEORGE REX.

'His majeſty has given directions for laying before the houſe of commons copies of ſeveral papers which have been received from M. Chauvelin, late miniſter plenipotentiary from the moſt chriſtian king, by his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, and of the anſwers returned thereto; and likewiſe copies of an order made by his majeſty in council, and tranſmitted by his majeſty's commands to the ſaid M. Chauvelin, in conſequence of the accounts of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris.

'In the preſent ſituation of affairs, his majeſty thinks it indiſpenſably neceſſary to make a farther augmentation of his forces by ſea and land, and relies on the known affection and zeal of the houſe of commons, to enable his majeſty to take the moſt effectual meaſures in the preſent important conjuncture, for maintaining the ſecurity and rights of his own dominions, for ſupporting his allies, and for oppoſing views of aggrandiſement and ambition, on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general intereſts of Europe, but are particularly ſo, when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the moſt ſacred duties, and are utterly ſubverſive of the peace and order of all civil ſociety.

G. R.'

The papers alluded to being preſented by Mr. Dundas, and laid on the table, the meſſage was ordered to be taken into conſideration on Thurſday.—A ſimilar meſſage had been ſent to the lords. But the ſubject did not come to a diſcuſſion before the reſpective houſes till Friday Feb. 1.

On that day, lord Grenville roſe, in the upper houſe, and taking a review of the correſpondence between the king's miniſters and M. Chauvelin, he contended, that while the French government were attempting to amuſe that of Great Britain with the moſt ſpecious profeſſions, their conduct manifeſted the moſt decided hoſtility; to open defiance of this country, threatening Holland, with whom we were in alliance, and whom we were bound to protect in the navigation of the Scheld. Moreover, in one of their decrees they had gone ſo far, as, contrary to the law of nations, to avow an intention of aſſiſting ſuch ſeditious perſons in all countries as ſhould apply to them. The law of nations, by their adoption of what they thought proper to ſtyle unalienable and impreſcriptible rights of man, and other ſimilar general principles, incompatible with the nature of treaties, which are always exceptions to them, they reſerved to themſelves to define, according as opportunities might offer to carry into execution the plans of aggrandizement they had formed. Profeſſing reſolutions of confining themſelves within their ancient limits,

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mits, their ſpirit of conqueſt was not leſs conſpicuous than that of Louis XIV. Like him they had entered into the Belgic provinces. He had been forced by Engliſh valour to abandon his unjuſt acquiſitions, and return within his former bounds. They were not more formidable than Louis le Grand, nor were we leſs valiant or leſs powerful now, than we were then.

The late atrocious act, the murder of a ſovereign, of lenity, of temper, of goodneſs of heart ſeldom equalled, would excite ſuch a ſpirit in the breaſts of Engliſhmen, as muſt convince ſuch deteſtable wretches, that their guilt muſt at length meet a check, and operate as a proof to the preſent and future ages of the juſt abhorrence entertained by the Engliſh nation, of their abominable crimes.—He concluded with moving, 'That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, thanking him for the meſſage he had been graciouſly pleaſed to ſend to that houſe, and the correſpondence he had ordered to be laid before them; expreſſive of the abhorrence entertained by the houſe of the late atrocious act perpetrated in France; and aſſuring his majeſty of the utmoſt ſupport of the houſe to the meaſures of government, and of its moſt ready and effectual co-operation in augmenting the forces by ſea and land.'

Earl Stanhope contended, that the war would be more the war of miniſters, than that of the people. If it were not intended to be perpetual, it muſt be ultimately concluded by negotiation. Why then refuſe that negotiation to precede, through the medium of which only it could be ended?—After ſome farther obſervations, he moved an amendment, the ſubſtance of which was, 'An acknowledgement of thanks to his majeſty, for his gracious meſſage, and an aſſurance that the houſe, after mature deliberation of the matter of the meſſage would give his majeſty every neceſſary ſupport.'

Lord Carliſle conceived that no man could avoid ſhewing every mark of diſapprobation of the conduct of France for two years paſt. Under a pretence of what they ſtyled fraternity, they had invaded the Belgic provinces, where their fraternity was the moſt direct tyranny; and, in contradiction to their own principles of liberty, they had with the bayonet prevented the people from exerciſing the rights they themſelves had aſſerted to be unalterable and impreſcriptible. Their fraternity among the Belgians was oppreſſion, as their liberty at home had been anarchy and murder.

Lords Darnley, Portcheſter, and Kinnoul, likewiſe ſupported the motion, which was carried without a diviſion.

The ſame day, in the houſe of commons, Mr. Grey made three motions, the firſt for communications between the executive council of France from the 8th of July to the 19th of November; the ſecond for all communications which had paſſed through the medium of lord Auckland at the Hague; and the third for all requiſitions from the ſtates-general for our interference in their ſupport.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied to the firſt motion, that in the interval alluded to, no communication upon the ſubject of diſcuſſion paſſed? to the ſecond he anſwered, that no communication had paſſed from lord Auckland to the executive council of France, and that what might have paſſed between his lordſhip and agents it would be improper, unprecedented, and dangerous to preſent; and to the third he replied, that the Dutch had not made any requiſition in a formal way, upon the queſtion of the Scheld: they had, however, requeſted our aſſiſtance to protect them from approaching danger, and had not expreſſed themſelves indifferent upon the queſtion of the Scheld.

Mr. Grey withdrew the firſt and ſecond motions, and the third was negatived without a diviſion.

The chancellor of the exchequer then ſaid, that convinced as he was of the many important objects which aroſe out of the meſſage juſt read, he felt it impoſſible that the attention of the houſe ſhould not be drawn to that dreadful outrage which had been committed againſt religion, juſtice, and humanity—an outrage which had created one united ſentiment of abhorrence throughout this iſland, and in the breaſt of every Chriſtian throughout Europe. He ſhould better conſult his feelings, if he could draw a veil over that atrocious act; for all that had preceded it, the act itſelf, and all which was likely to follow it, was too full of grief and horror, and too painful to the feelings of any man to be dwelt upon. Humanity would induce us to endeavour to ſhut out the remembrance of the deed from our minds. It ſhould be expunged from the page of hiſtory, as an act diſgraceful to the world. —But it was impoſſible that ſuch atrocious deeds could be buried in oblivion. An extenſive and complicated proſcription had led to a ſcene of blood as its conſummation, by which the age had been contaminated, and which would be handed down with execration to an indignant poſterity;

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posterity: it then became the duty of that house, and of the country, by a solemn protest against the act, to mark in the future history of the world, that Great Britain was not polluted with the principles which led to it.—As it was impossible for us to forget the death of an unfortunate prince of this country, let us see, in this instance, the evils of republican licentiousness concentrated: let us see that, unbridled as they had been in another country, they led to consequences contrary to every principle human and divine; that wild theories of government led to the destruction of every good effect arising from reason, experience, and revelation itself; that they had carried with them a consequence in one instance, which every man in that house must lament; that they tended to shake the interests of all ranks, to destroy all order, and to annihilate the inviolability of every lawful sovereign. Dreadful as their effects had been, they afforded a salutary subject, which might fix the minds of all on the destructive principles, which it was the duty of the house to arrest in their progress, and to form an insurmountable barrier to their contagious effects. The destruction of the unfortunate monarch of France afforded one proof to what extremities those were ready to go who approved of French principles; principles which had led to a conduct materially interesting to every country, but particularly so to this, which had long felt the blessings of a mixed government—of a monarchy with inviolability to the sovereign, but with responsibility to his advisers, guarding equally against the extreme of tyranny on the one hand, and the extreme of licentiousness on the other; affording a happy contrast to the ungovernable licentiousness which formed the miseries of an unhappy land.—The house had already, by an address, agreed to such preparations as might enable his majesty to provide for the safety of the country, which then appeared in such danger as to warrant jealousy on the part of the executive power. Some weeks had elapsed since the existence of that critical situation; we had now to consider what was our present situation when again called upon by his majesty for a further augmentation of his forces.—He here took a review of the papers before the house, by which he said it would appear clear, that from May to July, the system adopted by his majesty had been founded on the principles of a strict neutrality, avoiding all internal interference with the affairs of France. He had a right to expect, in return, a respect to his rights, and those of his allies; that France would not interfere in the internal government of this country, for the purpose of destroying our unexampled felicity, and the splendid contrast we exhibited to her own miserable condition. France had declared against views of aggrandizement—against every interference in the government of neutral nations, as a violation of the rights of nations, and had by that declaration passed a sentence against herself by anticipation, for a conduct with respect to Great Britain which formed part of the present discussion. For what had been the conduct of France? The total reverse of all her promises. By her conduct, if not checked by force, it was evident that she would proceed in her views of aggrandizement:—in the first instance of the success of her arms against Savoy, she had exhibited her aggrandizing views, by annexing it, without even the disguise of an excuse, as an eighty-fourth department to France. By a decree of the national assembly, the same principle was evident, for they had announced to the world that they would act in the same manner with respect to every country in which their arms might be successful. The decree of the 15th of December stating the plan, where temporary success gave them possession, was contrary to the laws of war, as practised by every civilized nation, a total subversion and extinction of the ancient government. By the same decree, their successful generals were ordered to treat as enemies all who would not accept of what they called liberty. French fraternity was offered freely to all—at the points of French bayonets; and the mild principles of what they called free government, were promulgated from the mouths of cannon. A connexion with such a country appeared to him to be nothing short of submitting to be a province to France; and a negotiation with their Jacobin clubs, and their petty municipalities, appeared to him to lead to more dangerous consequences, than would have followed a neglect of the most ambitious projects and exertions of the most ambitious period of the monarchy of France. With respect to the Netherlands, France possesses an intention to retain possession of them until after the war, and the consolidation of their liberty; but could such a declaration be understood to convey any other intention than that of subjugation? Their granting to the people of the Netherlands a free constitution, was contradicted

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dicted by their endeavours not only to annihilate the power of the ancient ſovereigns of the country, but even the will of the people. Look to the conduct of the French, not to their profeſſions; look to the triumph of the deliverer of the Netherlanders—to the entry of Dumourier—to the illuminations enforced by martial law, and to the free election of the members for the primary aſſemblies, in the hollow ſquare of French troops. To prove ſtill further her aggrandizing views, he referred them to the conduct of France with reſpect to Hainault, to the deputies from which a regular ſyſtem for all nations to claim fraternity with France was laid down. Their decree of the 19th of November ſtated, that France would grant fraternity and aſſiſtance to all people who were deſirous of regaining their freedom; to whom this grant was offered, it was not difficult to aſcertain: it was ordered to be printed in all languages, for the uſe of Engliſhmen of courſe—for, as it was to be printed in Engliſh, it was not to be ſuppoſed that England was to be excluded from the advantage of French fraternity. It was true, that M. Chauvelin had given what had been termed an explanation of this decree, but which explanation, inſtead of being ſatisfactory, was an aggravation of the offence, and a confirmation of the object of France to propagate their fraternizing principles over the whole world; and poſſeſſing this *organizing diſorganizing* principle, their ſyſtem would be defective as long as one king was left on the earth—for they had proſcribed royalty as a crime, and the bloody hand of the aſſaſſin that had been ſucceſsfully raiſed againſt one unfortunate monarch, was extended in the principle to our own, and to every monarch exiſting. But to put the intentions of France with reſpect to ourſelves beyond controverſy, the national aſſembly had applied their principles to ourſelves by name—every addreſs of treaſon and diſaffection, from whatever body in England, however contemptible, however doubtful the authority, was thankfully received at their bar, and applauded.—He next diſcuſſed their conduct, with reſpect to the rights of our allies: they had profeſſed an intention to hold ſacred thoſe rights; but that profeſſion, like the others, they had broken through by their conduct with reſpect to the Scheld. France had no right to interfere but as claiming the ſovereignty of the Netherlands, or as the arbitreſs of the rights of Europe. In her conduct relative to the Scheld, ſhe had exhibited a concentrated violation of treaties, not to be met with in the annals of the world. She was herſelf bound as a guarantee to maintain the excluſive navigation of that river to the Dutch; and if ſhe claimed a ſovereignty over Brabant, ſhe was doubly bound as a guarantee to that excluſive right, for it was alſo guaranteed by the Brabant government. In queſtioning this right of the Dutch, France had violated her profeſſions to this country, and had attacked the intereſts of our ally. But he had been called upon to ſhew a requiſition from the Dutch for our interference to ſupport them in the maintenance of this right; and he had anſwered, that no ſuch requiſition had been made; but it was not to be paſſed over, that the Dutch had made a formal proteſt againſt the conduct of the French in forcing the navigation. The houſe could not pretend to the maintenance of the good faith of the country, if ſuch a tranſaction were to be overlooked, which tranſaction the Dutch had a right, at any moment, to declare to be an act of hoſtility committed againſt them by France; though from reaſons of fear, or of prudence, when the enemy was at their gates, they might not have deemed it fit to declare a determination to reſiſt, and not have called on us for the aſſiſtance we were bound by treaty to afford them. But, independently of all treaty, was it fitting for us to ſuffer country after country to be buried by the ambition of France, leading on, unchecked, to the ruin of England and of all Europe.—The whole of the explanations made by France amounted to the poſſibility of commencing a negotiation at an indefinite period—when what France deemed the eſtabliſhment of the liberty of the Netherlands ſhould be effected. She had in no degree receded on the ſubject of the Scheld, nor given any ſatisfactory explanation relative to her interference in the internal government of this country. On the contrary, the decree of fraternity ſtill remaining in force, ſhe advertiſed the world for encouragement to treaſon and rebellion. The houſe was not to be told, as an explanation of that decree, that France would not countenance the complaints of the individuals of a country, but only ſuch complaints as might be made by the will of a nation, when it was notorious that the national aſſembly had received and encouraged complaints from bodies of men, treated in this country, by ſome gentlemen, as inſignificant, and even too contemptible

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temptible for the application of the law. Such an explanation, ſtrengthened by the conduct of France, left the principle of proſelytiſm not only ſtanding, but was an offenſive recognition of it; a principle to which we could not yield without conceding the intereſt, the honour, and the exiſtence of our country. One inſtance of the intentions of France he could not omit ſtating. On the 27th of December, M. Chauvelin complained of the injurious conſtruction put upon the decree alluded to, and, on the 31ſt of that month, the very day when Chauvelin's complaint was anſwered, and when it was impoſſible that the anſwer could be known in Paris, one of the French executive council, wrote a letter, directed to the friends of freedom and equality in the ſea-ports of France, intimating to them, 'that England and Spain were preparing to attack them; that theſe two deſpots, after perſecuting the patriots in their own countries, were endeavouring to deter them from puniſhing the traitor Louis; that the king and parliament of England meant to make war on them—but would the Engliſh republicans permit it?—No, they are ready to receive us with open arms. We will fly to their ſuccour: we will make a deſcent on England, with 50,000 caps of liberty, and plant there the tree of liberty.' By this letter, the king was not only held out as ſeparate from the people, but the king and parliament. This precious gift of 50,000 caps of liberty, with the addition of a tree of liberty, was held out immediately after the explanation of the innocence of the decree, by one of the executive council; exhibiting, in the ſtrongeſt way, that France was hoſtile to this country. Inſtead of offering ſatisfaction for her inſults, and checking the progreſs of her deſtructive arms, and ſtill more deſtructive principles, ſhe added to the liſt of inſults by repeated recognitions of thoſe principles which England could not, in juſtice to herſelf, ſuffer to be eſtabliſhed. M. Chauvelin had alſo, in his laſt communication, delivered an ultimatum, which was a full avowal of every thing dangerous to Great Britain; and which ultimatum, if not agreed to by the Britiſh cabinet, was attended by a threat, of an immediate armament againſt us. It was impoſſible to admit the ultimatum, without forfeiting the honour and exiſtence of the country. Unleſs that ultimatum were withdrawn, inſtead of peace, we muſt have war. He had exerted every means to avert that calamity, he ſhould continue to exert himſelf for the maintenance of peace; but ſtill, to him war appeared inevitable; and ſuch a war would be far preferable to a precarious peace, in which our country could not be ſafe.—He concluded by moving 'an humble addreſs to his majeſty, thanking him for his moſt gracious communication, condoling with him on the atrocious act recently committed at Paris, which muſt be felt by all Europe as an act againſt every principle of religion, humanity, and juſtice; aſſuring him, that it was impoſſible they ſhould not be ſenſible of the views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, which would be, at all times, dangerous to the general intereſts of Europe, and are particularly ſo, when connected with the propagation of principles tending to the violation of the moſt ſacred duties, and ſubverſive of the peace and order of all civil ſociety: to declare their determination to adopt the moſt vigorous and effectual oppoſition to thoſe views, that we may preſerve every thing valuable to us as a nation; and that they will afford, with all alacrity, the means to enable his majeſty to augment his forces, for the maintenance of the rights of his people, and of his allies.'

Lord Beauchamp ſeconded the motion. He contended, that the poſſeſſion of Savoy and the Netherlands by France were objects that rendered a war abſolutely neceſſary; as the poſſeſſion of Savoy would ſubject all Italy to France, and make her miſtreſs of the Mediterranean, and the poſſeſſion of the Netherlands enable her to be the dictatreſs of the government of Holland.

Lord Wycombe contended, that neither the rights of his majeſty, nor the ſecurity of the ſtate were threatened by the French; that they were deſirous to maintain peace with us; that their explanations had been ſufficient; and that the Scheld not being deemed by the Dutch a ſufficient inducement for them to declare war, that we could not juſtify it on that ground.

Mr. Whitbread, jun. attributed the cruelties committed in France, to the conduct of the combined armies, and to the execrable manifeſto of the duke of Brunſwick. He charged adminiſtration with not having exerted themſelves to avert a war, and with having by their haughtineſs provoked it. The only reaſon he could ſee of our going to war, was to overturn the preſent government of France; a government founded on the will of the people, and with which we had no right to intermeddle. He contended that the

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French conquests were no fair ground for a war: they were not the aggressors, but had been attacked. Their aggrandizement, however, was to be opposed: but the aggrandizement of Russia was to be passed by unnoticed. The reason, he supposed, was, that Russia being a despotic power, her aggrandizements were not deemed alarming.

Mr. Fox said, that the service in which he was engaged, was a service of honour, as well as danger; and he would not be deterred from declaring his sentiments, by a fear that it would be said, that he approved of the proceedings of the French. He took notice of the execution of Louis XVI, which he esteemed most cruel and unjust, and directly contrary to that republican magnanimity by which the convention should have been actuated. The condemnation of the king was not only not according to law, but it was against the positive regulations of their constitution. He did not think it necessary for the house to make any observation upon this murder, in their address to his majesty; for the crimes committed within one state were not cognizable in another. The crimes of Portugal and of Spain, when the streets of Lisbon and Madrid were polluted with blood, by the *autos da fée*, did not preclude us from holding amicable intercourse with these nations. The war entered into by France had been termed an offensive war on our part. But the contrary was true. It had been said, that Austria was not the aggressor in the war with France. The treaty of Pilnitz, by which several of the princes of Europe, among the rest the king of Prussia and the emperor of Germany, had agreed to attack France, and change the internal form of her government, as soon as it should be convenient to them, would prove the reverse. How should we like it, if we were to have a dispute with any of our sovereigns, as we formerly had with the Stuarts, and if a set of the despots of Europe were to send in their armies to influence our deliberations, or to make us take whatever constitution they thought proper to give us?—He thought the duke of Brunswick had been guilty of more execrable frauds in obtaining money from the peasants of France, than M. Dumourier had committed while he was in Brabant. The former borrowed money, and gave bills payable by the king of France when he should regain the throne, which bills he obliged the French to accept under considerable penalties. The French confiscated the property where they carried their arms. The causes alleged by the minister for war were totally insufficient. If, by our interference, we would draw the Dutch into a war against their will, we should act contrary to the spirit of our treaties; for then, instead of defending, we should materially injure them.—It was insolent and absurd to desire the French to withdraw their troops from Brabant. We desired them, in the midst of a war, to admit the enemy to the gates of their cities. Our neutrality, as ministers had termed it, was like that of a man who sees two others boxing, and tells one of them, I will be neutral between you both, but the instant you strike your antagonist, I shall knock you down.—Ministers had said, that they would not desist from their present pursuits until they obtained security from France, not to disturb the peace of Europe. What security did they mean? The law of the 19th of November repealed? That would not do; for it might be re-enacted the day after.—The fact was, they made use of an equivocal term, which would enable them to refuse all accommodation. War seemed determined upon by them, and whatever the pretexts of it might be, the true cause was to re-establish the old government of France. The right honourable gentleman had inveighed against the conduct of the French in Brabant. So did he:—But he thought the story of the woman caught in adultery, would be applicable to England, France, and Prussia. Neither the court of London nor that of Berlin could throw safely the first stone.—He then made some observations on the fondness of mankind for war. War is the great passion of men. In one age, wars were undertaken for conquest; in another for religion; in a third for commerce. The old subject of war for opinions, was now removed. He dreaded, and even forbore to mention the consequences of an unsuccessful war at the present crisis. Lastly, he entreated the minister to lose no opportunity of stating to the government of France, what was the specific object of the armaments, and he promised him an amnesty for all faults, if he would save the country from a war.

Mr. Anstruther spoke for the motion, and lord William Russel against it. The question being put, the motion was carried without a division.

On Monday, Feb. 4, lord Ardent moved, 'That 20,000 men additional, for the sea service, including a proportionable

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able number of marines, be employed for the year 1793.' This was agreed to.

Mr. Fox then gave notice, that on Thurſday it was his intention to make a motion on the ſtate of the country, which would be relative to the pending war. This motion, however, was never made, as, for the remainder of the week, it happened, that a houſe could not be made to ballot for an election committee.

At laſt, however, on Monday, Feb. 11, a houſe was made, when Mr. Dundas preſented the following royal meſſage:

'GEORGE R.

'His majeſty thinks proper to acquaint the houſe of commons, that the aſſembly now exerciſing the powers of government in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hoſtility to be committed againſt the perſons and property of his majeſty's ſubjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the moſt poſitive ſtipulations of treaty; and have ſince, on the moſt groundleſs pretenſions, actually declared war againſt his majeſty, and the united provinces; under the circumſtances of this wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion, his majeſty has taken the neceſſary ſteps to maintain the honour of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and his majeſty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual ſupport of the houſe of commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in proſecuting a juſt and neceſſary war, and endeavouring, under the bleſſing of Providence, to oppoſe an effectual barrier to the farther progreſs of a ſyſtem which ſtrikes at the ſecurity and peace of all independent nations, and is purſued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and juſtice.

'In a cauſe of ſuch general concern, his majeſty has every reaſon to hope for the cordial co-operation of thoſe powers who are united with his majeſty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an intereſt in preventing the extenſion of anarchy and confuſion, and in contributing to the ſecurity and tranquillity of Europe.

G. R.'

This meſſage was ordered to be taken into conſideration the next day. A ſimilar meſſage had been ſent to the lords.

Twenty thouſand ſeamen, including 4000 marines, were then voted, in addition to the 25,000 voted before.

Major Maitland, after dwelling upon the unprecedented length of the trial of Mr. Haſtings, who had been already ſix years at the bar of the houſe of lords, as a breach of the beſt principles of the law, which was that every perſon charged with a crime ſhould have a ſpeedy trial—a ſpeedy acquittal if innocent—and a ſpeedy conviction if guilty, concluded by moving the appointment of a committee of the houſe to conſider of the beſt means of expediting the trial of Mr. Haſtings, and to report their opinion.—This was agreed to.

Some converſation occurred on Tueſday, relative to the production of certain papers, and, particularly, of a treaty ſaid to have been concluded, in January laſt, between Great Britain and Pruſſia and Auſtria; all which were urged to be neceſſary, previouſly to the taking of his majeſty's meſſage into conſideration. The demands for ſuch production were not acceded to; miniſtry inſiſting, that the points alluded to, would more properly come under diſcuſſion the next day, to which the houſe had deferred the conſideration of his majeſty's meſſage.

On Friday, Feb. 11, Mr. Lambton ſaid, as he had been given to underſtand that a treaty had been entered into between the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, and Great Britain in January laſt, and as he had been unable to gain any anſwer yeſterday from miniſters on the exiſtence of ſuch treaty, he conceived it to be his duty to move for its production, as it would throw a light on the queſtion which was about to be diſcuſſed. The treaty had been conſidered by France as an aggreſſion on our ſide, and had been ſtated as ſuch; for his own part, it convinced him of the duplicity with which we had treated France, and by which miniſters had involved the country in a war, of a dreadful and ruinous proſpect.—He moved, accordingly, for the production of this treaty, but Mr. ſecretary Dundas declaring, that he knew of no ſuch treaty being in exiſtence, Mr. Lambton withdrew his motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer then roſe. Whatever difference of opinion, he ſaid, had ariſen on the ſubjects already diſcuſſed, and decided by a large majority of that houſe, and of the country at large, it was impoſſible that the houſe ſhould not now come to that unanimous reſolution which was to be looked for from a Britiſh houſe of commons. The queſtion was not now, what vigour it was neceſſary to adopt, to meet impending danger; but whether, when war was declared by an enemy, when the option of peace or

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war was no longer in our hands, we would not declare to his majeſty, by an addreſs, our unanimous determination to ſupport him in the defence of his dominions, and in the maintenance of the rights and liberties of his people. Before he propoſed the addreſs, he would take a view of the events which had preceded and followed the communication of the former meſſage from his majeſty: when the houſe, by that meſſage, had been informed of the preparations for hoſtility on the part of France, and of the aggreſſions which had been committed, they concurred in that meſſage by an addreſs, and ſpoke the general feelings of the houſe to be a conſciouſneſs of the ſtrict ſyſtem of neutrality perſevered in, with reſpect to the internal affairs of France: they felt that ſuch conduct was entitled to a ſuitable return, by a regard to the rights of the Britiſh nation and of her allies; by an avoidance on the part of France, of all views of aggrandizement; and, above all, by a careful avoidance of intermeddling in the internal affairs of neutral nations.—The houſe, however, had been convinced of the violation of each of thoſe principles, which ought to have been regarded by France; they had expreſſed their conviction of her diſſeminating principles, which went to deſtroy the ſyſtem of Europe, and to ſhake the foundation of the government of every civilized country. Their inſulting decree of the 17th of November, which was called a decree of fraternity, had been felt, as a proclamation for ſpreading inſurrection from one end of the globe to the other. From this country they had courted at their bar every diſplay of treaſon. Their views of aggrandizement had been made evident; their ſyſtem of *Proſelytiſm* and of *Jacobiniſm* was to be ſeen in all their proceedings; and their fixed determination was clearly, to make the end of the war productive of an extenſion of their empire, and the means of carrying over all Europe the diſſemination of principles deſtructive to its peace, and to its exiſtence in any ſtate of good government. By the former meſſage the houſe were called on to prevent the completion of thoſe intentions of France; and by the addreſs of the houſe it had been declared, that war was preferable to the quiet admiſſion of thoſe principles; and that a war upon ſuch an occaſion, was the ſhorteſt way to a ſure and permanent peace.—The bleſſings of peace would be annihilated, if we had no ſecurity for its permanence; and ſuch ſecurity could not be had in a peace obtained by the admiſſion of thoſe principles.—If, therefore, we valued our commerce, if we wiſhed an increaſe of our revenue for the purpoſe of alleviating the public burdens, thoſe principles muſt be reſiſted; for our property and ſafety would be more completely hazarded, by ſubmitting to the views of aggrandizement on the part of France, than by meeting the danger at once by open war, in which, by ſucceſs, we might deſtroy the views of our enemy.—Having thus ſtated the principal points which induced the houſe to vote the laſt addreſs, he ſtated the ſubſequent facts which had taken place. The firſt was, the diſmiſſion of M. Chauvelin, whoſe powers had ceaſed, and whom his majeſty did not chooſe to accredit upon new ones, as miniſter plenipotentiary from the republic of France: but notwithſtanding his diſmiſſion, he knew that there continued a wiſh, on the part of his majeſty's miniſters, to admit, in every way conſiſtent with the honour of the nation, any explanation that could tend to avert the calamity of war; but no explanation had been made, and though M. Maret had arrived as chargé des affaires, he had never made a ſingle communication. The next account received by adminiſtration was, of an embargo, without notice given, having been laid on the ſhipping of Britiſh ſubjects in the ports of France, which meaſure might have been deemed an act of hoſtility. This act was the firſt on the part of France, which had taken place ſubſequent to the laſt addreſs; a meaſure not only contrary to expreſs treaty, but contrary to the law of nations. Conſidering this conduct, he felt no reaſon to fear cenſure for precipitate meaſures againſt France; but the contrary, for having acted too ſlowly in vindication of the honour of their country: for even on this aggreſſion, the channel of communication for explanation was not cloſed, for it ſo happened that, as a proof of the pacific wiſh of his majeſty's miniſters, on the very day of receiving the account of that outrageous meaſure, there arrived from our miniſter at the Hague an expreſs, ſtating, that a propoſition had been made by Dumourier for an interview on the frontiers of Holland, to avert a war, if poſſible, by negotiation. This propoſition had been accepted by adminiſtration; and our ambaſſador at the Hague had been authorized to receive Dumourier's propoſals. In doing this, no time had been loſt to maintain peace; but before it was poſſible

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ble for the anſwer to reach lord Auckland, the declaration of war had taken place at Paris. Thus the war on our part had been unprovoked; we were forced into it upon the grounds of ſelf-preſervation.

He next called the attention of the houſe to the reaſons aſſigned by France for a declaration of war. Theſe would be found in the decree of the convention: the firſt was, 'That the king of England had not ceaſed,' &c. *See page* 131. But notwithſtanding this aſſertion, not a ſingle fact had been advanced, as having taken place previous to the 10th of Auguſt, to juſtify the aſſertion; and, ſubſequent to that period, the only fact adduced was the recall of lord Gower, which could not be conſidered as a fair ground of a declaration of hoſtility. The charge of a combination with crowned heads was evidently applied by what followed, to a ſuppoſed connexion between this country and other powers, formed for the purpoſe of interfering in the internal affairs of France; but the charge was founded on mere ſuppoſition, for he aſſerted that every ſuppoſition of a treaty between this country, the emperor, and the king of Pruſſia, having taken place in January, as ſtated in the French declaration, was deſtitute of foundation. No one ſtep had been taken by his majeſty to interfere in the internal affairs of France, or to eſtabliſh in that country any particular form of government. All that had been done, was to ſee if it were poſſible, by our exertions, to eſtabliſh peace, on a baſis affording ſecurity to this country; and, if not, to embark in a war in a way likely to render it vigorous and ſucceſsful.

In their declaration they alſo defended as a ground for war, the reluctance of the Britiſh court to reſume the cuſtomary correſpondence between the two ſtates: but to that objection very few in this country would attach much weight; for very few, indeed, after the horrible events of Auguſt (paralleled, but not eclipſed, by the maſſacres of September) when an ancient government was overturned, and no ſtable government eſtabliſhed in its ſtead, could have wiſhed to ſee an ambaſſador received in this country from France. It would neither have been ſafe, or honourable, to accredit a miniſter in ſuch circumſtances. But from the 10th of Auguſt no Britiſh ambaſſador had been reſident in France, nor had any complaint been made on the ſubject prior to the declaration of war. They had, however, no right either to complain againſt us for the abſence of our ambaſſador, or for our not having recognized the republic; as the tumult, violence, and aſſaſſination which prevailed in Paris, with every ſymptom of inſtability to the ruling faction, would have warranted the abſence of our ambaſſador: and no principle of the laws of nations, under the circumſtances of France, could warrant them to demand a recognition of their government.

They alſo complain, of our not having treated with M. Chauvelin. But who was M. Chauvelin, on the deſtruction of the monarchy of France? A private unaccredited individual. In December, it was true, he offered new credentials; but they were offered at a moment of aggreſſion, which, had a ſimilar aggreſſion been offered when an ambaſſador was reſident from any power, would have warranted a ſuſpenſion of intercourſe.—The moment of M. Chauvelin's offering his new credentials, was a moment in which it was impoſſible to accredit him, unleſs we had been willing to acquieſce tamely with unprovoked inſult. At that moment when M. Chauvelin offered himſelf as the miniſter of the new government, if government it was to be called, thoſe who had deputed him were embarked in that which ended in the lamentable deſtruction of their monarch. In this ſituation it was impoſſible to enter into an oſtenſible negotiation with them; and, on thoſe grounds, they had no pretence of provocation from us.

Other reaſons which they had urged, were, the prohibition of the exportation of corn to France; of the circulation of aſſignats in Great Britain; and next, the alien bill, which had been framed for the preſervation of our own lives and fortunes. Theſe were the acts ſtated by France as provocations for war; but which were groundleſs pretexts. The ſtoppage of the exportation of corn to France was adopted, after our having ſeen, by ſtrong indications, a preparation of hoſtilities againſt ourſelves and our allies. If we knew of the means which were depended upon to give vigour to thoſe preparations; if it were known that they depended for ſupplies to be drawn from the boſom of that country they deſigned to attack, his majeſty's miniſters would have acted as traitors to their country, had they not taken thoſe meaſures of precaution. That France had exhibited hoſtile intentions prior to the prohibition of the exportation of corn, was to be aſcertained from an attention to dates. The prohibition took place in December; in November the aſ-

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ſembly had, by their decree of fraternity, declared univerſal war; in November they had attacked the rights of our allies, by opening the Scheld; in November they had united Savoy to France; in the ſame month, under the ſpecious pretence of giving liberty, they had attempted to impoſe their yoke on the Netherlands; in the ſame month they had collected bodies of troops near Holland. Was he to be told then, that under all theſe circumſtances his majeſty's miniſters had ſtepped beyond a meaſure of defenſive precaution? The aggreſſion charged againſt us, of prohibiting the circulation of aſſignats, was ridiculous.—We were charged with having given a reaſon for war, in our not accepting in payment that which was worth nothing, and in our having formed an internal law for the prevention of a gigantic ſyſtem of ſwindling. The commercial treaty they had aſſerted to be broken, and had taken the breach of that treaty as a ground for war, though the treaty expreſsly ſtates, that a breach of it ſhall not be deemed a cauſe for war. They complain of an aggreſſion by our alien bill, in demanding paſſports, at a moment when it was notorious that paſſports were demanded of Engliſhmen in France with tenfold rigour uncomplained of: what France complains of as an aggreſſion, was to be conſidered only as an act of caution againſt the inundation of foreigners, perhaps aſſaſſins. Equally groundleſs was their charge, as an act of aggreſſion, of our armament: the cauſe of that armament was to be looked for in the conduct of France relative to the Scheld; to her declaration of univerſal fraternity; the true principle of which was univerſal war. They complained of our intermeddling with her internal affairs at the moment when ſhe was embracing every hour to receive and applaud the complaints from treaſonable clubs in England. Among other complaints, ſhe ſtates, that the armament was ordered at the moment when Engliſh miniſters were perſecuting, with inveterate ſpite, thoſe who ſupported in England the principles of the French revolution. Who were ſo perſecuted he knew not; but if there were any in this country eager to propagate French principles, he hoped they might be prevented in their attempts. To check the proceedings of the friends of France in this country, was the duty of all who were not deſirous of ſeeing the ſame dreadful tranſactions here. It was the duty of all who wiſhed not to ſee Europe rendered a ſcene of blood and deſolation. He hoped that every Briton would perſevere in his endeavours to fruſtrate the diſſemination of thoſe principles; their poiſon had not yet made its way; the endeavours of France to ſeparate the people from the government had been ineffectual; the true ſenſe of Engliſhmen had forced from France an acknowledgement of their having no hope here. In conſequence of that diſappointment they had declared a war, which would be a war againſt principle; it was a war, by France, againſt a conſtitution which had ſtood the teſt of ages, againſt a frame of government which had led the country to an envied pitch of proſperity. Such a war muſt, if ſucceſsful to France, be a war of extirpation to Engliſhmen; for never, until the Britiſh nation ſhould be extirpated, until ſhe changed her character, and forfeited her honour, would ſhe ſuffer France, in ſuch a war, to be triumphant.

France was alſo hoſtile to us becauſe we were not ready to receive her fraternal embraces, which, if accepted, would prove like the embraces of certain animals, who embraced only to deſtroy. They declare war againſt Engliſhmen, firſt, becauſe they love their conſtitution: and next, becauſe they can feel and lament the effects of a dreadful outrage. But their declaration will neither induce Engliſhmen to neglect their conſtitution, nor to ceaſe lamenting, when they ſee every principle violated to which they have been taught to look up with veneration. The blow which Engliſhmen have lamented, was aimed in its principle at every lawful ſovereign, though it has yet reached but its immediate object. But that was not the cauſe of our armament: the cauſe was aggreſſion unprovoked, and for which no ſatisfaction had been offered. In a word, what remains to be ſeen is, whether, under the bleſſing of Providence, the ſpirit and reſources of a free, loyal, brave, and happy people, muſt not be ſucceſsful in their operation to check the progreſs of thoſe whoſe principles would lead them on, if unoppoſed, to the deſtruction of the world.—He concluded by moving an addreſs to his majeſty, which was in ſubſtance an echo of the meſſage.

Mr. Powys ſeconded the motion. He applauded the conduct of miniſters in their ſpirited preparations, and though he had not approved of the whole of their meaſures, he heartily approved of the preſent, and rejoiced in the confidence they enjoyed.

Mr. Fox ſaid, it would ill-become him,

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from pusillanimity, or from the fear of such gross misrepresentations to which he had been lately subject, to decline stating his sentiments fully on the present important crisis. It would be a neglect of his duty, if, on any consideration, he neglected to state what he deemed to be the situation of the country. He did not rejoice, like the last hon. gentleman, in the confidence placed by the country in administration; holding it as his opinion, that if limited monarchy were to be considered as the key-stone of our constitution and liberties, that jealousy of ministers, and a strict watch over their conduct by that house, was to be considered equally a key-stone. He declared himself disappointed in the address proposed by the right hon. gentleman: he had entertained a hope that, as we were actually involved in war, an address might have been offered, calling for an honest unanimity. Had not the present address included, by abiding closely to the message, an approbation of ministers in their conduct with respect to France, even those, who were of opinion that the war had been provoked by ministers, might have voted for the address; but that was now impossible, for those who thought we had been the aggressors, were called on by the address to declare, what he could not do, that there had been no aggression on our part. All that he could do, situated as he was, was to propose another address instead of that now before the house, and in so doing he would propose one to which there could not be an objection, but which, as it would go closely to the support of the war in which we were involved, would call forth, what he should have deemed a desirable circumstance, a unanimous vote. Mr. Fox then urged, that we ought not to go to war in any but in one of three causes; first, to prevent our national honour being tarnished; second, in support of national faith; third, in self-preservation. The right hon. gentleman, in opening the business of the day, had recapitulated the points which, on a former debate, had made an impression on the house, namely, the three principal aggressions of France, the Scheld, the aggrandizing views, and the decree of fraternity; but he denied that either of these aggressions was grounds for war. The refusal to make an explanation, or to afford satisfaction when demanded, was good ground; but the house had not seen any demands made to France in a way suitable for France to give satisfactory answers. The right hon. gentleman had animadverted on the declaration of war by France as absurd: he admitted it to be so; but the right hon. gentleman should recollect, that former declarations were equally absurd, and that instead of a solemn and true statement of aggressions, they in general contained, like the last Spanish declaration against this country, a collection of every thing which those who drew them up might deem grounds of offence.

On the subject of the propriety of an ambassador at Paris, he would not trouble the house, having already delivered his opinion. Our ambassador he would say, however, might have staid in Paris, without our recognizing the republic; we had recognized it, however, by continuing the commercial treaty; but no recognition is binding upon a country, for a recognition by no means implies a sanction to the government. He admitted, that the dismission of M. Chauvelin was not a just ground for a declaration of war by France; but, according to the practice of Europe, such a dismission was an indication of ill-will and intended hostility. The prohibition of the circulation of assignats was a ridiculous ground of war, for we certainly had a right to prohibit the circulation of such paper. He considered the prohibition of the exportation of corn in a different light; that was to his mind clearly an act of hostility to France. —The question then was, Whether it was a justifiable or unjustifiable aggression? It was a breach of all existing treaties; and if there existed ground to render that measure justifiable, we should have been equally justified in commencing war. The alien bill the French had no right to complain of as a ground for war; but they might have complained of it as a breach of the commercial treaty, which, if not redressed, the treaty would have ended; but the ending of that treaty was not to be considered, by the words of the treaty itself, as a ground for war. He admitted the right of England to send a squadron to the Scheld to protect our allies, but not to intermeddle with the operations of the French in Belgia. Their operations there, he was by no means about to palliate, but our interfering in them would be an aggression against France; but no such intention had been stated, and of course that was not ground for France upon which to justify a declaration of war. Neither was the grief and mourning of the people of England, on account of the execution of the late unfortunate prince, a good reason to state for France commencing the war; the people having an unquestionable right

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right to mourn or to grieve as they thought fit; but the frequent mention of that death upon every debate, and the introduction of the ſubject in a pointed manner in the former meſſage, was not a favourable indication of an intention to maintain peace. The right hon. gentleman had, for the firſt time this day, intimated an intended interview between lord Auckland and general Dumourier; but from ſuch an interview, as negociations had been carried on, what was to have been expected? Was it meant to compromiſe the blood of the unfortunate monarch for the evacuation of the Netherlands; he hoped it was not; he accuſed no man of the intention: but what would the public think, when they coupled the intended interview with the conſtant mention of that event, upon every occaſion, as a reaſon againſt treating with France?—Mr. Fox then alluded to his propoſition for ſending an ambaſſador to France, which, if it had been adopted, would probably have prevented the horrid cataſtrophe which had taken place. He condemned the covert mode of negotiation which had been carried on, contending that an open and regular one would have tended more effectually to the maintenance of peace, and to the dignity of the nation. By acceding to Dumourier's propoſal, the intention of miniſters appeared to be to avoid a war; but he never ſaw men adopt leſs likely meaſures to obtain their object. It was now ſaid, that miniſters had ſought a negotiation; if that had been advanced ſome days ago, from the ſide of the houſe on which he ſat, it would have been treated as an inſult. If miniſters had been ſerious, they had conducted themſelves ſtrangely in their deſire of peace. It was true, they had ſtated their grievances; but they had refuſed to receive an official miniſter to treat reſpecting thoſe grievances, and had ſent away an unofficial miniſter, and cloſed all means of negotiation: and yet they ſay the French ought to have known that they were deſirous of peace. They appeared to him to have acted like men afraid of aſking ſatisfaction, leſt ſatisfaction ſhould be given them, and every pretext for war loſt. The war had been by ſome called a war of kings; and though he was not ready to conſider it in that light, there were views in which many may be induced to conſider it a war of kings. Many might think it not impoſſible that ſome kings might be induced into the war, not from a love to limited, but unlimited monarchy. For unlimited monarchy the ſovereigns of Ruſſia, Auſtria, Pruſſia, and Spain, might join in a confederacy againſt France. The ſame cauſe, however, would not induce the king of Great Britain to attack France; for unlimited monarchy cou'd be no object of envy to him: he had reigned long enough over a free people, to learn, by happy experience, the ſuperiority of his ſtrength as a limited monarch over that of the greateſt tyrant ſurrounded by his guards. Virtue and juſtice were the characteriſtics of his majeſty: to his mind unlimited monarchy could hold out no charm to embark in a war: but kings were men, and fallible; they may have their ears poiſoned by evil counſellors. When, therefore, he ſpoke of kings, he wiſhed to be underſtood to ſpeak of their adviſers; and here he took an opportunity of denying ever having offered an argument ſeparating the people from thoſe who governed them; on the contrary, he declared his ſyſtem of politics to be the inculcation of the intereſt of all to the regard of property, it being equally the intereſt of thoſe to hold it ſacred who had none, as well as of thoſe who poſſeſſed it.—Seeing no ground for the war, in what he had gone over, he had to look for it in ſuggeſtion. He could imagine that if perſons entertained the ſame principles as gave riſe to the American war; if the ſame ſpirit exiſted to cruſh reſiſtance and liberty (though he begged not to be imagined to call the government of France *liberty*), how could ſuch perſons have acted otherwiſe than as miniſters had acted? Had they at once joined the emperor, the meaſure would have been revolting, as would any idea of intermeddling in the internal government of France: that would not have been gone to profeſſedly.—What better mode could there have been adopted than the ſtatement of grievances, and the making no demand for an explanation or apology; to commence a negotiation with France, and at the moment when ſhe was ready to grant every thing, to break it off; then to excite a general alarm throughout the country, and a fear of interference in our government by France, never intended; and having thus raiſed a paroxyſm of alarm and rage, to take advantage of the moment to hurry the people into a war, which their cool reaſon would have rejected? As we are now in a ſtate of war, there can be no danger to ſtate what terms would have been accepted for peace; but miniſters appeared to be ſo much afraid of peace, that they have not declared what would have produced it; the conſequence of which was, that the calamity under which we laboured, was a war with an undefined object.

The conduct of miniſters had been ſuch

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as would have been purſued by a cabinet determined to provoke a war not agreeable to the country, by holding out falſe grounds to the people, when the real purpoſe was to eſtabliſh a kingly government in France. He rejoiced to hear that no treaty had been entered into with the emperor, and hoped that the future conduct of miniſters in the war, might convince the world, that interference in the internal affairs of France had not been the cauſe of their commencing it. He hoped the treaty might not hereafter be entered into; for if it ſhould be, we could not act with faith to our allies, unleſs we co-operated with them in their intentions, which were to regulate the government of France; and if we did, then we ſhould end the war with an object, which in its commencement durſt not be avowed—to obtain that ultimately, by the blood and treaſure of Engliſhmen, which no Engliſhman would deem worth fighting for. He voted, he ſaid, for the armament, conceiving that armament to be for obtaining redreſs by negotiation, the grievances being ſtated, and the ſatisfaction required, ſpecified; but no ſuch negotiation had been proceeded in. Such a negotiation had been with Spain during the Nootka Sound diſcuſſion; he was at a loſs to aſcertain why the ſame conduct had not been adopted with reſpect to France. As we were now, however, in war, we were neceſſarily called on to ſupport his majeſty in the maintenance of it; but we had no reaſon in the ſame addreſs to declare our approbation of the conduct of his miniſters, who had led us into a war which might have been avoided with more honour to the nation, with fuller ſecurity to the ſafety of ourſelves and our allies, and more conducive to the peace of Europe, than the preſent war can be with whatever ſucceſs it may be attended; it may be brilliant to our military fame, but it muſt be felt by the nation as a burden; and ſeeing what had been ſeen of the chances of war, it muſt be admitted that our ſucceſſes may not fulfil our ſanguine expectations. If they ſhould not, and any reverſe take place, the war may prove deſtructive to us, and to our unfortunate allies, who are impelled unwillingly to receive our aſſiſtance. If we are bleſſed with victory, we ſhall gain no advantage in point of ſecurity; if we experience the reverſe, we may be brought into a ſituation to which he did not like to turn his mind, for there may be a ſituation in which a man would find it difficult, even if he durſt, to propoſe a peace. Had we pointed out our grievances, and ſtated the apology with which we ſhould have been ſatisfied, we ſhould have had juſtice on our ſide, which would have added to our dignity and honour as a nation; for on the baſe of juſtice was placed the true dignity and honour of every nation. All that was now left to be done, was to ſupport the war in a way the moſt likely to obtain a ſpeedy and honourable peace. One addreſs had been already offered to the houſe; he would offer another, the difference between which he conſidered to be of importance in the preſent critical ſtate of the nation. The right hon. gentleman's addreſs would, without doubt, receive the aſſent of the majority of the houſe, for it would receive the aſſent of all who approved of the meaſures of adminiſtration; the addreſs he ſhould propoſe, which would ſimply go to ſtate their concern for the war, but their determination to ſupport his majeſty to repel it, could not fail of receiving the unanimous aſſent of the houſe. He concluded by moving his addreſs, as an amendment to the former.

Mr. Dundas declared the amendment propoſed, to be tantamount to a declaration, that the war was to be carried on by this country, without any foundation whatever in juſtice, and he ſhould therefore vote for the original addreſs.

Mr. Windham, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Rider, and Mr. T. Grenville, likewiſe delivered their ſentiments; after which the original addreſs was carried without a diviſion.

[To be continued.]

THE THEATRE.

ON Tueſday, January 29, a new Comedy called EVERY ONE HAS HIS FAULT was performed for the firſt time, at the New Theatre in Covent-garden.

It is the production of Mrs. Inchbald, and was received with much laughter, abundant tears, and loud and frequent applauſe.

The characters were thus repreſented: Lord Norland, Mr. Farren; Captain Irwin, Mr. Pope; Solus, Mr. Quick; Harmony, Mr. Munden; Mr. Placid, Mr. Fawcet; Irwin, junior, Miſs Griſt; Sir Robert Ramble, Mr. Lewis; Miſs Wooburn, Mrs. Eſten; Miſs Spinſter, Mrs. Webb; Mrs. Placid, Mrs. Mattocks; Lady Eleanor Irwin, Mrs. Pope.

The outline of the ſtory is this: Lady Eleanor, the only child of lord Norland, had been guilty of diſobedience in marrying captain Irwin, contrary to her father's commands, and was diſcarded by him from

the moment that he discovered their union. In consequence of an increasing family, the captain and his wife were reduced to extreme distress, and obliged to quit England, in pursuit of a better income, leaving their eldest son behind them at nurse. Not meeting with success in America, they returned, and had just been long enough in London to experience the unkindness which poverty provokes at the west end of the town, when—the action of the play commences. Mortified extremely by the disappointments he had met with from all he had called upon, and abandoning every hope of a reconciliation with his wife's father and of relief from his own uncle, on hearing that the first had adopted an unknown youth as his intended heir, and from having seen the other turn his face from him as he passed him in his carriage, and encountered his eye, captain Irwin is almost worked up to despair on receiving a letter from Mr. Placid, excusing himself from furnishing him with a temporary loan, which he had ventured to request. He sallies out, to try what effect personal argument could produce, and determines it shall be his last effort to procure the means of subsistence for his wife, his children, and himself. He calls at Sir Robert Ramble's, and as soon as he is seen by Solus (his uncle) and Mr. Placid, they retire precipitately to avoid their own disgrace. Sir Robert, who had just been divorced from his wife, and (though in consequence of losses at play) was involved in great embarrassments, wishing to pass for a man of easy circumstances and ample fortune, addresses his old acquaintance, captain Irwin, with gaiety and freedom, professes that he lives in affluence, and is ready to serve him or any other friend. This frank declaration induces the captain to acknowledge the full extent of his poverty, when Sir Robert, incapable to afford the necessary relief, and preferring to pass for an unfeeling rather than a poor man, assumes a *degage* air, talks of his want of money, notwithstanding his declared wealth; and after a display of all that insulting indifference to the distress of others, which constitutes many a modern character, walks away, leaving Irwin disgusted beyond all bearing. Placid meant to have relieved capt. Irwin, but being one of those married men who are entirely at the command of their wives, is by her orders compelled to refuse the assistance he intended to administer. Thus baffled every way, capt. Irwin grows frantic, and is about to apply the last remedy, a pistol; but the recollection of his Eleanor restrains his fury, and abandoning his desperate resolution, he bursts into a soliloquy on his situation. Being overheard by Mr. Harmony, a man of uncommon philanthropy (who happens to be in the same coffee-room unobserved by him) Harmony addresses him, and on recognition, offers him every aid in his power. Stung to the quick by the mortification he had just experienced from Sir Robert Ramble, capt. Irwin supposes all that Mr. Harmony has said to be mere matter of profession, and rather sneers at his offers than places any reliance on their sincerity. Harmony, however, quits the room, in search of lord Norland, in order to remonstrate with him on the distress of his daughter and her husband, and intercede for their forgiveness. In the interim the captain, in the moments of his frenzy, sees lord Norland at his door, claps his pistol to his father-in-law's breast, and takes from him his pocket-book, containing bank notes to a considerable amount, which he madly delivers to his wife. Harmony's application to lord Norland proves fruitless, as his heart is steeled against all feeling for his daughter, although he inadvertently betrays his fondness for her offspring, by acknowledging that he had privately possessed himself of her infant son, and educated him as his heir. When reflection returned to captain Irwin, he sent back the whole sum taken from his father-in-law; but as a reward had been offered for the apprehension of the offender, the fellow entrusted with the delivery of the notes, betrays his trust, names his employer, and then absconds from remorse. In this state of extreme danger, Harmony is again excited to another effort of interference, but he in vain applies to lord Norland for mercy. Lady Eleanor, at his persuasion, and that of other friends, ventures herself to go to her father. Not daring to announce herself as his daughter, she sends in a message, that the wife of the person, who, in a moment of frenzy, had obtained lord Norland's property, is come to state the circumstances of the case, the extreme distress that urged it, and the penitence of the offender. Lord Norland will not suffer her to be admitted to him, and sends out a message peremptorily refusing to see her. The adopted heir follows the servant, anxious to behold the applicant, is affected with her lamentations, and through sympathy prompted to state that he had overheard the lawyer tell lord Norland, 'that there was no proof that could lead to conviction but a pocket-book, in which the notes were contained, which he acknowledges to have taken and to have about him.' Melted by

her

her tears, he gives up the pocket-book to lady Eleanor, and, on a further converſation, ſhe is led to recognize her ſon in the child, and will not ſuffer him to incur diſgrace and anger with his grandfather, even although her ruin and that of her huſband muſt be the conſequence. Lord Norland enters and is ſhocked at his daughter's preſence; finding that ſhe has diſcovered her ſon, he gives the boy the option of parting with him for ever, or retiring from his mother. Nature exerts her influence, and the child preferring the arms of his parent, retires with lady Eleanor. Mr. Harmony afterward produces a feigned account of captain Irwin's death by his own hand, which at once awakens the dormant tenderneſs of lord Norland, who profeſſes his anguiſh for the diſtreſs he has ſo long cauſed his child; the happy opportunity is ſeized of producing the captain and his wife and ſon, who are embraced by lord Norland, and reſtored to his protection.

Beſide the main plot, there is an epiſode, which turns upon different points. Sir Robert Ramble being married to an amiable woman in Scotland, has forced her by illuſage to take advantage of the law of that country and divorce him. Hearing ſhe is, at lord Norland's requeſt, about to be married to another, all his former fondneſs returns, and he eagerly courts his wife a ſecond time, and obtains her hand. Mr. Solus, tired of living an old bachelor, and being forced to father children whoſe features prove they are not his own, reſolves to marry; he wavers in his reſolution alternately, as he witneſſes the anxiouſneſs of Sir Robert to be united again, and of his friend Mr. Placid to obtain a divorce; but finding the former reſtored to the arms of his wife, and the latter reconciled to his termagant ſpouſe, determines to live ſingle no longer, and gives his hand to Miſs Spinſter. The epiſodical ſcenes and characters are comic, and ſerve to relieve the ſerioufneſs of the principal fable.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

I Obſerved, in your Magazine for laſt month, ſome account of a pamphlet, entitled "An Anſwer to Paine's Rights of Man, by John Adams, eſq. originally printed in America." In juſtice to my friend, Mr. John Adams, I muſt acquaint you, that the Anſwer, I apprehend, is no other than a number of publications, ſigned Publicola, publiſhed in the Gazette of the United States, vol. 3, between June 8 and Auguſt 6, incluſive, 1791. July 23, 1791, the Gazette republiſhed, from Dunlap's American Daily Advertiſer, a paper, ſigned Agricola, againſt Publicola, in which the former ſtrongly inſinuates, that Publicola was no other than the vice-preſident, John Adams, eſq. whom he virulently charges with employing his whole force of art, genius, and erudition, in direct oppoſition to the free and equal principle of the very government which he adminiſtered. Publicola, in his laſt paper, printed in the Boſton Columbian Centinel, where the whole firſt appeared, thus writes: "The papers under the ſignature of Publicola, have called forth a torrent of abuſe; not upon their real author, nor upon the ſentiments they expreſs, but upon a ſuppoſed author and ſuppoſed ſentiments. With reſpect to the author, not one of the conjectures that have appeared in the public prints has been well grounded. The vice-preſident neither wrote nor corrected them: he did not give his ſanction to an individual ſentiment contained in them, nor did they *go to the preſs under the aſſumed patronage of his ſon.*" I am, &c.

Feb. 13, 1793. H.

☞ The Pamphlet alluded to in our Correſpondent's Letter was reprinted in London by Mr. Stockdale, with the name of John Adams, eſq.; and, on the late Trial of Thomas Paine, the Attorney General quoted ſome paſſages from the pamphlet, which, he obſerved, merited the more particular attention, as having been written by the *ſecond perſon in the Executive Government of America.* *See our laſt Magazine, pages* 33 *and* 50.—Notwithſtanding this high authority, the information of our correſpondent, although anonymous, appears to be confirmed by a letter from Philadelphia, dated Feb. 4, in which it is aſſerted that Mr. Adams himſelf has expreſsly diſclaimed the publication. *See page* 152. But whoever is the author of the pamphlet in queſtion, the ſentiments it contains cannot be affected by that circumſtance, but muſt, if juſt and rational, ſtill merit the univerſal attention of Engliſhmen.

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SHERIFFS *appointed for the Year* 1793.

BERKS, Thomas Goodlake, of Barton-Regis,
Bedfordshire, Thomas Crosse, of Bramingham,
Bucks, Francis Peter Mallet, of Chalfont St. Peter's,
Cumberland, Thomas Pattenson, of Melmerry,
Cheshire, John Egerton, of Oulton,
Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, Thomas Cole, of Doddington,
Cornwall, Francis Glanville, of Catchfrench,
Devonshire, William Barber, of Fremington,
Dorset, James Frampton, of Moreton,
Derbyshire, Sacheverell Pole, of Radbourn,
Essex, Staines Chamberlayne, of Hatfield Broad Oak,
Gloucestershire, Christopher Codrington, of Doddington,
Herts, George William Prescott, of Theobald's,
Hertfordshire, John Keysall, of Bourton-court,
Kent, George Norman, of Bromley,
Leicestershire, John Noon, of Bourton-on-the-Woulds,
Lincolnshire, Richard Ellison, of Sudbrooke-Holme,
Monmouthshire, John Hanbury Williams, of Holbroke,
Northumberland, Henry Collingwood, of Lilburn,
Northamptonshire, John Dryden, of Cannons-Ashby,
Norfolk, Edward Roger Pratt, of Ryston, esqrs.
Nottinghamshire, The hon. Richard Lumley Saville, of Rufford.
Oxfordshire, John Cailloud, of Aston,
Rutlandshire, Thomas Barfoot, of Ayston,
Shropshire, John Corbett, of Sunden,
Somersetshire, Samuel Bailward, of Horsington,
Staffordshire, George Molineux, of Wolverhampton,
Suffolk, George Doughty, of Leiston, esqrs.
County of Southampton, Sir George Ivefon Tapps, of Hinton-Admiral, bart.
Surry, John Hodsdon Durand, of Carshalton,
Suffex, Thomas Richardson, of Warminghurst,
Warwickshire, Evelyn Shirley, of Eatington,
Worcestershire, Samuel Steward, of Stone.
Wiltshire, John Gaisford, of Westwood and Iford,
Yorkshire, Richard Henry Beaumont, of Whitley, esqrs.

SOUTH-WALES.

Carmarthen, John Williams, of Wennalt,
Pembroke, John Higgon, of Scolton.
Cardigan, Thomas Lloyd, of Bronwydd,
Glamorgan, John Lucas, of Stout-Hall,
Brecon, John Lloyd, of Aberanalt,
Radnor, William Symonds, of Glascomb, esqrs.

NORTH-WALES.

Anglesea, Evan Lloyd, of Maes y Porth,
Carnarvon, William Owen, of Pencraig,
Merioneth, William John Lenthal, of Ucheldref,
Montgomery, David Pugh, of Brynderwen,
Denbighshire, Edward Eyton, of Eyton-Hall,
Flint, Richard Pulefton, of Emrall, esqrs.

CONTINENTAL ADVICES.

DENMARK.

Copenhagen, Jan. 3.

BY a royal edict of the 7th of November 1792, the trade with the Danish settlements upon the coast of Guinea is declared free to all nations whatsoever, without exception, trading in foreign-built ships, and without any restraint respecting the articles of importation or of exportation, including negroes; it being understood, however, that these shall not be exported till the end of the year 1802, conformably to the decree of the 16th of March 1792: and it is ordered, that for the maintenance of the forts, there shall in the mean time be paid for every male or female negro exported from the said settlements, and destined for the Danish and other colonies, the sum of ten crowns currency of Denmark. The half of this duty shall, however, be remitted on each female negro

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negro imported into the Daniſh Weſt India iſlands, upon the production of the certificate of ſuch female negroe having been exported from the Daniſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea, and of the duty on exportation having been duly paid.—*Lond. Gaz.*

POLAND.

Berlin, Jan. 26. The developement of the affairs of Poland is approaching: The different corps of troops which are to occupy that country are in full march: they will form three different corps; one in Pruſſia, commanded by general Van Henckel; the ſecond from the new Marche, under general Mollendorf; and the third from Sileſia, under general Dalwig. Theſe three corps will enter Poland at a certain given time, and then form a chain, which will include the diſtrict to be taken poſſeſſion of.—We do not find that Dantzig will be comprehended within the chain; but, on the contrary, that city will remain free and independent.—*The Pruſſians have ſince actually entered Poland, and on the 24th of January, had taken poſſeſſion of the city of Thorn.*

HISTORICAL CHRONICLE.

JANUARY 5.

YEſterday came on, at the ſeſſions-houſe, on Clerkenwell-green, the trial of —— Carter, for a libel. The attorney-general ſtated, that this was an indictment, for publiſhing a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, entitled, 'An Addreſs from the London Correſponding Society to the other Societies in Great Britain, united for the purpoſe of obtaining a reform in parliament.'

John Miller proved that the defendant paſted up the addreſs at the corner of Crown-ſtreet, St. Giles', on the 5th of December laſt.

The jury found the defendant guilty; and the court ſentenced him to ſix months impriſonment, and at the expiration thereof to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for one year, himſelf in 100l. and two ſureties in 50l. each.

JANUARY 9.

On the 3d of December died at his ſeat, the Chateau de Navarre, in Normandy, Godefroy de la Tour d'Auvergne, reigning duke of Bouillon, &c. Agreeable to the diſpoſitions of the late duke, formally recognized by the king of England, captain d'Auvergne, of the Britiſh navy, ſucceeds to all the honours and poſſeſſions of his ſerene highneſs.

JANUARY 10.

A court of common-council was held at Guildhall, when it was ordered that a bounty ſhould be given of forty ſhillings for every able ſeaman, and twenty ſhillings for every able landman, that ſhall enter into the king's ſervice in the navy.

Edinburgh, Jan. 10. On Tueſday, the high court of juſticiary proceeded to the trial of John Morton, James Anderſon, and Malcolm Craig, reſidenters in Edinburgh, accuſed of having, with four others, who were admitted as evidences, gone into the caſtle, on the evening of Sunday the 18th of November laſt, with the wicked intention of ſeducing the ſoldiers from their allegiance, and drinking ſeditious toaſts. The pannels pled not guilty. The trial laſted till near nine at night, when the jury were incloſed: On Wedneſday they returned a verdict, finding, unanimouſly, the libel *proven*.

Chelmsford, Jan. 15. At our quarter-ſeſſions, this day, Thomas Oſborne, alias Mott, the diſbanded ſoldier, committed on a charge of uttering divers traiterous expreſſions, againſt the king and his government, was tried. The jury found the priſoner guilty; when the court ſentenced him to ſix months impriſonment in one of the ſolitary cells of the county gaol. *See Vol. XCI, page 469.*

JANUARY 22.

On Wedneſday, Mr. Silva of Chelſea, and his ſervant Mary Williams, were found murdered in his dwelling houſe; and, on Friday, the coroner's inqueſt ſat on the bodies; when it appeared, that, Thomas Cobb, nephew of Mary Williams, a boy of about twelve, had left both the deceaſed at breakfaſt in the kitchen; that on returning at noon, and not being able to obtain admittance, he went in at the kitchen window, when he ſaw Mr. Silva lying near the fire-place, groaning; and his aunt lying near the dreſſer, apparently dead. Other witneſſes were examined, and the jury brought in their verdict, wilful murder by perſons unknown.

Mr. Silva was a Jew, ſuppoſed to have much money in his houſe, and was almoſt ſuperannuated. Mr. Mendez, his nephew, who lived near Moorfields, was apprehended on ſuſpicion, and examined in Bow-ſtreet; when ſome reſpectable witneſſes appearing to his character, and ſtating the time of his being in Moorfields, when

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when the murder was committed, he was discharged, it appearing to the magistrates, at that time, to be an alibi.

The Queen's House, Jan. 24. The king was this day pleased, by his majesty's order in council, to direct that M. Chauvelin, late minister plenipotentiary from the most Christian king, should depart this realm on or before the first day of February next.

JANUARY 25.

The lord chamberlain's orders issued for the court to go into mourning for his late most Christian majesty: the mourning to commence on Sunday, Jan. 27, to change on Sunday, Feb. 3, and to end on Thursday, Feb. 7.

JANUARY 28.

Since Mr. Mendez, who had been apprehended, on suspicion of the murder of his uncle, was discharged, the several circumstances came out, which revived the suspicions that he was the actual perpetrator of the murder; and it was intended to have him apprehended again. But he was found dead in his bed on Wednesday morning, and suspicions of suicide having arisen, his body was opened on Saturday, and nearly half a pint of arsenic found in his belly; on which the coroner's inquest brought in their verdict *felo de se*, and he was buried in Bishopsgate-street, near the new opening.

JANUARY 29.

Yesterday, being the day on which the imprisonment of lord George Gordon expired, he was brought from Newgate into court, accompanied by the keeper, two men as his bail, and several Jews. He had a large slouched hat on his head, and a beard of enormous length. He was ordered to take off his hat, which he refused. The court directed the cryer to take it off, which he did accordingly. Lord George desired the court to take notice, that his hat had been taken off by violence. He then deliberately took out of his pocket a white cap, which he put upon his head, and tied a handkerchief over it; after which, he produced a paper, entitled, 'the Petition of Israel Abraham George Gordon, commonly called lord George Gordon.' He said, the petition was an apology for appearing with his head covered, agreeably to the custom of the Jews. By a conformity to this custom, he meant no disrespect to the court, as it arose purely from the tenderness of his conscience, since he had entered into 'the holy Covenant of Circumcision.'—The petition was read by the officer of the court, and contained many arguments drawn from the Jewish writers, in favour of appearing with his head covered before all men.—The sentence against him for the libels, was, according to his request, publicly read, after which he read a written paper, the substance of which was, that he had been imprisoned for five years, among murderers, thieves, &c. and that all the consolation he had, arose from his trust in God; that he was compelled to find security for his good behaviour for 14 years, himself in 5000l. and two sureties, in 2500l. each. He said, that lord Kenyon, who had been his counsel when he was tried for high treason, well knew the amount of his income. He had only an annuity of five hundred a year, which was not assignable, but granted merely for his aliment. He was obliged to his brother the duke of Gordon for the loan of 500l. with which he was then ready to pay the fine amounting to that sum. He had directed his attorney, Mr. Godfrey, to adopt the necessary measures to obtain his legal enlargement. For this purpose there were two persons in court ready to become his bail, who were men of unquestionable integrity. One was Francis Collins, a hat-maker, and the other John Barnard, gentleman.

The attorney-general objected to the bail; and lord Kenyon told lord George, that the court were bound to see that the bail were good men, in point of responsibility. An affidavit was produced by Mr. White, solicitor to the treasury, by which it appeared, that both the bail were insufficient; that John Barnard was only a cart numberer, or carman's book-keeper, and earned but 12s. per week. The bail were both rejected, and lord George was remanded, till he can procure better bail.

JANUARY 31.

Yesterday, the attorney-general prayed the judgment of the court upon Patrick William Duffin, and Thomas Lloyd, who had been convicted of a conspiracy to effect their own, and the escape of the other prisoners, confined for debt in the Fleet-prison, and for that purpose affixing a libellous hand-bill upon the chapel door, beginning with the words: 'The house to let, &c.'

The court were of opinion, that a distinction ought to be made between the punishment of the prisoners. Lloyd had conducted himself with a criminal effrontery that bespoke no compunction of heart, but Duffin had behaved with a propriety and decency becoming his situation as a prisoner.

The court sentenced Thomas Lloyd to be

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be impriſoned in Newgate for the term of three years, and during that time to ſtand once in the pillory at the Royal Exchange, and at the expiration of his impriſonment to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for five years, himſelf in 500l. and two ſureties in 250l. each.

Patrick William Duffin was ſentenced to be impriſoned in the new Compter, for the term of two years, and to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for two years, himſelf in 200l. and his two ſureties in 100l. each.

Dublin, Jan. 14. Intelligence has been received from Kells, that on Monday morning, about 500 of thoſe deluded inſurgents, who call themſelves defenders, aſſembled near Bailyborough, in order, as uſual, to plunder the neighbouring gentlemen's houſes, of arms, &c. The Rev. Mr. Young, a magiſtrate, with a few friends, and a ſmall part of the army, proceeded to the place where this illegal meeting was held: on their arrival, the magiſtrate ordered the inſurgents to diſperſe, which order not being obeyed, he read the riot act, and again addreſſed them in the moſt conciliating terms; his advice was treated with deriſion, and his party with inſult; the magiſtrate threatened the execution of the law if they perſiſted. His party was then aſſaulted; the military were commanded to fire; the mob returned the fire, but immediately after fled; eighteen of this banditti were killed, five taken up mortally wounded, and ſeveral apprehended, who were eſcorted to the gaols of Cavan and Trim.

FEBRUARY 1.

Yeſterday, the judges met in lord Kenyon's chamber, Weſtminſter-hall, and choſe their ſeveral circuits for the enſuing Lent aſſizes as follow, viz.

Northern, Lord Kenyon and Mr. juſtice Buller.

Norfolk, Lord chief juſtice Eyre and Mr. baron Perryn.

Midland, Lord chief baron Macdonald and Mr. baron Thomſon.

Home, Mr. juſtice Gould and Mr. baron Hotham.

Weſtern, Mr. juſtice Aſhhurſt, and Mr. juſtice Heath.

Oxford, Mr. juſtice Wilſon and Mr. juſtice Groſe.

FEBRUARY 2.

A fire broke out, about four o'clock on Thurſday morning, at lady Dover's in Hill-ſtreet, Berkeley-ſquare, which conſumed that houſe, and damaged the two adjoining. It was with great difficulty that the lives of lady Dover and a young lady her niece, were ſaved. The fire began in her ladyſhip's dreſſing-room, and was firſt diſcovered by one of the female ſervants, who inſtantly came down, and alarmed a footman who ſlept in the hall; but before her ladyſhip and her niece could get out, the flames had communicated to the ſtairs; ſo that it was impoſſible for them to come down that way: a ladder was therefore raiſed up to one of the two-pair-of-ſtairs windows, from which her ladyſhip, by the aſſiſtance of two men, deſcended, without ſuſtaining any other injury than the fright occaſioned by the perilous ſituation ſhe was in. The young lady who ſlept in a back-room on the ſame floor, was alſo got out by a ladder raiſed from the Meuſe at the back of the houſe, but not without being ſcorched. One of the female ſervants jumped out of a two-pair-of-ſtairs window, and in her fall ſhattered one of her arms in ſo ſhocking a manner, that immediate amputation was neceſſary. A footman, who lay in the attic ſtory got out on the roof of the houſe, but returning to get his watch, was very near periſhing in the flames. No account can yet be given from what cauſe the fire originated.

FEBRUARY 3.

The Gazette of laſt night, contains an order of council, directing that all aliens, who ſhall have arrived within this kingdom ſince the firſt of January 1792, or who ſhall arrive therein during the continuance of the alien bill, or until his majeſty's pleaſure be further ſignified, other than aliens excepted in the bill, ſhall, from and after the 25th day of February, 1793, if ſuch aliens ſhall then be reſident in England, or if ſuch aliens ſhall then be reſident in Scotland, then, from and after the 20th day of February, 1793, dwell or reſide only within the limits of the weekly bills of mortality, or within the pariſh of St. Mary-le-bonne, Paddington, Pancras, and St. Luke at Chelſea, in the county of Middleſex, or within ſuch parts of the kingdom as ſhall not be more than fifty miles from the ſtandard in Cornhill, and not leſs than ten miles diſtant from the ſea-coaſt, and alſo from any of his majeſty's dock-yards; and in no other parts whatever.

FEBRUARY 5.

In the Gazette of this evening, is a proclamation, laying an embargo on all French veſſels in the Engliſh ports, in conſequence of advices having been received, 'That an embargo had taken place

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the preceding day, at Calais and the other ports of France, on all French, Engliſh, Pruſſian, Dutch, and Ruſſian veſſels, except the packets and bye-boats employed between Dover and Calais, which would be ſuffered to paſs as uſual until further orders.

FEBRUARY 12.

This day, in the court of King's-bench, the Rev. Richard Burgh, James Davis, J. Cummings, Thomas Townly M'Can, and John Bourne, who had been convicted of a conſpiracy to effect their own, and the eſcape of the other priſoners confined for debt, and for that purpoſe attempting to blow up the walls of the King's-bench priſon, were ſeverally ſentenced to three years impriſonment, in different gaols, at the expiration of which they are to find ſecurity for their good behaviour for three years; Burgh in 200l. and two ſureties in 100l. each; and the other priſoners in 100l each, and two ſureties in 50l. each.

In this night's Gazette, appeared a proclamation, authorizing the iſſuing of letters of marque, &c. againſt the French.

FEBRUARY 13.

At a court of common-council yeſterday, called expreſsly for the purpoſe, it was unanimouſly agreed to addreſs his majeſty on the preſent poſture of affairs.

FEBRUARY 14.

Yeſterday, the following criminals were executed before Newgate: W. Bateman, for feloniouſly being at large in this kingdom before the expiration of the term for which he was ordered to be tranſported; Henry Griffin, alias Hubbard, alias lord Maſſey, for forgery; Thomas Healey, for robbing Quintin Kay, in a dwelling-houſe, of four guineas, &c. Thomas Montague Glover, for forgery; George Rankin, alias Goodall, Abraham Mayhew, and Francis Pope, for burglary; and Iſaac Moore, a letter-carrier, for ſecreting two letters, containing a bank-note.—Before his execution, Griffin had ineffectually attempted to deſtroy himſelf. *See Vol. XCI, page 470.*

Whitehall, Feb. 12. A convention, for the final adjuſtment of Nootka claims, was this day ſigned at Whitehall, between ſir Ralph Woodford, bart. commiſſary and plenipotentiary on the part of his majeſty, and by don Manuel De Las Heras, his Catholic majeſty's commiſſary and plenipotentiary. *The ſum ſtipulated to be paid by Spain, beſide the reſtitution of the veſſels, is 210,000 dollars.*

FEBRUARY 20.

Extract of a Letter from Philadelphia, Jan. 4. Our worthy preſident has been unanimouſly re-elected; not a voice through all the Continent againſt him. Our vice-preſident has alſo been re-elected, but by a majority of a few votes only. The public pointed him out as author of letters in anſwer to Mr. Paine, ſigned 'Publicola.' But Mr. Adams, by public advertiſement, declared he was not the author of theſe letters. His friends alſo reminded the Americans of his having been proſecuted by the court of Great Britain. Had it not been for theſe things, Mr. Clinton would have been vice-preſident; he was within a few votes of him as it was.

FEBRUARY 23.

On Saturday laſt, the right hon. ſir James Sanderſon, knt. lord-mayor, the aldermen, ſheriffs, and common-council of the city of London, waited upon his majeſty, with the following addreſs, which was read by ſir John William Roſe, knt. recorder:

To the KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

The humble Addreſs of the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

We, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen and commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, beg leave to renew our moſt ſolemn aſſurances of firm allegiance to your majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, and of attachment to the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms as by law eſtabliſhed.

Deeply impreſſed with ſentiments of veneration for a ſyſtem of government, wiſely framed to perpetuate the proſperity and happineſs of every individual, ſubject to its authority, and in conſequence ſecure by its protection, great muſt have been our concern at the late nefarious and daring ſtrides of deſperate and wicked men toward the ſubverſion of the peace and order of civil ſociety, who, with the blackeſt ingratitude, were availing themſelves of the freedom and privileges of this highly favoured land to compaſs its deſtruction.

With increaſed indignation we were bound to deplore that, to attain this treaſonable purpoſe, they had dared, in open concert with perſons in the executive government of France, to offer their principles and proceedings as a ſubject of admiration to a free, loyal and happy people.

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To what fatal events the miſchievous and obdurate councils of that unhappy country have led, the page of hiſtory, darkened with the fouleſt deed that ever excited horror in the human heart, will but too faithfully record; and the late dreadful inſtance of their ſanguinary malice will be remembered as long as perſecuted virtue ſhall deſerve the pity, and deliberate cruelty the execration of mankind.

The paternal regard for the peace and welfare of your people, which induced your majeſty to embody the militia, and convene your parliament at a moſt important conjuncture, cannot but warm every loyal breaſt with ſentiments of the moſt lively gratitude; and we can with confidence aſſure your majeſty, that it is the united voice of your majeſty's faithful citizens of London, when we declare, that being ſenſible of the neceſſity of vigorouſly oppoſing the perfidy, ambition, and aggrandizement of France, now evinced by her declaration of war and commencement of hoſtilities againſt this country, in order to maintain the ſecurity and honour of your majeſty's crown, and to preſerve inviolate the conſtitution of theſe realms, the ſacred ſource, under Providence, of all our bleſſings, we are ready to ſacrifice our deareſt intereſts in the defence of your majeſty's crown and perſon, and of that ſubſtantial freedom which the ſubjects of the Britiſh empire are conſcious they enjoy.

Signed by order of court,

WILLIAM RIX.

To which addreſs his majeſty was pleaſed to return the following moſt gracious anſwer:

'I receive with great ſatisfaction this dutiful and loyal addreſs.

'The aſſurances of the city of London of their firm allegiance to my perſon, and of their attachment to our happy conſtitution, cannot but be highly acceptable to me; and I rely with confidence that their attention will conſtantly be directed toward the ſuppreſſion and diſcouragement of every proceeding which might tend to the ſubverſion of the peace and order of civil ſociety. The city of London may always depend upon my favour and countenance, and my conſtant care not only to maintain and defend the rights of my crown, but to protect and encourage the trade and commerce of this kingdom, and to preſerve inviolate the conſtitution as by law eſtabliſhed.'

They were all received very graciouſly, and had the honour to kiſs his majeſty's hand.

IRELAND.

Dublin, Thurſday, Jan. 10.

THIS day the lord lieutenant went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

'My lords and gentlemen,

'I have his majeſty's commands to meet you in parliament, and to expreſs his ſatisfaction in reſorting to your counſels in the preſent ſituation of affairs.

'His majeſty feels the utmoſt concern that various attempts ſhould have been made to excite a ſpirit of diſcontent and diſturbance, and that appearances ſhould have manifeſted themſelves in any part of this kingdom, of a deſign to effect by violence an alteration in the conſtitution.

'It is an additional ground of uneaſineſs to his majeſty, that views of conqueſt and dominion ſhould have incited France to interfere with the government of other countries, and to adopt meaſures with regard to his majeſty's allies, the ſtates general, neither conformable to the law of nations, nor the poſitive ſtipulations of exiſting treaties; eſpecially when both his majeſty and the ſtates general had obſerved the ſtricteſt neutrality with regard to the affairs of France.

'Under theſe circumſtances, I have ordered by his majeſty's commands, an augmentation of the forces upon this eſtabliſhment.

'By the advice of the privy council, meaſures have been taken to prevent the exportation of corn, proviſions, and naval ſtores, arms, and ammunition. The circumſtances which rendered theſe meaſures neceſſary, will, I truſt, juſtify any temporary infringement of the laws, and will induce you to give them a parliamentary ſanction.

'It will afford his majeſty the greateſt ſatisfaction, if by a temperate and firm conduct the bleſſings of peace can be continued; but he feels aſſured of your zealous concurrence in his determination to provide for the ſecurity and intereſts of his dominions, and to fulfil thoſe poſitive engagements to which he is equally bound by the honour of his crown, and the general intereſts of the empire.

'Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

'I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, and I have no doubt of your readineſs to grant ſuch ſupplies for the public ſervice, as the honour and ſecurity of his majeſty's crown and government, and the exigencies of the times, may require.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'The agriculture, the manufactures,

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and particularly the linen manufacture, the Proteſtant charter-ſchools, and other public inſtitutions, which have ſo repeatedly been the objects of your care, will I doubt not engage your accuſtomed regard and liberality.

'I am to recommend to you in his majeſty's name, to adopt ſuch meaſures as may be moſt adviſeable for the maintenance of internal tranquillity; and for this purpoſe to render more effectual the law for eſtabliſhing a militia in this kingdom.

'His majeſty has the fulleſt confidence that you will, on all occaſions, ſhew your firm determination to enforce due obedience to the laws, and to maintain the authority of government, in which you may depend upon his majeſty's cordial co-operation and ſupport: and I have it in particular command from his majeſty to recommend it to you, to apply yourſelves to the conſideration of ſuch meaſures as may be moſt likely to ſtrengthen and cement a general union of ſentiment among all claſſes and deſcriptions of his majeſty's ſubjects, in ſupport of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. With this view his majeſty truſts that the ſituation of his majeſty's catholic ſubjects will engage your ſerious attention, and in the conſideration of this ſubject, he relies on the wiſdom and liberality of his parliament.

'I am truly ſenſible of the repeated teſtimonies which I have received of your approbation, and I will endeavour to merit a continuance of your good opinion, by ſtrenuouſly exerting the power with which I am entruſted, for the maintenance of our excelleht conſtitution in church and ſtate, as the beſt ſecurity for the liberty of the ſubject, and the proſperity of Ireland.'

In the houſe of lords the motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, was carried unanimouſly. That for an addreſs to the lord lieutenant was oppoſed by the duke of Leinſter; on which lord Portarlington ſaid, he was ſorry to differ from the noble duke, with whom he had ſo long agreed; but in the preſent inſtance he felt that it was as neceſſary in Ireland for parliament to unite and reſiſt the enemies of the conſtitution, as it was in England, where party was laid aſide to ſave the country.

The addreſs from the houſe of commons was carried unanimouſly, with one amendment on the motion of Mr. Grattan.

On the 14th, the commons reſolved, without a diviſion, that on that day three weeks they would, in a committee of the whole houſe, take into conſideration the *repreſentation of the people*.

On the 4th of February, on the motion of Mr. Secretary Hobart, leave was given to bring in a bill for the relief of the Roman catholics.

BIRTHS.

DUcheſs of Leinſter, a ſon.

Lady Rodney, a daughter.

Lady Henry Fitzgerald, a ſon.

Viſcounteſs Arbuthnot, a ſon.

Lady of Edward Coke, eſq. M. P. a ſon and heir.

MARRIAGES.

RIGHT hon. Robert M'Queen, lord juſtice clerk, to miſs Eliſabeth Ord, daughter of the late lord chief baron Ord.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, to a daughter of Louis Philippe Egalité, heretofore duke of Orleans.

Hon. Hugh Howard, brother to viſcount Wicklow, to miſs Bligh, couſin to the earl of Darnley.

Joſeph Leeſon, eſq. nephew to the earl of Miltown, to miſs Ryley, daughter of the Rev. John Ryley.

Rev. Dr. Turner, dean of Norwich, to miſs Darbiſhire.

Major William Charles Madan, ſon of the biſhop of Briſtol, to miſs Falconer of Lichfield.

Robert Selby, eſq. to miſs Talbot, ſiſter of the earl of Shrewſbury.

Matthew Goſſent, eſq. viſcount of Jarſey, to miſs Grace Frankland, daughter of the late admiral Sir Thomas Frankland.

Henry Stewart, eſq. M. P. for Longford, in Ireland, to the hon. miſs Pakenham, daughter of the late lord Longford.

Sir Bourchier Wray, bart. to miſs A. Oſborne, daughter of the late Thomas Oſborne, eſq. of Glouceſterſhire.

DEATHS.

SIR Alexander Strachan, bart.

Francis Twiſleton Thompſon, eſq. uncle to lord Saye and Sele.

Major-general Collins.

Mrs. Griffith, author of the Letters between Henry and Frances.

Daniel Maſter, eſq. uncle to viſcount Torrington.

John Tempeſt, eſq. ſon and heir to John Tempeſt, eſq. M. P.

Hugh Edward Henry lord Clifford of Chudleigh.

Sir Alexander Gilmour, bart.

Sir James Harrington, bart.

Mrs

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Mrs. Fowler, lady of the archbiſhop of Dublin.

Thomas lord Camelford.

William Wildman viſcount Barrington.

Rev. and right hon. John viſcount Tracey, warden of All Souls College, Oxford.

Major-general James Stuart, colonel of the 31ſt regiment of foot.

Sir Joſeph Pennington, bart. father of lord Muncaſter.

William Aiton, eſq. the king's gardener at Kew, and author of the Hortus Kewenſis.

Braſs Croſby, eſq. alderman of Bread-ſtreet ward.

PREFERMENTS.

REV. Folliott Herbert Walker Cornwall—Dean of Canterbury.

Rev. Edward Walſby, D. D.—Prebendary of Canterbury.

Rev. John Luxmore, M. A.—Prebendary of Canterbury.

PROMOTIONS.

WIlliam Manners, eſq. of Handby-hall, Lincolnſhire—a baronet.

John Sibthorp, M. D.—Regius profeſſor of botany at Oxford.

Francis Drake, eſq.—Reſident at Venice.

Alexander lord Loughborough—lord chancellor.

Robert Graham, eſq.—Attorney-general to the prince of Wales.

John Anſtruther, eſq.—Solicitor-general to his royal highneſs.

The prince of Wales—Colonel in the army, (his commiſſion bearing date Nov. 19, 1792) and colonel commandant of the 10th or prince of Wales' own regiment of light dragoons.

Earl of Weſtmeath—a privy-counſellor in Ireland.

Eliſabeth lady Cathcart—Lady of the bed-chamber to the younger princeſſes.

Molyneux lord Shuldham, ſir Hugh Palliſer, bart. and Matthew Barton, eſq. admirals of the blue—Admirals of the white.

Mariot Arbuthnot, Robert Roddam, and William Lloyd, eſqrs. Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. John Evans, and Mark Milbanke, eſqrs. vice admirals of the red—Admirals of the blue.

Nicholas Vincent, eſq. ſir Edward Vernon, knt. Richard Edwards, Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, and Benjamin Marlow, eſqrs. and ſir Alexander Hood, K. B. vice admirals of the white; ſir Chaloner Ogle, knt. and Samuel lord Hood, vice admirals of the blue—Vice admirals of the red.

Sir Richard Hughes, bart. John Elliot, William Hotham, and Joſeph Peyton, eſqrs. vice admirals of the blue; John Charter Allen, eſq. ſir Charles Middleton, bart. ſir John Laforey, bart. and John Dalrymple, eſq. rear admirals of the red—Vice admirals of the white.

Herbert Sawyer, eſq. ſir Richard King, bart. and Jonathan Faulkner, eſq. rear admirals of the red; Philip Affleck, eſq. ſir John Jervis, K. B. Adam Duncan, Richard Brathwaite, and Phillips Coſby, eſqrs. rear admirals of the white—Vice admirals of the blue.

Thomas Fitzherbert, Samuel Corniſh, John Briſbane, Charles Wolſeley, and Samuel Granſton Goodall, eſqrs. hon. Keith Stewart, and William Henry duke of Clarence, rear admirals of the blue—Rear admirals of the red.

Captains, Richard Onſlow, Robert Kingſmill, ſir George Collier, knt. George Bowyer, ſir Hyde Parker, knt. Rowland Cotton, Benjamin Caldwell, and the hon. William Cornwallis—Rear admirals of the white.

Captains William Allen, John Macbride, George Vandeput, Charles Buckner, John Gell, William Dickſon, and Alan Gardner—Rear admirals of the blue.

George Murray and Robert Linzee, eſqrs. and ſir James Wallace, knt.—Colonels of marines.

Thomas Coxhead, eſq. of Epping—a knight.

Robert Graham, Sylveſter Douglas, Thomas Plumer, and William Garrow, eſqrs.—King's council.

William Grant, eſq.—to take precedence next to Mr. Graham, and John Anſtruther, eſq. next to Mr. Plumer.

His royal highneſs prince William—Captain of a company in the firſt regiment of foot-guards.

Lord Mulgrave—Colonel of the 31ſt regiment of foot.

Lord chief baron Eyre—Chief juſtice of the common-pleas.

Sir Archibald Macdonald, knt.—a ſerjeant at law.

Sir John Scott, knt.—Attorney-general.

John Mitford, eſq.—Solicitor-general.

Giles Rooke, ſerjeant at law—King's ſerjeant at law.

Sir Archibald Macdonald, knt.—Chief baron of the exchequer.

Francis Ford, of Ember-court, eſq.—a baronet.

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John duke of Athol—Governor in chief and captain-general of the Isle of Man, and lieutenant of the same.

Lord chief baron Macdonald—a privy-counsellor.

Lord Charles Fitzgerald, Arthur viscount Gosford, and William Forward, esqrs.—Privy-counsellors of Ireland.

BANKRUPTS. From the GAZETTE.

DECEMBER 29.

Josiah Cantrill, of Birmingham, perfumer.

Ely Sutcliffe, of Halsted, in Essex, shopkeeper.

JANUARY 1.

George Prestwidge, and Thomas Osgathrop, in Higham, in Derbyshire, candlewick-spinners and copartners.

James Taylor, of Manchester, millwright.

JANUARY 5.

Thomas Martin, of St. Michael's-alley, Cornhill, clock and watch-maker.

Thomas Burton, of Little Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, printer.

Joseph Weeden, of Market-street, Westminster, oilman.

James Marmaduke Rossiter, of Queen-street, Southwark, stonemason.

William Coulthard, of Lothbury, merchant.

Thomas Hayton, of Fashion-street, Spitalfields, victualler.

Matthew Kington, of Corsham, in Wilts, shopkeeper.

Joseph Balcetti, of Earl-street, Blackfriars, merchant.

Thomas Pierce, of Church-street, Soho, dealer.

John Wilkinson, of Carey-street, money-scrivener.

William Caslon, of Finsbury-square, letter-founder.

Richard Westgarth, of Oxford-street, taylor.

Joel Banfield, of the Strand, woollen-draper.

John West, of Temple-street, victualler.

Charles Oldroyd, of Red-lion-street, apothecary.

JANUARY 8.

John Frost, of Spring-gardens, Westminster, scrivener.

William Bayliss, of Woolwich, in Kent, auctioneer.

Owen Vaughan, of Broad-street, Bloomsbury, harness-maker.

James Simms, of Manchester, fustian-manufacturer.

JANUARY 12.

Thomas Kendall, of West-square, in St. George's-fields, stone-mason.

John Mead, of Bunhill-row, money-scrivener.

Francis Hassell, of Abchurch-lane, insurance-broker.

Thomas Watson, of Woodbridge-street, Clerkenwell, distiller.

William Clark, of Leicester-fields, haberdasher.

John Brierley, of Houghton, in Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

William Morris, of Swansea, in Glamorganshire, mercer.

Nisi Nissen, of Liverpool, merchant.

JANUARY 15.

Obadiah Tippetts, of Gutter-lane, ribbon-weaver.

William Rolfe, of Chiswell-street, baker.

Edward Cookerton, of Aldersgate-street, oilman.

James Dimond, of Bristol, perfumer.

JANUARY 19.

John Dewhurst, of Norfolk-street, in the Strand, merchant.

Thomas Groves, of Walcot-place, Lambeth, taylor.

John Dickinson Harvey, of Ball-court, Gutspur-street, pocket-book-maker.

Dennis Crawley, of Broad-street, St. Giles' in the Fields, cheesemonger.

David Bray, of Cranborn-street, Leicester-fields, haberdasher.

David Kemp, of Dover-street, Piccadilly, apothecary.

Edward Henshaw, of Whitcombe-street, tallow-chandler.

Hugh Atkins, of Bury-court, St. Mary-axe, merchant.

James Benton, and Thomas Benton, of Birmingham, button-makers and copartners.

William Appleyard, of New Village, Yorkshire, innholder.

John Abraham, of Lombard-street, bookseller.

Willaim Justins, of Shoemaker-row, Black-friars, printer.

James Davison, of Ludgate-street, linen-draper.

JANUARY 22.

Hammond Mudd, of Ipswich, in Suffolk, linen-draper.

James Hine Hyde, of Frome Selwood, Somersetshire, innholder.

William Unwood, of Sheffield, in Yorkshire, inn-keeper.

William Barret, of Broad-street, merchant.

Cephas

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Cephas Webb, Caleb Webb, and Joshua Webb, of Fetter-lane, ribbon-weavers and partners.

William Hawkes, of Walworth, in Surry, grocer.

Hugh Harold, of White-street, Surry, dealer in soap.

William Cecil, of Albemarle-street, Clerkenwell, cabinet-maker.

William Abell the elder, of Leicester, parchment-maker.

James Nutt, of Leicester, grocer.

JANUARY 26.

Richard Mulford, of Bristol, grocer.

David Davis, of Monmouth, mercer.

Peter Sharples, Thomas Bennett, and William Halstead, of Copthurst, in Lancashire, and Thomas Knipe, of Manchester, callico-printers and copartners.

Thomas Smith, of Fleet-street, haberdasher.

Timothy Brown, of Marlborough, Wilts, innholder.

John Cleaver the younger, of St. George's-fields, victualler.

James Banks, of East-smithfield, haberdasher.

William Young, of Pool, ropemaker.

Thomas Bennett, of Copthurst, in Lancashire, callico-printer.

Thomas Cood, of Gracechurch-street, haberdasher.

John Pike, of Fleet-street, taylor.

Thomas Clarke, of Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, mealman.

Robert Robinson, of Duke-street, Westminster, money-scrivener.

Giles Dean, of Dean's-buildings, Walworth, in Surry, builder.

John Hopwood, of Castle-street, Southwark, glove-manufacturer.

George Donadieu, of Hatton-street, brandy-merchant.

JANUARY 29.

Edmund Hammond, of Castle-street, Long-acre, brewer.

Abraham Luxton, of the Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, victualler.

Samuel Biggs, of Bristol, merchant.

Thomas Chippendale, of Manchester, victualler.

William Lording, of St. Pancras, cow-keeper.

FEBRUARY 2.

Abraham Norden, of Camomile-street, merchant.

William Rod, of South-Bemfleet, in Essex, shopkeeper.

William Dalton, of Earl Shilton, in Leicestershire, baker.

William Sturgess, of Hamble, in Hants, ship-owner.

James Sancroft the younger, of Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk, chymist.

William Newcombe Geoghegan, of Chester, broker.

Edward Roberts, of Chandos-street, Covent-garden, woollen-draper.

Jehu Wanley, of Stratford, in Essex, coal-merchant.

Thomas Pasfield, of Bow, carpenter.

Thomas Bailey, of Ludgate-street, glover.

Joseph Whicher, of Petworth, in Sussex, surgeon.

Patrick M'Neal, of Wentworth-street, Spitalfields, brewer.

Edward Horne, of Staines, corn-chandler.

James Forward, of Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire, grocer.

FEBRUARY 5.

Evan Marpole, of Llandiloes, in Montgomeryshire, mercer.

James Read, of Oxford-market, victualler.

Edward Mundell the elder, of Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, mercer.

John Davenport, of Oakham, in Rutlandshire, linen-draper.

Thomas Jones, of Nant, in Caernarvonshire, grocer.

Aaron Brown, of Barber's-yard, Spitalfields, dyer.

Arthur Marsh, of Great Burstead, in Essex, shopkeeper.

Abraham Levien, of London, merchant.

FEBRUARY 9.

Charles Bullard, of Epsom, in Surry, linen-draper.

John Howell, of Wolverhampton, in Staffordshire, victualler.

John Chamberlin, of Lambeth, timber-merchant.

Isaiah Moses, of Lower Shadwell, grocer.

James James, of Truro, in Cornwall, mercer.

Thomas Morgan Varnham, of Putney, in Surry, money-scrivener.

Charles Gill, of Fleet-street, shoemaker.

FEBRUARY 12.

John Miller, of Kennington, in Surry, carpenter.

Alexander Long, of Market-street, Westminster, brewer.

John Colin, of Bell's-buildings, Salisbury-square, merchant.

Matthew Lowdourn, otherwise Lowdown, of St. George's Fields, stone-mason.

John Cave, of Quinton, in Northamptonshire, dealer in cattle.

FEB.

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FEBRUARY 16.

Henry Coope, of Preſtwich, in Lancaſhire, carpenter.

William Webb Cooper, of Cumberland-ſtreet, wine-merchant.

George Gray, of Stanhope-ſtreet, Clare-market, hoſier.

Richard Davis, of King-ſtreet, Covent-garden, hoſier.

Charles Anderſon, of Grub-ſtreet, horſe-dealer.

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Edward Lowe, of Whitecroſs-ſtreet, timber-merchant.

William Bentley, of Kingſland-road, builder.

John Hayes, of Eaſtbrent, in Somerſetſhire, brandy-merchant.

George Soul, of New Sarum, victualler.

FEBRUARY 19.

William Huff the younger, of Birmingham, linen-draper.

Theophilus Chriſtian Blanckenhagen, of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, merchant.

John Craddock, of Rocke, in Worceſterſhire, dealer.

Moſes Weſt, of High-Wycomb, in Bucks, innholder.

William Watt, of Pancras-lane, warehouſeman.

Thomas Allam, of Bridewell Hoſpital, taylor.

Thomas Day, of Tower-ſtreet, bruſh-maker.

William Charnley, of Blackburne, in Lancaſhire, money-ſcrivener.

Frances Balding, of Norfolk, milliner.

Francis Ambray, of Mancheſter, machine-maker.

James Fiſhwick, of Padiham, in Lancaſhire, cotton-manufacturer.

FEBRUARY 23.

Samuel Darling, of Bowling-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, grocer.

Adam Ragg, of Croſs-ſtreet, Hatton-garden, victualler.

Edward Power, of Caſtle-ſtreet, Southwark, hatmaker.

Charles Balfour, of Cornhill, victualler.

Charles Dyſon, of Halifax, in Yorkſhire, dyer.

Joſeph Parſons, of Edmonton, vintner.

John Paley, of Crown-court, Threadneedle-ſtreet, taylor.

John Bainbridge, of Briſtol, linen-draper.

Iſaac Bolton, of Sharples, in Lancaſhire, dealer.

Alexander Hendy, of Upper Gower-ſtreet, Bedford-ſquare, builder.

Joſeph Leigh, of Gee-croſs, in Cheſter, cotton-ſpinner.

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	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
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INLAND COUNTIES.

Middleſex	5	9			3	9	2	10	4	5
Surry	5	8	3	6	3	8	2	8	4	4
Hertford	5	7			3	8	2	5	4	3
Bedford	5	7	4	0	3	7	2	7	4	1
Huntingdon	5	4			3	6	2	5	3	8
Northampton	5	10	4	1	3	10	2	4	4	0
Rutland	5	6			4	0	2	4	4	4
Leiceſter	5	10			3	11	2	5	4	11
Nottingham	6	1	4	6	4	5	2	6	4	10
Derby	6	5			4	5	2	10	5	0
Stafford	5	11			4	5	2	9	5	1
Salop	5	8	4	5	4	1	2	9	5	4
Hereford	5	4	5	2	3	9	2	8	4	7
Worceſter	5	9			3	11	2	10	4	1
Warwick	6	0			4	8	2	8	4	7
Wilts	6	2			4	0	2	9	5	2
Berks	5	10			3	4	2	6	3	11
Oxford	5	9			3	2	2	4	4	6
Bucks	5	6			3	7	2	5	3	11
Brecon	6	10	5	2	3	9	2	5		
Montgomery	6	1			3	8	2	2		
Radnor	5	11			3	3	2	4		

MARITIME COUNTIES.

Eſſex	5	6	3	9	3	6	2	6	3	8
Kent	5	2	3	11	3	7	2	6	3	10
Suſſex	5	9			3	6	2	4		
Suffolk	5	2			3	6	2	4	3	7
Cambridge	4	10	3	7	3	1	1	9	3	7
Norfolk	5	1	3	3	3	1	2	4	3	8
Lincoln	5	3	3	9	3	8	2	0	4	4
York	5	0	4	3	3	5	2	1	3	9
Durham	5	10					2	2	4	5
Northumberland	5	1	4	0	3	2	2	0	4	0
Cumberland	5	7	4	10	3	5	2	0		
Weſtmorland	6	5	5	1	3	8	2	4		
Lancaſter	5	11			4	6	2	7	4	1
Cheſter	5	10			4	2	2	6		
Flint	6	11			4	4				
Denbigh	6	8	5	1	3	10	2	0	4	10
Angleſea	5	3			3	7	1	7		
Carnarvon	6	1	5	0	3	7	1	9	4	0
Merioneth	7	5	5	6	4	3	2	3		
Cardigan	6	9	4	9	3	6	1	7		
Pembroke	4	8			2	11	1	5		
Carmarthen	5	9			3	7	1	5		
Glamorgan	7	2			3	9	2	6		
Glouceſter	6	1			3	6	2	7	4	4
Somerſet	6	6			3	10	2	2	4	2
Monmouth	6	11			3	8	2	2		
Devon	6	0			3	1	1	9	4	6
Cornwall	5	10			2	10	1	9		
Dorſet	6	1			3	4	2	4	4	7
Hants	5	10			3	7	2	8	4	6

Peck Loaf, 2s. 5d.

PRICE

PRICES of STOCKS, from JANUARY 28 to FEBRUARY 25, 1793, both inclusive.

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Days	Bank Stock.	3 per C. reduced.	3 per C. consols.	4 per C. consols.	5 per C. consols.	Long Ans.	Short Ans.	India Stock.	India Ans.	India Bonds.	South Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	English Lot. Tic.
28	169 ¼	74 ⅜	73¼a¼	89 ¼	103 ⅞	21 ¼	10 ⅛	178		10s.pr			74 ⅞	6 ¾dif.	
29	171	75 ¼	73¼a76½	89 ¼	104 ⅛	21 ⅜	10 ⅛	180 ¼		8				6 ¼	15 10 0
30															
31	173	76 ¼	75¼a76	90 ⅛	104 ⅞	22 ⅛	10 ¼	181 ¼	71 ¾	9				6 ¼	15 8 0
1	172	75 ⅛	75¼a74¼	90 ⅛	104 ⅛	21 ⅞	10 ⅛	180		9		75 ⅛	74	6 ¼	15 8 0
2															
4	169 ¼	74 ¼	73¼a⅜	89 ¼	103 ¼	21 ¼	10 ⅛	178 ¼	69	9				7	15 5 0
5	167 ¼	74 ⅛	73⅜a73	88 ¼	103 ¼	21 ⅛	10 ⅛	177 ¼		7			74 ¼	7	15 4 6
6	168 ¼	74 ⅛	73¼a¼	89 ¼	104	21 ⅛	10 ⅛	179 ¼		11		74 ⅛		6 ¼	15 11 0
7	169 ¼	74 ¼	73⅜a½	89 ¼	103 ⅞	21 ⅛	10 ⅛	179 ¼		12			73 ½	7	15 17 0
8	169 ½	74 ⅜	74a73¼	89 ¼	104	21 ⅛	10 ⅛	178		12	81 ¼			6 ⅞	15 13 0
9	166	73	72½a71⅛	87 ¼	102 ½	21 ⅛		175 ¼		10				7	15 6 0
11	165 ¼	72	72a70¾	86 ¼	101	20 ¼	10	172 ¼	67	9		71 ¾		7 ⅛	15 6 6
12	162 ¼	71 ⅜	70½a¼	86 ¼	100 ⅛	20 ⅜	9 ⅞	171 ¼		7			70 ½	7 ¼	15 12 0
13															
14	163 ¼	71 ¼	70¾a71½	86	101	20 ¼	9 ⅞	172 ¼		4			70 ¼	7 ⅛	15 14 0
15	163 ¼	72 ¼	71½a¾	87	101 ⅛	21 ⅛	10	174 ¼		5		71 ¼		8 ⅛	15 9 0
16	164 ¼	72 ¼	71¼a72¼	87 ⅛	101 ⅛	21 ⅛	10 ⅛	176		5				8 ⅛	15 5 0
18	164 ¼	74 ¼	74¼a71⅞	88 ¼	103 ½	21 ¼	10 ¼	191 ¼		7				7 ¼	
19	166	74	73¼a72¼	88 ¼	103	21 ¼		193		7				7 ¼	
20	165	73 ¼	72¼a71¼	87 ¼	102 ¼	21 ⅛	10 ⅛	194		6				8	
21	163 ¼	72 ⅛	71¼a71	87 ⅛	101 ⅛	21	10 ⅛	192 ¼						7 ⅞	
22	162	72 ⅛	70¾a71½	87 ¼	101 ¼	21	10 ⅛	196 ¼		7				7 ⅛	
23		72 ¼	71¼a¾	87 ¼	101 ¼	21 ⅛	10 ⅛	197 ¼		7			70 ⅞	7 ⅛	
25		72 ⅜	71¼a¼	87 ½	102 ⅛	21 ⅛	10 ¼			8				7 ¼	

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MARTIN LUTHER.

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MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* MARTIN LUTHER: *With a fine Portrait of that illuſtrious Reformer.*

The Characters of thoſe great Men, by whoſe Zeal, Intrepidity, and Perſeverance, a great Part of Mankind has been emancipated from the Dominion of Ignorance and Superſtition, and taught the inexpreſſible Importance, and happy Conſequences, of a pure and rational Religion, muſt ever be a pleaſing ſubject of Contemplation. If the Circumſtances of the Times in which they lived are adduced, in order to palliate their Defects and Frailties, thoſe very Circumſtances muſt be allowed, at the ſame Time, to heighten our Senſe of their Virtues: for thoſe Virtues muſt indeed be of an exalted Kind, which, with the moſt diſintereſted Views, are inceſſantly exerted, in Times of very imminent Danger.

MARTIN LUTHER, an illuſtrious reformer (whoſe indefatigable exertions reſcued one part of Europe from the papal yoke, mitigated its rigour in the other, and produced the greateſt and moſt beneficial revolution in the ſentiments of mankind, that has happened ſince the promulgation of Chriſtianity) was born at Eiſleben, in the county of Mansfeldt, and circle of Upper Saxony, on the 10th of November 1483. The occupation of his father was that of a miner. The firſt rudiments of education he received at home; but, at the age of thirteen, he was ſent to a ſchool at Magdeburg. He continued here but one year; for, as Melchior Adam relates, ſuch was the poverty of his parents, that he was obliged 'mendicato vivere pane,' to beg his bread for ſupport *. Hence he was removed to Eiſenach in Thuringia, that he might have the advantage of being among the relations of his mother, who was of an ancient and reſpectable family in that town; and, in 1501, he was ſent to the univerſity of Erfort, in the ſame province.

It was his intention to apply himſelf here to the ſtudy of the civil law, in order to be qualified for the bar. But he very ſoon relinquiſhed theſe views, in conſequence of an affecting accident, which might be wiſely ordered by Divine Providence, to render his great talents ſerviceable to mankind, in a more extenſive and more honourable ſphere.

During the progreſs of his education, Luther gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteneſs of genius. His mind was naturally ſuſceptible of ſerious ſentiments, and tinctured with ſomewhat of that religious melancholy which delights in the ſolitude and devotion of a monaſtic life. The death of a companion, killed by lightning at his ſide, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, as co-operated with his natural diſpoſition, and induced him to retire into a convent of Auguſtinian friars. He ſoon acquired great reputation, not only for piety, but for his indefatigable application to ſtudy. He had learned the ſcholaſtic philoſophy then in vogue; but he was ſoon diſguſted with thoſe ſubtile and uninſtructive ſciences, and ſought for ſome more ſolid foundation of knowledge and piety in the holy ſcriptures. Having found a copy of the Bible, which lay neglected in the library of his monaſtery, he devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of it with ſuch aſſiduity as aſtoniſhed the monks, who were not accuſtomed to derive their notions in theology from that ſource. The great progreſs which he made in this uncommon courſe of ſtudy, augmented ſo much the fame of his ſanctity and

* It is probable, that his father improved his circumſtances by his induſtry; for we find him, afterward, in a very reſpectable ſituation in the magiſtracy.

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learning, that Frederic, elector of Saxony, having founded an university at Wittemberg, the place of his residence, Luther was chosen first to teach philosophy, and afterward theology there; and he discharged these offices in such a manner, that he was deemed the chief ornament of that society.

Luther was at the height of his reputation and authority in the year 1517, the period in which he commenced the arduous task of a reformer, without thinking himself of the wonderful extent to which his exertions would be carried. To overturn a system of religious faith, founded on ancient and deeply-rooted prejudices, supported by every kind of artifice, and every effort of power; to establish doctrines of the most contrary genius and tendency in its room; and to accomplish all this without external violence; are operations which historians, the least inclined to credulity and superstition, ascribe to that Divine Providence, which can, with infinite ease, produce events, which, to human sagacity, appear impossible. The interposition of heaven, in favour of the Christian religion, at its first publication, was manifested by miracles and prophecies wrought and uttered in confirmation of it. Though none of the reformers possessed, or pretended to possess, these supernatural gifts, yet that wonderful preparation of circumstances, which disposed the minds of men for the reception of their doctrines: that singular combination of causes which secured their success, and enabled men, destitute of power and policy, to triumph over those who employed against them extraordinary efforts of both; may be considered as no slight proof, that the same hand which planted the Christian religion, protected the reformed faith, and reared it, from very feeble beginnings, to an amazing degree of vigour and maturity.

From causes, seemingly fortuitous, and from a source very inconsiderable, all the mighty effects of the reformation flowed. Pope Leo X found the papal treasures exhausted by the vast projects of his two predecessors, Alexander VI and Julius II. His own love of splendour, his taste for pleasure, and his magnificence in rewarding men of genius, involved him daily in new expences. To provide a fund for these, he tried every device that the fertile invention of priests had suggested, to drain the credulous multitude of their wealth. Among others, he had recourse to a sale of indulgences *; the right of promulgating which in Germany, with a share of the profits arising from the sale of them, was granted to Albert, elector of Mentz, who, as his principal agent for retailing them in Saxony, employed Tetzel, a Dominican Friar, of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his noisy and popular eloquence. He, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but with little discretion or decency; and although, by magnify-

* According to the doctrine of the Romish church, all the good works of the Saints, over and above those which were necessary to their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter, and to his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure, and, by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person, for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one in whose happiness he is interested, from the pains of purgatory. Such indulgences were first invented in the eleventh century, by Urban II, as a recompence to those who went in person the *meritorious* enterprise of conquering the Holy Land. They were afterward granted to those who hired a soldier for that purpose; and, in process of time, were bestowed on such as gave money for any pious purpose enjoined by the pope. Julius II had bestowed indulgences on all who contributed toward building the church of St. Peter at Rome; and as Leo was carrying on that magnificent and expensive fabric, his grant was founded on the same pretence.

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ing exceſſively the benefit of their indulgences, and diſpoſing of them at a very low price, they carried on an extenſive traffic among the credulous and ignorant, the extravagance of their aſſertions *, as well as the irregularities of their conduct, at laſt gave general offence. The princes and nobles were irritated at ſeeing their vaſſals drained of ſo much wealth, to repleniſh the coffers of a profuſe pontiff. Pious men lamented the deluſion of the people, who being taught to rely for the pardon of their ſins on theſe indulgences, did not think it neceſſary to practice the duties which genuine Chriſtianity enjoins. Even the moſt thoughtleſs were ſhocked at the ſcandalous behaviour of Tetzel and his aſſociates, who often ſquandered in drunkenneſs, gaming, and low debauchery, the ſums which were piouſly beſtowed to obtain eternal happineſs; and all began to wiſh that ſome check were given to a commerce, as detrimental to ſociety as it was deſtructive to religion.

Such was the favourable juncture, and ſo diſpoſed were the minds of his countrymen to liſten to his doctrines, when Luther, in the year 1517, began to queſtion the efficacy of indulgences, and to declaim againſt the vicious lives and falſe doctrines of the perſons who vended them. He beheld, with the utmoſt concern, the artifices of thoſe who ſold, and the ſimplicity of thoſe who bought indulgences. The opinions of the ſchoolmen, on which the doctrine of indulgences was founded, had already loſt much of their authority with him; and the ſcriptures, which he began to conſider as the great ſtandard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice, equally ſubverſive of faith and of morals. His warm and impetuous temper did not ſuffer him to conceal long ſuch important diſcoveries. From the pulpit, in the great church at Wittemburg, he inveighed bitterly againſt the vices of the monks who publiſhed indulgences; he ventured to examine the doctrines which they taught; and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for ſalvation upon any other means than thoſe appointed by God in his word. The boldneſs and novelty of theſe opinions, recommended by the authority of Luther's perſonal character, and delivered with a popular and perſuaſive eloquence, made a deep impreſſion on his hearers. He likewiſe wrote to the elector Albert, warmly remonſtrating with him on the ſubject; but he found that prelate too deeply intereſted in theſe abuſes to correct them. He then publiſhed 97 theſes, containing his ſentiments concerning indulgences. Theſe he propoſed merely as ſubjects of inquiry and diſputation: he appointed a day on which the learned were invited to impugn them, either in perſon or by writing: to the whole he ſubjoined a ſolemn proteſtation of his high reſpect for the apoſtolic ſee, and his implicit ſubmiſſion to its authority. No opponent appeared at the time appointed: the theſes ſpread through Germany with aſtoniſhing rapidity; and all admired the boldneſs of the man, who had not only ventured to queſtion the plenitude of papal power, but to attack the Dominicans, armed with

* The terms in which they deſcribed the benefits of indulgences appear to be almoſt incredible. 'If any man,' ſaid they, 'purchaſe letters of indulgence, his ſoul may reſt ſecure with reſpect to its ſalvation. The ſouls confined in purgatory, for whoſe redemption indulgences are purchaſed, as ſoon as the money tinkles in the cheſt, inſtantly eſcape from that place of torment, and aſcend into heaven. The efficacy of indulgences was ſo great, that the moſt heinous ſins, even if one ſhould violate (which was impoſſible) the Mother of God, would be expiated by them. The croſs erected by the preachers of indulgences was as efficacious as the croſs of Chriſt itſelf. Lo! the heavens are open: if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve pence you may redeem the ſoul of your father out of purgatory; and are you ſo ungrateful, that you will not reſcue the ſoul of your parent from torment?' &c.

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all the terrors of inquiſitorial authority.

The friars of his own order, although equally devoted with the other monaſtic fraternities to the papal ſee, did not attempt to check the publication of theſe uncommon opinions. By his piety and learning, Luther had acquired extraordinary authority among his brethren: he profeſſed the higheſt regard for the authority of the pope: his profeſſions were ſincere: and as a ſecret enmity, excited by intereſt or emulation, ſubſiſts among all the monaſtic orders, the Auguſtinians were highly pleaſed with his invectives againſt the Dominicans. And his ſovereign, the elector of Saxony, the wiſeſt prince at that time in Germany, had many political reaſons for being well ſatisfied with all the proceedings of his univerſity-profeſſor.

Tetzel, and others, endeavoured, by their writings, to refute theſe new opinions; but while the arguments of Luther were founded in reaſon, or derived from ſcripture, his antagoniſts had recourſe to the ſentiments of the ſchoolmen, the concluſions of the canon law, and the decrees of the popes; authorities, which the people ſoon ſcrupled not to queſtion, when they found them in direct oppoſition to the dictates of reaſon and the determination of the divine laws.

The pope, in the mean time, regarded with unconcern, the operations of an obſcure friar, who, at ſuch a diſtance from the holy ſee, was engaged in what he thought a mere monaſtic diſputation. Little did either Leo or Luther imagine, that its effects would be ſo fatal to the pontifical power. Rouſed, at laſt, by the ſolicitations of Luther's adverſaries, and by the wonderful progreſs of his opinions, he ſummoned him to appear at Rome in ſixty days. He was induced, however, at the inſtances of the profeſſors of the univerſity of Wittemberg, and, particularly, of the elector of Saxony, to permit the cauſe to be referred to cardinal Cajetan, his legate at the diet at Augſburg. Luther having obtained the emperor's ſafe-conduct, immediately repaired to that city. The behaviour of Cajetan was, at firſt, very conciliatory; and he entered into a formal diſpute with Luther concerning the doctrines contained in his theſes. Finding, however, that arguments were ineffectual, he enjoined him, by virtue of his apoſtolic power, to retract his errors. Luther was too intrepid to be daunted by this high tone of authority. He declared, that he could not, with a ſafe conſcience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true. At the ſame time, he expreſſed his former veneration for the holy ſee; he offered to ſubmit the whole controverſy to certain univerſities which he named; and he promiſed neither to write nor preach, in future, concerning indulgences, provided his adverſaries were reſtricted by the ſame injunction. Nothing would ſatisfy the legate but ſimple recantation: he threatened him with the cenſures of the church, if he did not inſtantly comply; and Luther's friends, apprehenſive that even the emperor's ſafe-conduct would not protect him from the legate's reſentment, prevailed upon him to retire ſecrely from Augſburg. But, before his departure, he made a ſolemn appeal from the pope, ill-informed at that time concerning his cauſe, to the pope when he ſhould receive more ample information on the ſubject.

Notwithſtanding the protection of the elector of Saxony, the ſituation of Luther, at this time, was ſuch, as would have filled any other perſon with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions. He could not expect, that a prince ſo cautious as Frederic (actuated, as before obſerved, by merely political conſiderations) would, on his account, brave the thunders of the church, which had cruſhed ſome of the moſt powerful of the German emperors; and he had every thing to dread, if he ſhould be obliged to quit Saxony, from the bigotry and fury of his enemies. But, although ſenſible

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of his danger, he discovered no symptoms of timidity, he continued to vindicate his opinions with more vehemence than ever; and, to prevent the effects of the papal censures, he appealed to a general council.

The death of the emperor Maximilian, in 1519, induced the holy father, from certain political considerations, to suspend the proceedings against Luther for eighteen months. Negotiations and disputations, to bring the affair to an amicable issue, followed without effect. At last, on the 15th of June 1520, the bull, so fatal to the church of Rome, was issued. Forty-one propositions, extracted from Luther's works, were condemned as heretical; and all the penalties against him, as an obstinate heretic, were denounced, if he did not publicly recant.

While the adversaries of Luther exulted in the publication of this bull, his followers, whose reverence for the papal authority daily lessened, read the anathemas of Leo with indignation. In some cities, the publication of the bull was violently obstructed, and the bull torn to pieces, and trodden under foot. Luther himself, so far from being intimidated, published remarks on the bull; and being now persuaded that Leo had been guilty of impiety and injustice in his proceedings, he boldly declared the pope to be that Man of Sin, or Antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the New Testament. He exhorted all Christian princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke, and boasted of his own happiness in being the object of ecclesiastical indignation, for having ventured to assert the liberty of mankind. His books, moreover, having been burnt at Rome, Luther, by way of retaliation, assembled all the professors and students of the university of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, amid a vast concourse of spectators, cast the books of the canon law, with the bull of excommunication, into the flames; and his example was imitated in several cities of Germany. He likewise collected from the canon law, some of the most extravagant propositions with regard to the omnipotence of the papal power, and the subordination to it of all secular jurisdiction. These he published with a commentary; pointing out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil government.

Hitherto no secular prince had embraced the opinions of Luther: no change in the established form of worship had been introduced: no encroachment had been made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy; and the controversy, though conducted with great heat on both sides, was still carried on with its proper weapons, with theses, disputations, and replies. But the veneration of the people for ancient institutions and doctrines was shaken. Students came, from all parts of the empire, to Wittemberg; and, under Luther himself, Melancthon, Carlostadius, and other eminent masters, imbibed opinions, which they did not fail to propagate, on their return to their own country.

Luther, although a perfect stranger to the maxims of worldly wisdom, was led naturally, by the method in which he made his discoveries, to carry on his operations in a manner, which contributed more to their success, than if every step he took had been prescribed by the most artful policy. When he first opposed Tetzel, he was far from intending that reformation which he afterward effected, and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of what at last he gloried in having accomplished. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind all at once, by any special revelation; he acquired it by industry and meditation; and his progress, consequently, was gradual. In confuting the extravagant tenets concerning indulgences, he was obliged to inquire into the true cause of our acceptance with God. The knowledge of that discoverd to him, by degrees, the inutility of pilgrimages and penances,

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nances, the vanity of relying on the interceſſion of ſaints; the impiety of worſhipping them; the abuſes of auricular confeſſion; and the imaginary exiſtence of purgatory. The detection of ſo many errors led him next to conſider the character of the clergy who taught them; and their exorbitant wealth, the ſevere injunction of celibacy, with the intolerable rigour of monaſtic vows, appeared to him the great ſources of their corruption. It was but one ſtep thence to queſtion the divine origin of the papal power, by which ſuch a ſyſtem of errors was ſupported; and the reſult of the whole was, that he diſclaimed the infallibility of the pope, with all human authority whatever, and appealed to the word of God as the only ſtandard of theological truth. To this gradual progreſs Luther owed his ſucceſs. His hearers were not ſhocked at firſt by any propoſition too repugnant to ancient prejudices and eſtabliſhed opinions. They were led inſenſibly from one doctrine to another; and their faith and conviction were able to keep pace with his diſcoveries. Such was the wiſdom of Luther's conduct: but there were many other powerful cauſes, no doubt, in the exiſting circumſtances of the times; all prepared by a peculiar Providence; which all happily conſpired to the wonderful ſucceſs of the Reformation; and which either did not exiſt, or did not operate with full force, in the days of Waldus, Wickliff, and Huſs *, whoſe prior attempts toward a reformation, had proved abortive.

Dr. Robertſon has expatiated, with great ingenuity, on theſe cauſes; ſuch as the long and ſcandalous ſchiſm which divided the church in the 14th century; the deteſtable pontificates of Alexander VI and Julius II; the immoral lives of the clergy; the facility with which their immoralities were pardoned, particularly in Germany, where they had uſurped a great part of the property; the great perſonal immunities of the eccleſiaſtics; their encroachments on the juriſdiction of the laity; the dreadful effects of ſpiritual cenſures; the devices of eccleſiaſtics to ſecure their uſurpations; the preſentation to benefices of foreigners moſtly nominated by the pope; the inefficacy of the attempts to reſtrain this power of nomination; the venality of the court of Rome; and, particularly, the effects of the invention of printing and the revival of learning. In this long enumeration of circumſtances that combined to favour the progreſs of Luther's opinions, he profeſſes not to enter into any diſcuſſion of the theological doctrines of popery, nor to attempt to ſhew how repugnant they are to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, and how deſtitute of any foundation in reaſon, in the word of God, or in the practice of the primitive Chriſtians.

At the diet which was held at Worms in 1521, Luther was ſummoned to appear. The papal legate would have had him condemned inſtantly as an incorrigible heretic; but to this propoſition the diet would not accede. The emperor Charles V ſent him a ſafe-conduct, and, at the ſame time, renewed his promiſes of protection from any violence. Luther did not a moment heſitate to yield obedience: he ſet out for Worms, attended by the herald, who had brought the letter and ſafe-conduct from the emperor. While on his journey, the fate of John Huſs, under ſimilar circumſtances, occurred to many of his friends. *His* ſafe-conduct had been violated. Filled, therefore, with apprehenſions of a ſimilar fate, they earneſtly entreated Luther not to ruſh wantonly into the ſame danger. But, ſuperior to ſuch terrors, he ſilenced them with this reply: 'I am lawfully called to appear in that city, and thither I will go, in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as there are tiles on the houſes, were there combined againſt me.'

[To be concluded in our next.]

* In the 12th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

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The CHOICE *of* ABDALA: *An Oriental Apologue.*

WHERE the ſun begins his diurnal courſe, lived the youthful Abdala, whoſe uncommon virtues endeared him to all the ſubjects of the ſultan Almanzor, his father.

But the ſultan was a tyrant, who little regarded the virtues of his ſon. Conſcious of his own cruelty, he was inceſſantly a prey to ſuſpicions, which infuſed poiſon into his cup at the voluptuous banquet, and ſcattered thorns on the downy couch.

Almanzor beheld his ſon with a malignant eye, that darted rancour whenever he recollected the popularity his virtues had acquired. He even conceived a deſign to deſtroy him, becauſe, in the viſions of the night, he had ſeen him ſeated on the throne. But the mutes, who were deſtined to perpetrate the horrid deed, gave the prince an intimation of his danger, and adviſed him to retire.

There was a magnanimity in Abdala, the noble reſult of conſcious innocence, which would not permit him to adopt this advice: on the contrary, he determined to repair to the preſence of his father, and remonſtrate with him on the cruel purpoſe of his ſoul.

'My father,' ſaid he, 'I am come to ſhew the implicit obedience of a ſon. Thou haſt ordered me into thy preſence; I am acquainted with thy deſign; and if thou continue unjuſt and inexorable, I muſt await the ſtern decree with the ſubmiſſion of thy meaneſt ſubject. But filial duty impels me to warn thee of the awful conſequences. The angel of death will convey *me* to the bliſsful regions of paradiſe; but *thou* wilt be inceſſantly haunted by the demon of remorſe. And, in the moment of *thy* diſſolution, which muſt one day arrive, what anguiſh and horror will overwhelm thee!'

Theſe words ſunk into the tyrant's heart. Diſmayed by reflections on the paſt, and the proſpect of the future, he gave the ſignal to the mutes, to permit the deſtined victim to retire.

The young prince repaired to an adjacent grove, to muſe, in ſecret anguiſh, on the miſeries of the people. He laid himſelf down at the foot of a ſtately palm; and, abſorbed in theſe reflections, inſenſibly dropped aſleep. But his repoſe was ſhort and diſturbed; his waking thoughts haunted him in his dreams. When he awoke, he looked around for the miniſters of death, who had appeared, in his ſleep, juſt ready to execute the tyrant's inhuman command. Inſtantly, a celeſtial form ſtood before him, and, while gales of ambroſial ſweetneſs breathed around, addreſſed him in theſe words: 'Abdala! be not oppreſſed with grief. Awake to the pleaſures of hope. Be prepared for happy events. Thy genius will meet thee again.'—He inſtantly vaniſhed in a trail of light.

Abdala fancied he was ſtill aſleep. He roſe from his graſſy couch; and, convinced, at laſt, that he was awake, wandered through the grove, muſing intently on the viſion he had ſeen.

On a ſudden, he perceived three female forms approaching. The ſmiles and graces ſported on the roſy cheeks of the youngeſt; and the ſprightly thought beamed from her ſpeaking eyes.

The deportment of the eldeſt was ſolemn: her cheeks were pallid; ſhe appeared in the ſable ſtole of ſorrow; and the tear trickled oft from her dejected eye.

The third was grave, but not gloomy: her attire ſimple, but not inelegant: her roſeate hue was the charming flush of health; and her fine eyes ſeemed rather to beam with complacency and content, than to ſparkle with hilarity and joy.

When they had approached near the wandering prince, they ſtopped: and preſently the eldeſt thus addreſſed him:

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him: 'Unhappy Abdala! art thou retired to this grove to give vent to thy tears? The prophet, who knows the rectitude of thy soul, will not permit thy cruel parent to accomplish his design. But vain will be thy pursuit after the phantom Happiness, which has no real existence among the sons of men. *My* life has been one continued scene of woe. With *me* the effusion of tears has been incessant. Spring has no beauties, Summer no radiance, nor Autumn any charms for me: for Spring, and Summer, and Autumn rapidly fade; and Pleasure, whenever caught, will perish in the very moment of enjoyment.—Take then, virtuous prince, the advice of a friend. Whenever the course of succession shall call thee to the empire of thy ancestors, seat not thyself on the fatal throne; for those ancestors have passed away like fleeting shadows, and dominion and glory are momentary possessions. Trust not the caprice of fate by seeking unsubstantial joys. Taste not the luxurious banquet; for the banquet will satiate. Turn thine ear from the sounds of harmony; for its sweetest sounds fatigue. Nor court the roses of beauty; for the roses of beauty fade. – Be wise, and take up thy abode in the lonely forest; for in the gloom of solitude, where Despondence will lull every hope with her sighs, Misfortune and Disappointment can never enter.'

She ceased: then waving a sable wand, the cell of a dervise rose to view, amid savage wilds and projecting rocks.

At this instant, the laughter-loving nymph, with sportive air, caught Abdala's arm: 'Prince,' said she, 'what a scene is this for the rapturous pleasures of youth! Can you listen a moment to the dismal lessons of that melancholy dame? To reject the pleasures of life is ingratitude to Heaven: to enjoy them, in all their exquisite variety, is to be truly happy. Let music and love then wing each moment with delight. How wretched the youth who is not awake to love and joy! How insensible, how inanimate his soul! But Abdala is neither insensible nor inanimate. A thousand bright-eyed beauties shall bless thee with unfading charms. Thou shalt rove from fair to fair; and each moment shall teem with ecstacy and bliss. Take my advice. Ascend the throne of thy ancestors; but ascend it only for its pleasures; and leave to some hoary vizier its perplexities and cares.'

These very opposite representations perplexed the prince; but neither won the attention of his soul. Life appeared a burden as described by the first; a fantastic dream as painted by the last.

He turned, in this perplexity, to the sedate but cheerful sister. 'Prince,' said she, anticipating the meaning of his speaking eye, 'thy suspense is natural. When extremes only are proposed, Reason will necessarily pause! Reject what each advise; and attend to my counsel.—Thy father will soon terminate his wretched life. Go, and succeed to his throne. By thy wisdom and virtues obliterate the memory of his crimes. If thou refuse to reign over thy people, how great will be *their* loss! If thou reign but for voluptuous pleasures, how great will be *thine!* Be attentive to the felicity of thy people, and thou wilt secure thy own. Be not insensible, however, to the voice of pleasure. Listen not to that desponding mourner. It is unwise to refrain from temperate enjoyment, because intemperance is productive of satiety and disgust, or to abstain from the pleasures which virtue approves, because those pleasures are not immortal. If man be doomed to mourn for ever, and to look with disdain on all terrestrial pleasure, to what end were the faculties of enjoyment bestowed? Or if levity and sensuality only are productive of happiness, of what value is the reflecting soul?—As for yon nymph, the sprightly votary of pleasure, with what allurements can she charm the wise?—Go: thou art born for empire. Perform all the duties of thy exalted station,

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tion, and thou wilt receive its glorious rewards. Deviate not from the paths of rectitude, nor ever forget the dictates of virtue and benevolence. The good sovereign will enjoy pleasures, which the splendour of dominion only can never give. His name will be immortal on earth, and the blessings of his people will waft it to heaven.'

The dews of instruction refreshed the soul of Abdala. He embraced the happy system, which distinguished the dictates of wisdom from the suggestions of despair, and displayed the difference between voluptuous pleasure and the true happiness of man.

He would have instantly declared his choice, but, on a sudden, the three females vanished.

The sun was retiring from the mountain-tops; and while Abdala, whose mind was agitated by what had passed, was repairing, with pensive step, to the palace of his father, his feet were bewildered in the tangled thicket, and the darkness of the night overtook him.

In this gloomy situation a sudden blaze of splendour was diffused around him. The cottage of the dervise appeared transformed into a magnificent palace, at one of the doors of which stood the genius, inviting him to enter.

Abdala obeyed, and followed his guide. He would have spoken, but his voice was restrained by amazement and fear.—'Mortal,' said the genius, before he opened the door of the interior apartment, 'this is the palace of the genius Orasmundo, who is ever propitious to the desires of the wise and good. Thy worth and wisdom are known; and the period is arrived, when thou shalt be happy.'

Then opening the door, Abdala perceived three beautiful virgins at the loom. They instantly rose to welcome the stranger.

'Behold,' said the genius, 'and choose a partner for life. Which is the object of thy choice? The name of the eldest is Tristina, the grave, Serena, the placid, is the second; and Hilarana, the gay, is the third.'

Abdala was dazzled by the splendour of their charms. But in Serena he recollected the features of the nymph to whose lessons he had attended in the grove; and approaching her with a respectful air, he declared his choice, and took her unreluctant hand.

At this instant, the palace vanished, and he found himself in a humble cottage, where his eye was struck by a beautiful female form. Her dress was simple as that of the village maid; her person graceful as the stately palm. But notwithstanding her humble attire, Abdala soon recollected, with delight, the charming countenance which had so lately captivated his soul.

'Fortunate Abdala,' said a voice from above, which he perceived to be that of Orasmundo, 'thy wisdom is conspicuous in thy choice, and thy happiness is now complete. If Tristina had been thy choice, thou wouldst have been doomed to irrevocable woe; if Hilarana had been thine, to incessant remorse. But in Serena, the lowly shepherdess as she seems, thou hast not only chosen a beautiful form, but a virgin whose sentiments are congenial to thy own, whose heart is the favourite abode of the virtues, and whose soul is susceptible of all the rational pleasures that can render life desirable. Thy father is no more. Go then, Abdala, and fill the throne of thy ancestors. Go, and discharge the duties of a patriot king, and forget not the visions of this night.'

The opening dawn found Abdala absorbed in reflection on these parting words of the genius. But soon recollecting himself, he lost not a moment to conduct Serena to the imperial palace. He had scarcely left the cottage, when the messengers appeared, with the awful intelligence that his father was no more. They conducted him in triumph to the expecting city, with the charming sultana of his choice by his side. The

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univerſal acclamations, and the eagerneſs of all ranks to behold their new ſovereign and his conſort, evinced at once the exultation and the affection of the people.

The laſt duties to his father, Abdala performed with all the reſpect and decorum of filial piety. He began his reign by removing the grievances which the people had ſo long endured; and an unceaſing attention to whatever could promote the welfare of his ſubjects, evinced that he had not forgotten the viſions of the grove. In fine, during a long ſeries of proſperous years, all confeſſed the excellence of an illuſtrious example, that inculcated virtue, and the wiſdom of a reign that diffuſed univerſal happineſs.

EXPLANATION *of an* OLD ADAGE.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

IT would be no unentertaining, nor, perhaps, uninſtructive labour, if ſome one of the learned triflers of the day were to amuſe himſelf with making a collection of the apparently unmeaning phraſes, which continue to be common in vulgar converſation; illuſtrating them with ſuch hiſtorical facts, and forgotten cuſtoms, as may tend to point out their origin. A diligent reſearch of this kind would frequently be found as intimately connected with the elucidation of the hiſtory and antiquities of our country, as all the half-obliterated inſcriptions of braſs ſeals and rings, that have been ſo repeatedly delineated and publiſhed. In ſhort, I queſtion whether there is any one of theſe phraſes, however apparently ridiculous, or unmeaning, that would not, upon inveſtigation, be found connected with ſome circumſtance with which it would be uſeful, or at leaſt curious, to be acquainted.

Among a variety which might be inſtanced, few of theſe adages will, perhaps, at firſt view, appear more unmeaning than that of *returning to the old trade of baſket making*. Yet this, perhaps, will be admitted to have derived its origin from the tradition of a humble kind of excellence, to which the now magnificent empire of Britain once owed a part of its reputation; and to bear, in fact, no other interpretation (as its general application indeed would lead one to conclude) than that of ſliding back into old habits, or returning to the primitive occupations of more ignorant periods. In this opinion, I am ſupported by the hiſtorical fact, that the ancient Britons were noted for their ingenuity in making baſkets, which they exported in large quantities to the continent, and particularly to Rome.

Theſe baſkets were of very elegant workmanſhip, and bore a high price; and are mentioned by Juvenal, among the extravagant expenſive furniture of the Roman tables in his time.

Adde & baſcaudas, & mille eſcaria, multum Cælati.

Baſkets, and richly-ſculptur'd vaſes, add.

That theſe baſkets were manufactured in Britain, we learn from Martial:

Barbara de pictis veni baſcauda Britannis,
Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma ſuam.

Me for her own imperial Rome would claim,
A baſket that from painted Britons came.

Nothing can better prove the very high eſtimation, in which the baſkets of ancient Britain were held by the polite Romans, than their thus laying a claim even to the invention of them.

A GLEANER.

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Remarkable PARTICULARS *in the* CHARACTERS *and* CONDUCT *of the* SPANISH LADIES.

[From Townſend's Journey through Spain, 3 Vol.]

WHEN you pay a viſit to a lady, (for, whereever there is a lady in the family, the viſit is to her) you neither knock at the door, nor aſk any queſtions of the porter, but go ſtraight forward to the room where ſhe uſually receives her company, and there you ſeldom fail to find her, morning, noon, and night; in winter, ſitting near the braſier, ſurrounded by her friends, unleſs when ſhe is gone out to maſs. The friends are moſtly gentlemen, becauſe ladies ſeldom viſit in a familiar way; and, of the gentlemen thus aſſembled, one is commonly the cortejo; I ſay commonly, becauſe it is not univerſally the caſe. During the whole of my reſidence in Spain, I never heard of jealouſy in a huſband, nor could I ever learn, for certain, that ſuch a thing exiſted; yet, in the conduct of many ladies, whether it proceeds from the remains of delicacy, from a ſenſe of propriety, or from fear, you may evidently ſee caution, circumſpection, and reſerve, when their huſbands are in ſight. Some have addreſs enough to keep the cortejo in concealment; and this, in Spain, is attended with no great difficulty, becauſe, when the ladies go to maſs, they are ſo diſguiſed as not to be eaſily diſtinguiſhed. Their dreſs upon that occaſion is peculiar to the country. They all put on the baſquina, or black ſilk petticoat, and the mantilla, which ſerves the double purpoſe of a cloak and veil, ſo as completely, if required, to hide the face. Thus diſguiſed, they are at perfect liberty to go where they pleaſe. But ſhould they be attended by a ſervant, he is to be gained, and therefore he becomes little or no reſtraint. Beſide this, every part of the houſe is ſo acceſſible by day, and the huſband is ſo completely nobody at home, ſo ſeldom viſible, or, if viſible, ſo perfectly a ſtranger to thoſe, who viſit in his family, that the lover may eaſily eſcape unnoticed. This, however, will not always ſatisfy the Spaniſh ladies, who, being quick of ſenſibility, and remarkable for ſtrong attachment, are miſerable, when their cortejo is out of ſight. He muſt be preſent every moment in the day, whether in private or public, in health or ſickneſs, and muſt be every where invited to attend them. There have been recent examples of women, even of high faſhion, who have ſhut themſelves up for months, during the abſence of their cortejos; and this, not merely from diſguſt, but to avoid giving them offence. If the lady is at home, he is at her ſide; when ſhe walks out, ſhe leans upon his arm; when ſhe takes her ſeat at an aſſembly, an empty chair is always left for him; and if ſhe joins in the country dances, it is commonly with him. As every lady dances two minuets at a ball, the firſt is with her cortejo, the ſecond with a ſtranger; with the former, if ſhe has any vivacity, ſhe makes it viſible, and if ſhe can move with grace, it then appears; but with the latter ſhe evidently ſhews, not indifference, but diſguſt; and ſeems to look upon her partner with diſdain.

As ſoon as any lady marries, ſhe is teaſed by numerous competitors for this diſtinguiſhed favour, till ſhe is fixed in her choice; when the unſucceſsful candidates either retire, or ſubmit to become, in future, what may be called cortejos of the braſier, without any pretenſions beyond that of ſitting round the embers to warm themſelves in winter.

It is reckoned diſgraceful to be fickle; yet innumerable inſtances are ſeen of ladies who often change their lovers. In this there is a natural progreſs; for it cannot be imagined,

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that women of ſuperior underſtandings, early in life diſtinguiſhed for delicacy of ſentiment, for prudence, and for the elevation of their minds, ſhould haſtily arrive at the extreme, where paſſion triumphs, and where all regard to decency is loſt. As for others, they ſoon finiſh the career. It is, however, humiliating to ſee ſome who appear to have been deſigned by nature to command the reverence of mankind, at laſt degraded, and ſunk ſo low in the opinion of the world, as to be never mentioned but with contempt. Theſe have changed ſo often, and have been ſo unfaithful to every engagement, that, univerſally deſpiſed, they end with having no cortejo.

I have obſerved, that jealouſy is ſeldom, if ever, to be diſcovered in a huſband; but this cannot be ſaid in favour of the new connection, becauſe both parties are tormented by ſuſpicion. This, it muſt be confeſſed, is natural; for, as both are conſcious that there is no other bond between them, but the precarious tie of mutual affection, each muſt tremble at the approach of any one, who might interrupt their union. Hence they are conſtantly engaged in watching each other's looks, and for want of confidence, renounce, in a great meaſure, the charms of ſocial intercourſe. Even in public, they ſeem to think themſelves alone, abſtracted and abſorbed, attentive only to each other. He muſt not take notice of any other lady; and if any gentleman would converſe with her; in a few minutes ſhe appears confuſed and filled with fear, that ſhe may have given offence. In all probability ſhe has; and ſhould ſhe be the firſt ducheſs in the kingdom, and he only a non-commiſſioned officer in the army, ſhe may be treated with perſonal indignity; and we have heard of one who was dragged by the hair about the room. But if, inſtead of giving, ſhe ſhould happen to have taken the offence, even the more delicate will fly like a tygreſs at his eyes, and beat him in the face till he is black and blue. It ſometimes happens, that a lady becomes weary of her firſt choice, her fancy has fixed upon ſome new object, and ſhe wiſhes to change; but the former, whoſe vanity is flattered by the connection, is not willing to diſſolve it. In lower life, this moment gives occaſion to many of thoſe aſſaſſinations, which abound in Spain; but, in the higher claſſes, among whom the dagger is proſcribed, the firſt poſſeſſor, if a man of ſpirit, maintains poſſeſſion, and the lady dares not diſcard him, leſt an equal combat ſhould prove fatal to the man of her affections. In this conteſt the huſband is out of ſight, and tells for nothing,

In a catholic country, with ſuch depravity of morals, it may be naturally inquired, what becomes of conſcience, and where is diſcipline? It is well known, that all are under obligation to confeſs, at leaſt once a year, before they receive the euchariſt. Every one is at liberty to chooſe his confeſſor and prieſt; but before he leaves the altar, he takes a certificate that he has been there, and this he delivers to the curate of his own pariſh, under pain of excommunication, ſhould he fail to do ſo. When, therefore, a married woman appears, year after year, before her confeſſor, to acknowledge that ſhe has been, and ſtill continues to be, living in adultery, how can he grant her abſolution, or how can he be moderate in the penance he enjoins. Without penance, and unleſs the prieſt is ſatisfied that there is contrition with full purpoſe of amendment, there can be no abſolution; without abſolution, no participation of the euchariſt; and, in the neglect of this, excommunication follows. Yet, from the univerſal prevalence of this offence, we may be certain, that there muſt be ſome way of evading the rigour of the law. Nothing is more eaſy. As for the penance, it is impoſed by thoſe, who can have compaſſion on the frailties of mankind, and is therefore ſcarcely worthy to be mentioned. In many inſtances, it is ridiculous. Were any

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confeſſor ſevere, he would have few at his confeſſional. The abſolution is commonly a more ſerious buſineſs; becauſe the penitent muſt not only teſtify contrition, but muſt give ſome token of amendment, by abſtaining, at leaſt for a ſeaſon, from the commiſſion of the crime, which is the ſubject matter of confeſſion. The firſt abſolution may be eaſily obtained; but when the offender comes, year after year, with the ſame confeſſion, if he will obtain abſolution, he muſt change his confeſſor; and this practice is not only diſgraceful, but ſometimes ineffectual. Here, then, it is needful to adopt ſome new expedient. Two naturally preſent themſelves: for, either ſome prieſt, deſtitute of principle, may be found, who, for certain conſiderations, will furniſh billets; or elſe, which is a prevailing practice at Madrid, the common proſtitutes, confeſſing and receiving the holy ſacrament in many churches, and collecting a multitude of billets, either ſell, or give them to their friends. I have certificates before me. As theſe carry neither name nor ſignature, they are eaſily transferred. They are ſimply thus: *Comulgò en la Igleſia parroquial de San Martin de Madrid. Ano de Mil ſetecientos ochenta y ſeis.*

The principal cortejos in the great cities are the canons of the cathedrals; but where the military reſide, they take their choice, and leave the refuſe for the church. In the country villages, the monks bear rule; at leaſt within their limits, and even in the cities, they ſet up their pretenſions. As for the parochial clergy, one thing is certain, that many of them have families, and all are involved in the common cenſure: even in the Aſturias, my friend, the good biſhop auxiliary of Oviedo, a man of high principle, yet of great humanity, ſevere only to himſelf, but compaſſionate to others, made it a rule, that none of his curates ſhould have children in their families. This ſacrifice, at leaſt, he inſiſted they ſhould make to decency. Beyond this he did not think it right to be too rigid in his enquiries. In ſhort, during my reſidence in Spain, I never found one perſon inclined to vindicate the curates from the common charge; but, at the ſame time, all, with united voices, bore teſtimony to the ſuperior virtue of the biſhops. Indeed, theſe venerable men, from all that I could hear, and from what I ſaw in the near approach, to which they graciouſly admitted me, for purity, for piety, for zeal, can never be ſufficiently admired; but too few of the clergy, either ſecular or regular, till they begin to look toward the mitre, ſeem to think it neceſſary, that they ſhould imitate theſe bright examples, or aſpire after ſuch high perfections.

Excellent Character of M. de BECDELIEVRE, *a late Biſhop of* Niſmes, *in* France.

M. DE BECDELIEVRE, late biſhop of Niſmes, was equally diſtinguiſhed for wiſdom, benevolence, and piety. Not contented with relieving from his purſe the diſtreſſes of the indigent, he increaſed the produce of labour in his dioceſe, by transferring to the Sundays many of the numerous holidays which encourage only idleneſs and vice. In the diſtribution of alms, his benevolence was guided by diſcretion. He was a ſtranger to that deſtructive ſpecies of liberality which originates in blind ſenſibility, and has no other foundation but undiſtinguiſhing compaſſion. He conſulted at once his head and heart, neither turning away his eyes from beholding miſery, nor relieving it merely and at all hazards, that he might avoid the painful ſight; but, giving ſuch aſſiſtance in the ſeaſon of diſtreſs, as both reaſon and religion muſt approve; and leaving the poor to feel preciſely that degree of want, which, as long as they retain their free-

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freedom, will be always needful to ſtimulate their induſtry. Thus, he reſembled the prudent gardener, who waters the drooping plant, and continues to water it, but only while the heavens withhold their rain. Zealous for the peculiar doctrines of his religion, he made no diſtinctions in his benevolence, not only tolerating, but doing good to thoſe, who could neither receive the creed, nor conform to the mode of worſhip eſtabliſhed by their country. This ſingle prelate, by his wiſdom and beneficence, in the ſpace of five and forty years, much more than doubled the number of inhabitants of Niſmes; for, having found only twenty thouſand, he had the happineſs before his death of ſeeing fifty thouſand riſe up to call him bleſſed.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS ON THINKING.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

AMONG the many epithets beſtowed upon the age, and time in which we live, I do not recollect that it has been called a *thinking* age. There are, however, certainly more readers and more ſpeakers—books are in faſhion, and converſation-talents are in high eſtimation. But of thinkers, that is of thoſe who exerciſe the privilege of thinking for themſelves, the number is inconſiderable; whereas of thoſe who think for others, the number is greatly increaſing, and perhaps no age has ſeen a greater variety of writers.

Every thing 'comes and goes,' by faſhion; but *reflection* is not a faſhion. Reflection is avoided as interfering with the buſineſs and the pleaſures of life. Yet in the eſtimation of a thinking man, it would promote integrity and give ſtability to the one, and purify and regulate the other—but it is not the *faſhion*. Men may be found who muſe, deliberate, and contrive, but they do not think. They read, and they imbibe, but they do not reflect. They do not think whether a book deſerves the applauſe beſtowed on it, but they read, it becauſe it is the faſhion to echo that applauſe. They do not think whether a pleaſure apparently innocent be really ſo, but they partake of it, becauſe others do the ſame. They do not think whether a buſineſs, in which they are to engage, be conſiſtent with integrity, but they engage in it, becauſe it is an offer which they ſuppoſe none would refuſe, and holds out an advantage, which it is impoſſible to deſpiſe.

Thus are the principles of taſte, as well as of honeſty, gradually relaxed; and it becomes extremely difficult for mere men of the world to diſtinguiſh between guilt and innocence, and between truth and falſehood.

The ſucceſs of many *men* in the world, as well as of many books, is often mentioned as an object of aſtoniſhment, but the ſurpriſe would be moderated, were we to conſider how many thouſands are directed by opinions haſtily adopted, obſtinately retained, and from which, indeed, it is diſgraceful to depart, even upon conviction. Such is the birth of prejudice and bigotry. Ignorance is, perhaps, in all caſes, more fully ſatisfied with the diſplay of moderate talents, than of great genius; and avarice, ambition, and luſt, have the happy faculty of tranſmuting every thing into neceſſity, expedience, and nature. Vices that are deliberate, vices that are the accompliſhment of a deſign, and that make part of a ſyſtem, will never, on ſuch principles, appear in an unfavourable light. And yet the deliberately vicious have no ſuperior merit to boaſt of. They have, it is true, been induſtrious in climbing up the ſeveral ſteps that led to their favourite object. Repetition has rendered their practice eaſy and perfect, but, after the full attainment of

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of their wiſhes, (if ever ſuch a period arrives) they have only incorporated the loweſt vices of the vulgar, with an underſtanding that ought to have repelled them; and they have exhibited to the world, that though 'no man can on a ſudden be completely wicked,' yet by perſeverance he may accompliſh that great character.

If the queſtion were, what is the ſource of all the vice, the miſery, and much of the poverty, which are viſible and deplored among men? the enquirer might with ſome propriety and ſucceſs be referred to *want of thought*. To this ſource, to the want of reflection, may ultimately be traced all the vice which the divine deplores, all the guilt which the law puniſhes, and many of the vexations of which mankind in general complain. I would not, however, be ſuppoſed to inſinuate, that there is leſs reflection in this country than in others. With other countries I am leſs acquainted, and conſequently leſs qualified to decide the point in queſtion, if it be a queſtion. But where liberty is eſtabliſhed and enjoyed, it is more natural to expect that freedom of thought ſhould prevail, than in nations where a thinker, not being permitted to expreſs his thoughts, may find it expedient for his ſafety and comfort to reſign the faculty of thinking.

Whoever attentively ſurveys modern manners, will be ſenſible that reflection has not modelled them into their preſent form, and that the various caprices of faſhion are not the reſult of thought. He will be ſenſible that, as no man ever committed a firſt crime from deliberate purpoſe, ſo that men muſt have given up the privilege of thinking, of acting by human reaſon (which left to itſelf is ever in the right) before he could become habitually profligate, or ſyſtematically avaricious. The degree, portion, or quantity of vice, neceſſary to compoſe, for inſtance, the wretch called a *ſeducer*, is no common degree, portion or quantity. It muſt have been accumulating from time to time; infinite pains muſt have been taken to eradicate from the heart, that feeling which leads us to compaſſionate the diſtreſſes of others, and which is as much connected with thought as any act of human reaſon can be. I will not ſay, that it is impoſſible to corrupt the beſt heart, to blaſt the faireſt proſpects of goodneſs and virtue, but I am certain it is one of thoſe labours, which require both time and aſſiduity.

It may appear ſtrange to aſſert that no vice is *natural* to man; but it is not meant by this that man is not naturally prone to vice. It is nevertheleſs difficult to prove that he is prone by nature to any other vices, than thoſe which reſult from the indulgence of his ſenſual paſſions. All other vices he acquires by intercourſe with man. Among barbarous nations, thoſe who come neareſt to a ſtate of nature, we find few or no vices but what are modifications of cruelty, or of ſenſuality. It is in civilized nations that we contemplate, and contemplate with aſtoniſhment, diviſions and ſubdiviſions of vice, for many or moſt of which our language has only general terms.

The ſeeds of vice and virtue are in every man, but the propagation and growth ſeem to depend on his place in ſociety. The ſeeds of vice and virtue are in every heart, but the great purpoſe of reaſon is to eradicate the former, and to fertilize and mature the latter.—Theſe are ſentiments ſo trite, that I am almoſt aſhamed to repeat them.—Reaſon, then, is exerted in thinking, in deliberating on the propriety or impropriety of actions, as more or leſs connected with our own good, and the good of others, in ſeparating between truth and falſehood, and marking the boundaries between virtue and vice. Not to employ reaſon in this manner, is not to think. Not to employ reaſon in diſcriminating between good and evil, is to create to ourſelves an artificial human nature, adapted to a plan of life

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life which we have previouſly laid down. To combat this artificial humanity is impoſſible. Who, without ſupernatural aid, ever convinced a miſer? Who ever gave feeling to the covetous, or inſpired the ambitious with contentment? Theſe men cannot be reaſoned with ſucceſsfully. We do not contend with them on equal terms. We appeal to the immutability of truth; they have no conception of it; we wiſh to ſpeak of the beſt powers of the mind, the free prerogative of human thought. They have ſubſtituted a crooked policy, which has anſwered their purpoſe better, and which we cannot analyze, becauſe we can neither ſee nor feel it. Such is the tyranny to which men ſubmit when they ceaſe to think freely, that is, to think for themſelves.

But to return more immediately to the ſubject. That *thinking* is not the faſhion of the day, will appear, if we conſider that the demand for amuſement is inceſſantly urgent, and that the greater part of our public and private amuſements are obviouſly calculated to prevent, what ſome would term, the impertinent intruſion of reflection. Hence we find ſo many ſevere cenſures of public amuſements. They are repreſented as being unfavourable to innocence and purity of heart. This, however, they are, not in themſelves, but as inducing levity and thoughtleſſneſs. For it muſt be allowed that public decency is kept up, much to the honour of the age, in the greater part of our amuſements, and very little is permitted to appear, which has a poſitive and direct tendency to pollute the mind. But on the other hand, as they baniſh thought, they leave the mind an eaſy prey to temptation; and a mind liable to temptation is ſeldom longer without an object, than a weakened garriſon will be without an enemy. The mind is never neutral: good or evil for ever poſſeſs it. It is reſtleſs in invention; always operating, and even in ſleep, it mimics the actions of the paſt day, or anticipates future employments.

Theſe conſequences of public and private amuſements, it is to be obſerved, are chiefly viſible in men whoſe life is a life of amuſement, who are never apparently happy, and certainly never ſatisfied, unleſs when partaking of amuſement—men, to whom abundance does not give contentment, in whom repetition does not produce diſguſt, and to whom reflection is conſequently inſupportable. To partake occaſionally of public amuſements, will never operate unfavourably on a thinking mind. The viſit may be permitted, becauſe it will not be often repeated; and the loſs of time will be made up in the reflections it will ſuggeſt.

The nature and kind of books which are principally read, and which acquire a faſhion, demonſtrate alſo how averſe to thought the generality of readers are; for thoſe books, of which *novels* form the chief claſs, are ſuch as cannot be ſuppoſed to excite thought or exerciſe the judgment. Whatever may be *loſt* in the peruſal, there is nothing gained, no acceſſion to our ſtock of knowledge, no increaſe to the fund of experience. All is light, trivial and tranſient. But, though tranſient as to the immediate hold they take of the mind, we may aver, without riſk of contradiction, that this courſe of reading is unfavourable both to the head and to the heart, to the underſtanding and to the imagination. And we may apply to the common traſh of novels, what Dr. Johnſon ſays of Congreve's works: 'It is acknowledged,' ſays that ſturdy moraliſt, 'with univerſal conviction, that a peruſal of them will make no man better, and that their ultimate effect is to repreſent pleaſure in alliance with vice, and to relax thoſe obligations by which life ought to be regulated.'

But it is not, I preſume, neceſſary here to collect every proof of the importance of reflection to the happineſs of mankind; nor is a long train of argument wanting to demonſtrate that it is in every man's power to avert, in a great meaſure, the chief calamities

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Fig. 1.

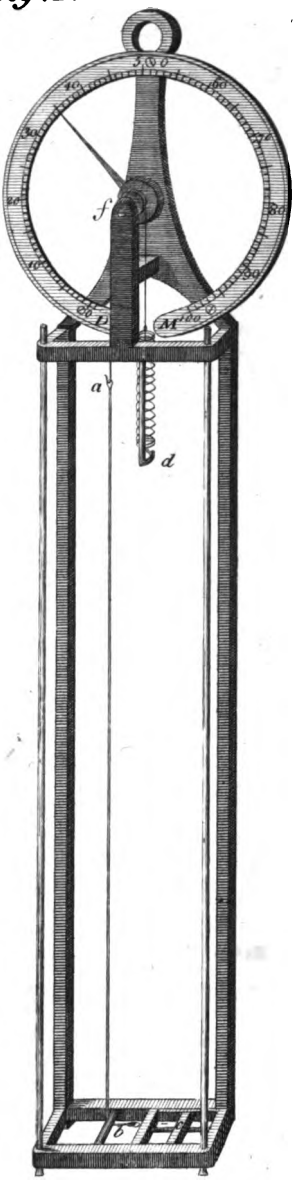
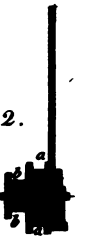


Fig. 2.



De Luc's Whalebone Hygrometer.

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of life, to increaſe all its comforts, emancipate himſelf from the tyranny to of faſhion, and of cuſtom, by merely employing thoſe powers which nature has given to him; and which were given to him, becauſe he was intended to be a rational, as a previous ſtep toward being a happy creature.

Common as this ſentiment is, it cannot be too often repeated; and I hope that its being undeniable does not weaken its influence, we are deceived in our love for new thoughts, and imbibe the affectation of ſaying new things. But the world, in my humble opinion, is ſo full of tried wiſdom, and recorded experience, that if we arrange and employ what we are already in poſſeſſion of, we can never be greatly deficient in what is neceſſary to conſtitute private virtue and public happineſs.

CAIUS.

DESCRIPTION *of the* WHALEBONE HYGROMETER; *invented by* J. C. de Luc: *Illuſtrated with an Engraving of that Inſtrument.*

M. DE LUC, whoſe aſſiduous labours in meteorology and hygrometry for above twenty years are well known, has lately furniſhed the philoſophical world with a hygrometer, that will meaſure the moiſture of the air, almoſt as accurately as a thermometer does that of heat. The point of extreme dryneſs is 0, which is obtained by incloſing the inſtrument in a veſſel that is internally ſurrounded with quicklime; and the point or degree of extreme moiſture is 100, obtained by immerſing the inſtrument in water. The annexed plate, fig. 1. ſhows its form for common uſe. Some of thoſe inſtruments are of the ſame ſize as the figure, and they may eaſily be made ſmaller, but commonly they are half as large again in every dimenſion. Their frame will be ſufficiently known from the figure, therefore it is only neceſſary to deſcribe ſome particulars. The ſlip of whalebone is repreſented by *a*, *b*; and at its end *a* is ſeen a ſort of pincers, made only of a flattened bent wire, tapering in the part that holds the ſlip, and preſſed by a ſliding ring. The end *b* is fixed to a moveable bar *c*, which is moved by a ſcrew for adjuſting at firſt the index. The end *a* of the ſlip is hooked to a thin braſs wire, to the other end of which is alſo hooked a very thin ſilver gilt lamina, that has at that end pincers ſimilar to thoſe of the ſlip, and which is fixed by the other end to the axis, by a pin in a proper hole. The ſpring *d*, by which the ſlip is ſtretched, is made of ſilver gilt wire; it acts on the ſlip as a weight of about twelve grains, and with this advantage over a weight (beſide avoiding ſome other inconveniencies of this) that, in proportion as the ſlip is weakened, in its lengthening by the penetration of moiſture, the ſpring, by unbending at the ſame time, loſes a part of its power. The axis has very ſmall pivots, the ſhoulders of which are prevented from coming againſt the frame, by their ends being confined, though freely, between the flat bearing of the heads of two ſcrews, the front one of which is ſeen near *f*. The ſection of that axis, of the ſize that belongs to a ſlip of about eight inches, is repreſented in fig. 2; the ſlip acts on the diameter *a*, *a*, and the ſpring on the ſmaller diameter *b*, *b*. When this inſtrument is intended to be placed out at a window, and continually expoſed to the external air, it is mounted in a different manner; the dial-plate is covered with a glaſs, and the ſlip of whalebone incloſed in a tube, which is perforated with holes ſo as to admit the air, freely to the ſlip, and yet ſecure it from rain.

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METEOROLOGICAL JOURNAL, February 1793.

[See the Explanation, Page 110.]

D.	H.	Baro.	T. out	T. in	Hyg.	C.	Wind.	Weather, &c.
1	8	29,54	43	47	55	5	S 2	. little wet
	2	29,41	45,5	49,5	50,5	5	S 2	. fine
2	8	29,63	37,5	47	51	1	SSW 1	hazy. cloudy. little rain
	2	29,58	45	49	52	4	SSW 3	. more wind and much gentle rain
3	8	29,40	44	49	54,5	4	SSW 2	. wind and rain: fine
	2	29,40	44,5	49,5	51	3	S 3	. clear night and less wind
4	8	29,37	41	48	52	1	SSW 1	foggy. fine
	2	29,34	44	49	50	2	SSW 2	
5	8	29,41	34,5	47,5	55	f	SSW 0	. little wet. fine
	2	29,54	43,5	49	51,5	2	NW 2	: little rain
6	8	29,62	40,5	49	53,5	5	WSW 1	gentle rain. less cloudy
	2	29,67	46	50,5	49	h	NW 1	. much rain at night
7	8	29,54	37	46	51	h	WNW 1	. fine
	2	29,75	41,5	47,5	47	1	NW 1	: cloudy
8	8	29,85	39	45,5	51	5	SW 2	little wet. showers: fine
	2	29,63	42,5	47,5	50,5	3	WSW 2	. stormy shower
9	8	29,83	40,5	47,5	51	5	NW 2	
	2	29,83	46	49,5	50	4	WSW 1	. heavy shower. clear night
10	8	29,59	37	47,5	48	1	WSW 2	. more wind: hail storm
N	2	29,66	39,5	48,5	47	4	W 4	. showers: fine
11	8	29,65	38,5	46	49,5	1	WNW 3	
	2	29,83	43	47,5	47,5	4	WNW 2	. drizzling night: fair
12	8	29,57	45,5	48	49,5	4	W 2	. more wind
	2	29,64	49	49	47	4	W 4	. fine and less wind
13	8	29,97	40	47	51	f	WSW 1	. little wet
	2	29,92	50	50	53	4	WSW 1	. more cloudy and little rain
14	8	29,71	43	50,5	55	5	S 2	. little rain: fine
	2	29,81	45	50,5	49	3	W 1	. clear night: much rain
15	8	29,73	40	48,5	52	f	WSW 1	little rain
	2	29,75	43,5	49	49	5	S 1	
16	8	29,85	39,5	49	50	4	N 1	hazy. fine
	2	29,92	42	47	51	2	NNE 1	
17	8	30,12	36	44,5	51	f	N 1	
	2	30,06	41,5	45,5	50,5	h	NE 1	
18	8	29,82	38	47,5	51	3	SW 1	. much gentle rain
	2	29,82	43,5	52	50,5	h	WSW 1	. fine. clear night
19	8	30,07	34,5	46	50	f	NW 1	. fine
	2	30,11	43,5	48	47,5	2	NW 1	. foggy eve
20	8	30,22	34,5	44,5	51	2	NW 1	foggy
	2	30,19	44	47,5	48	1	WSW 1	. hazy night
21	8	30,13	38	46	51	2	S 1	foggy
	2	30,14	35	48	48	2	SSW 1	
22	8	30,23	32	43	50,5	f	S 1	. fine
	2	30,25	44,5	46	47,5	2	SSW 1	
23	8	30,21	45,5	47,5	54	4	WSW 1	foggy
	2	30,22	50,5	50,5	51	5	WSW 1	. gentle rain. windy night
24	8	30,22	49	51,5	54,5	3	W 1	foggy
	2	30,25	52,5	53	50	3	W 1	. cloudy eve
25	8	29,99	40,5	53	55,5	5	SSW 0	
F	2	29,89	48	52,5	52	5	SSW 3	. little wet: more wind and rain. fine
26	8	29,97	42	51,5	49,5	2	WNW 3	
	2	30,11	42,5	52,5	43,5	2	W 3	: cloudy
27	8	30,04	44,5	47,5	50	5	SSW 1	
	2	30,00	49	51,5	47	4	SSW 2	
28	8	29,92	43,5	49,5	50,5	h	SSW 1	drizzling: fine
	2	30,02	47	52	47	3	W 1	

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OBSERVATIONS *on the* DISEASES *in* February 1793.

THE catarrhal fever, which commenced the latter part of laſt month, continued to increaſe till about the middle of this; when it began to decline. It ſtill however continues, though more rare, and the ſymptoms are uniformly the ſame as before; children (eſpecially thoſe under ſix years of age) have been the moſt frequent objects of this diſeaſe, and though thoſe of a more adult age have not eſcaped it, yet it has rarely attacked any of a more advanced one. The ſcarlet fever, in a mild form, ſtill prevails, as do the ſmallpox and meaſles; the latter is become remarkably frequent, with all the ſymptoms unuſually mild, the cough (which is in general a very diſtreſſing ſymptom) moderate, and the peripneumonic ſymptom, with the general affection of the lungs, ſo moderate as ſcarcely in any inſtance to require bleeding.

REFLECTIONS *on the preſent* STATE *of* AFFAIRS *in* Great Britain *and* France.

When the public Mind has been agitated by alarming Apprehenſions for the Welfare of the State, on whatever Ground they may have been excited, it becomes a good Citizen to take every Method in his Power to allay the Violence of intemperate Diſcuſſion, by diverting the Attention from the general and ill-founded Declamations of uninformed or intereſted Perſons, to the moderate and diſcriminating Sentiments of ſuch as are eminent for Wiſdom and Integrity. With this View we have ſelected the following excellent Reflections from the Appendix to a Sermon preached before the Stewards of the Weſtminſter Infirmary, by Dr. Watſon, *Biſhop of* Landaff.

I HAVE no heſitation in declaring, that the object which the French ſeemed to have in view at the commencement of their revolution, had my hearty approbation. The object was to free themſelves and their poſterity from arbitrary power. I hope there is not a man in Great Britain ſo little ſenſible of the bleſſings of that free conſtitution under which he has the happineſs to live; ſo entirely dead to the intereſts of general humanity, as not to wiſh that a conſtitution ſimilar to our own might be eſtabliſhed, not only in France, but in every deſpotic ſtate in Europe; not only in Europe, but in every quarter of the globe.

It is one thing to approve of an end, another to approve of the means by which an end is accompliſhed. I did not approve of the means by which the firſt revolution was effected in France.—I thought that it would have been a wiſer meaſure to have abridged the oppreſſive privileges, and to have leſſened the enormous number of the nobility, than to have aboliſhed the order.—I thought that the ſtate ought not in juſtice to have ſeized any part of the property of the church, till it had reverted, as it were, to the community, by the death of its immediate poſſeſſors.—I thought that the king was not only treated with unmerited indignity; but that too little authority was left him, to enable him, as the chief executive magiſtrate, to be uſeful to the ſtate.—Theſe were ſome of my reaſons for not approving the means by which the firſt revolution in France was brought about. As to other evils which took place on the occaſion, I conſidered them certainly as evils of importance; but at the ſame time as evils inſeparable from a ſtate of civil commotion, and which I conceived would be more than compenſated

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penſated by the eſtabliſhment of a limited monarchy.

The French have abandoned the conſtitution they had at firſt eſtabliſhed, and have changed it for another. No one can reprobate with more truth than I do both the means, and the end of this change.—The end has been the eſtabliſhment of a republic—Now, a republic is a form of government, which, of all others, I moſt diſlike—and I diſlike it for this reaſon; becauſe of all forms of government, ſcarcely excepting the moſt deſpotic, I think a republic the moſt oppreſſive to the bulk of the people: they are deceived in it with the ſhew of liberty; but they live in it, under the moſt odious of all tyrannies, the tyranny of their equals.—With reſpect to the means by which this new republic has been erected in France, they have been ſanguinary, ſavage, more than brutal. They not merely fill the heart of every individual with commiſeration for the unfortunate ſufferers; but they exhibit to the eye of contemplation, a humiliating picture of human nature, when its paſſions are not regulated by religion, or controlled by law.—I fly with terror and abhorrence, even from the altar of liberty, when I ſee it ſtained with the blood of the aged, of the innocent, of the defenceleſs ſex, of the miniſters of religion, and of the faithful adherents of a fallen monarch.—My heart ſinks within me when I ſee it ſtreaming with the blood of the monarch himſelf.—Merciful God! ſtrike ſpeedily, we beſeech thee, with deep contrition, and ſincere remorſe, the obdurate hearts of the relentleſs perpetrators and projectors of theſe horrid deeds, leſt they ſhould ſuddenly ſink into eternal and extreme perdition, loaded with an unutterable weight of unrepented, and, except through the blood of Him whoſe religion they reject, inexpiable ſin.

The monarch, you will tell me, was guilty of perfidy and perjury.—I know not, that he was guilty of either; but admitting that he has been guilty of both—who, alas! of the ſons of men, is ſo confident in the ſtrength of his own virtue, ſo aſſured of his own integrity and intrepidity of character, as to be certain, that under ſimilar temptations he would not have been guilty of ſimilar offences? Surely it would have been no diminution of the ſternneſs of new republican virtue, no diſgrace to the magnanimity of a great nation, if it had pardoned the perfidy which its own oppreſſion had occaſioned—if it had remitted the puniſhment of the perjury of the king, to the tribunal of Him, by whom *kings reign and princes decree juſtice.*

And are there any men in this kingdom, except ſuch as find their account in public confuſion, who would hazard the introduction of ſuch ſcenes of rapine, barbarity, and bloodſhed, as have diſgraced France, and outraged humanity, for the ſake of obtaining—What?—Liberty and Equality;—I ſuſpect, that the meaning of theſe terms is not clearly and generally underſtood: it may be of uſe to explain them.

The liberty of a man in a ſtate of nature, conſiſts in his being ſubject to no law but the law of nature—and the liberty of a man in a ſtate of ſociety, conſiſts in his being ſubject to no law, but to the law enacted by the general will of the ſociety to which he belongs.—And to what other law is any man in Great Britain ſubject? The king, we are all juſtly perſuaded, has not the inclination; and we all know that, if he had the inclination, he has not the power, to ſubſtitute his will in the place of the law. The houſe of lords has no ſuch power; the houſe of commons has no ſuch power; the church has no ſuch power; the rich men of the country have no ſuch power. The pooreſt man among us, the beggar at our door, is governed—not by the uncertain, paſſionate, arbitrary will of an individual—not by the ſelfiſh inſolence of an ariſtocratic faction—not by the madneſs of democratic violence—but by the fixed, impartial, deliberate voice of law, enacted by the

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the general ſuffrage of a free people. —Is your property injured? Law, indeed, does not give you property; but it aſcertains it.—Property is acquired by induſtry and probity; by the exerciſe of talents and ingenuity; and the poſſeſſion of it is ſecured by the laws of the community. Againſt whom think you is it ſecured? It is ſecured againſt thieves and robbers; againſt idle and profligate men, who, however low your condition may be, would be glad to deprive you of the little you poſſeſs. It is ſecured, not only againſt ſuch diſturbers of the public peace, but againſt the oppreſſion of the noble, the rapacity of the powerful, and the avarice of the rich. The courts of Britiſh juſtice are impartial and incorrupt; they reſpect not the perſons of men; the poor man's lamb is, in their eſtimation, as ſacred as the monarch's crown; with inflexible integrity they adjudge to every man his own. Your property under their protection is ſecure. —If your perſonal liberty be unjuſtly reſtrained, though but for an hour, and that by the higheſt ſervants of the crown—the crown cannot ſcreen them; the throne cannot hide them; the law, with an undaunted arm, ſeizes them, and drags them with irreſiſtible might to the judgment of whom?—of your equals—of twelve of your neighbours.—In ſuch a conſtitution as this, what is there to complain of on the ſcore of liberty?

The greateſt freedom that can be enjoyed by man in a ſtate of civil ſociety; the greateſt ſecurity that can be given him with reſpect to the protection of his character, property, perſonal liberty, limb, and life, is afforded to every individual by our preſent conſtitution.

The equality of man in a ſtate of nature, does not conſiſt in an equality of bodily ſtrength, or intellectual ability, but in their being equally free from the dominion of each other.—The equality of man in a ſtate of civil ſociety, does not conſiſt in an equality of wiſdom, honeſty, ingenuity, induſtry,—nor in an equality of property reſulting from a due exertion of theſe talents; but in being equally ſubject to, equally protected by the ſame laws—And who knows not that every individual in this great nation, is, in this reſpect, equal to every other? There is not one law for the nobles, another for the commons of the land—one for the clergy, another for the laity—one for the rich, another for the poor. The nobility, it is true, have ſome privileges annexed to their birth; the judges, and other magiſtrates, have ſome annexed to their office; and profeſſional men have ſome annexed to their profeſſions—but theſe privileges are neither injurious to the liberty or property of other men. And you might as reaſonably contend, that the bramble ought to be equal to the oak; the lamb to the lion; as that no diſtinctions ſhould take place between the members of the ſame ſociety.—The burdens of the ſtate are diſtributed through the whole community, with as much impartiality as the complex nature of taxation will admit; every man ſuſtains a part in proportion to his ſtrength; no order is exempted from the payment of taxes.—Nor is any order of men excluſively entitled to the enjoyment of the lucrative offices of the ſtate. All cannot enjoy them, but all enjoy a capacity of acquiring them. The ſon of the meaneſt man in the nation, may become a general or an admiral, a lord chancellor or an archbiſhop. If any perſons have been ſo ſimple as to ſuppoſe, that even the French ever intended by the term equality, an equality of property, they have been quite miſtaken in their ideas. The French never underſtood by it, any thing materially different from what we and our anceſtors have been in full poſſeſſion of for many ages.

Other nations may deluge their land with blood in ſtruggling for liberty and equality; but let it never be forgotten by ourſelves, and let us impreſs the obſervation upon the hearts

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hearts of our children, that we are in poſſeſſion of both; of as much of both, as can be conſiſtent with the end for which civil ſociety was introduced among mankind.

The proviſion which is made for the poor in this kingdom is ſo liberal, as, in the opinion of ſome, to diſcourage induſtry. The rental of the lands in England and Wales does not, I conjecture, amount to more than eighteen millions a year; and the poor rates amount to two millions. The poor then, at preſent, poſſeſs a ninth part of the landed rental of the country; and, reckoning ten pounds for the annual maintenance of each pauper, it may be inferred, that thoſe who are maintained by the community do not conſtitute a fortieth part of the people. An equal diviſion of land would be to the poor a great misfortune; they would poſſeſs far leſs than by the laws of the land they are at preſent entitled to. When we add to this conſideration, an account of the immenſe ſums annually ſubſcribed by the rich for the ſupport of hoſpitals, infirmaries, diſpenſaries—for the relief of ſufferers by fire, tempeſts, famines, loſs of cattle, great ſickneſs, and other misfortunes; all of which charities muſt ceaſe were all men on a level, for all men would then be equally poor; it cannot but excite one's aſtoniſhment, that ſo fooliſh a ſyſtem ſhould have ever been ſo much as mentioned by any man of common ſenſe. It is a ſyſtem not practicable; and was it practicable, it would not be uſeful; and was it uſeful, it would not be juſt.

But ſome one may think, and, indeed, it has been ſtudiouſly inculcated into the minds of the multitude, that a monarchy, even a limited one, is a far more expenſive mode of civil government than a republic; that a civil liſt of a million a year, is an enormous ſum which might be ſaved to the nation. Suppoſing that every ſhilling of this ſum could be ſaved, and that every ſhilling of it was expended in ſupporting the dignity of the crown—both which ſuppoſitions are entirely falſe—ſtill ſhould I think the liberty, the proſperity, the tranquillity, the happineſs of this great nation cheaply purchaſed by ſuch a ſum; ſtill ſhould I think that he would be a madman in politics, who would, by a change of the conſtitution, riſk theſe bleſſings (and France ſupplies us with a proof that infinite riſk would be run) for a paltry ſaving of expence. I am not, nor have ever been, the patron of corruption. So far as the civil liſt has a tendency to corrupt the judgment of any member of either houſe of parliament, it has a bad tendency, which I wiſh it had not; but I cannot wiſh to ſee the ſplendour of the crown reduced to nothing, leſt its proper weight in the ſcale of the conſtitution ſhould be thereby deſtroyed. A great portion of this million is expended in paying the ſalaries of the judges, the interpreters of our law, the guardians of our lives and properties!—Another portion is expended in maintaining ambaſſadors at different courts, to protect the general concerns of the nation from foreign aggreſſion; another portion is expended in penſions and donations to men of letters and ingenuity; to men who have by naval, military, or civil ſervices, juſt claims to the attention of their country; to perſons of reſpectable families and connexions, who have been humbled and broken down by misfortunes. I do not ſpeak with accuracy, nor on ſuch a ſubject is accuracy requiſite; but I am not far wide of truth in ſaying that a fifth part of the million is more than ſufficient to defray the expences of the royal houſehold—What a mighty matter is it to complain of, that each individual contributes leſs than ſixpence a year toward the ſupport of the monarchy?

That the conſtitution of this country is ſo perfect as neither to require, or admit of any improvement, is a propoſition to which I never did, or ever can aſſent; but I think it far too excellent to be amended by peaſants and mechanics. I do not mean to

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ſpeak of peaſants and mechanics with any degree of diſreſpect; I am not ſo ignorant of the importance, either of the natural or ſocial chain by which all the individuals of the human race are connected together, as to think diſreſpectfully of any link of it; peaſants and mechanics are as uſeful to the ſtate as any other order of men; but their utility conſiſts in their diſcharging well the duties of their reſpective ſtations; it ceaſes when they affect to become legiſlators; when they intrude themſelves into concerns, for which their education has not fitted them.—The liberty of the preſs is a main ſupport of the liberty of the nation; it is a bleſſing which it is our duty to tranſmit to poſterity; but a bad uſe is ſometimes made of it: and its uſe is never more pernicious, than when it is employed to infuſe into the minds of the loweſt orders of the community, diſparaging ideas concerning the conſtitution of their country. No danger need be apprehended from a candid examination of our own conſtitution, or from a diſplay of the advantages of any other: it will bear to be contraſted with the beſt; but all men are not qualified to make the compariſon; and there are ſo many men, in every community, who wiſh to have no government at all, that an appeal to them on ſuch a point, ought never to be made.

There are, probably, in every government upon earth, circumſtances which a man, accuſtomed to the abſtract inveſtigation of truth, may eaſily prove to be deviations from the rigid rule of ſtrict political juſtice; but while theſe deviations are either generally not known, or, though known, generally acquieſced in, as matters of little moment to the general felicity, I cannot think it to be the part, either of a good man or of a good citizen, to be zealous in recommending ſuch matters to the diſcuſſion of ignorant and uneducated men.

I am far from inſinuating, that the ſcience of politics is involved in myſtery; or that men of plain underſtandings ſhould be debarred from examining the principles of the government, to which they yield obedience. All that I contend for is this—that the foundations of our government ought not to be overturned, nor the edifice erected thereon tumbled into ruins, becauſe an acute politician may pretend, that he has diſcovered a flaw in the building, or that he could have laid the foundation after a better model.

What would you ſay to a ſtranger, who ſhould deſire you to pull down your houſe, becauſe, forſooth, he had built one in France or America after, what he thought, a better plan? You would ſay to him—No, ſir—my anceſtors have lived in this manſion comfortably and honourably for many generations; all its walls are ſtrong, and all its timbers ſound; if I ſhould obſerve a decay in any of its parts, I know how to make the reparation without the aſſiſtance of ſtrangers; and I know too, that the reparation, when made by myſelf, may be made without injury either to the ſtrength or beauty of the building. It has been buffeted, in the courſe of ages, by a thouſand ſtorms; yet ſtill it ſtands unſhaken as a rock, the wonder of all my neighbours, each of whom ſighs for one of a ſimilar conſtruction. Your houſe may be ſuited to your climate and temper, this is ſuited to mine. Permit me, however, to obſerve to you, that you have not yet lived long enough in your new houſe, to be ſenſible of all the inconveniences to which it may be liable; nor have you yet had any experience of its ſtrength; it has yet ſuſtained no ſhocks; the firſt whirlwind may ſcatter its component members in the air; the firſt earthquake may ſhake its foundation; the firſt inundation may ſweep the ſuperſtructure from the ſurface of the earth. I hope no accident will happen to your houſe, but I am ſatisfied with mine own.

Great calamities of every kind attend the breaking up of eſtabliſhed govern-

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governments; yet there are some forms of government, especially when they happen to be badly administered, so exceedingly destructive of the happiness of mankind, that a change of them is not improvidently purchased, at the expence of the mischief accompanying their subversion. Our government is not of that kind: look round the globe, and see if you can discover a single nation on all its surface, so powerful, so rich, so beneficent, so free and happy as our own? May Heaven avert from the minds of my countrymen the slightest wish to abolish their constitution!

'Kingdoms,' observes Mr. Locke, 'have been overturned by the pride, ambition, and turbulency of private men; by the people's wantonness and desire to cast off the lawful authority of their rulers, as well as by the rulers' insolence, and endeavours to get and exercise an arbitrary power over the people.' The recent danger to our constitution was in my opinion small; for I considered its excellence to be so obvious to men even of the most unimproved understandings, that I looked upon it as an idle and fruitless effort, either in foreign or domestic incendiaries, to endeavour to persuade the bulk of the people to consent to an alteration of it in favour of a republic. I knew, indeed, that in every country the flagitious dregs of a nation were always ripe for revolutions; but I was sensible, at the same time, that it was the interest, not only of the opulent and powerful; not only of the mercantile and middle classes of life; but even of honest labourers and manufacturers, of every sober and industrious man, to resist the licentious principles of such pestilent members, shall I call them, or outcasts of society. Men better informed and wiser than myself, thought that the constitution was in great danger. Whether in fact the danger was great or small, it is not necessary now to inquire; it may be more useful to declare, that, in my humble opinion, the danger, of whatever magnitude it may have been, did not originate in any encroachments of either the legislative or executive power on the liberties or properties of the people; but in the wild fancies, and turbulent tempers of discontented or ill informed individuals. I sincerely rejoice that, through the vigilance of administration, this turbulency has received a check. The hopes of bad men have been disappointed, and the understandings of mistaken men have been enlightened, by the general and unequivocal judgment of a whole nation; a nation not more renowned for its bravery and its humanity, though justly celebrated for both, than for its loyalty to its princes, and, what is perfectly consistent with loyalty, for its love of liberty, and attachment to the constitution. Wise men have formed it, brave men have bled for it, it is our part to preserve it.

ESSAY ON MARTYRDOM.

By the Descendant of a MARTYR.

A MARTYR is defined to be a person who suffers torments, and even death in defence of the truth of the gospel. The word is purely Greek (μαρτυς) and in that language signifies no more than a *witness*; but its meaning has been, at different times, considerably varied, and has, on some occasions, been erroneously extended, partly from the ignorance of those who did not know its true meaning, and partly from the zeal of others, who wished to confer the title where it was not merited. It has been given not only to those who suffered death, but to those who were banished, or who died in the crusades, or who were tortured without being killed.—All religions, indeed, have their martyrs, and as religions

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which differ in every reſpect, cannot all be true, the names of many hundreds have been handed down to poſterity as martyrs, who were only criminals or madmen.

Whenever the name *martyr* is juſtly applied, it is applied to thoſe who have died in defence of the Chriſtian religion. It is neceſſary, to complete the character of a martyr, that an alternative ſhould be preſented to him, that is, the choice of two things, one of which being rejected, the other muſt be received. In the caſe of thoſe who, in ſtrict propriety of language, ought to be called martyrs, the alternative propoſed always has been *recantation* or *death*. And if we carry this definition or idea of a martyr along with us, we ſhall be at no loſs to appreciate the merit of thoſe to whom the title has been applied, nor ſhall we be at a loſs to detect the ſeveral erroneous applications of the term, which have often been made in books as well as in common converſation.

Taken ſimply by itſelf, as has already been obſerved, the word martyr means only *witneſs*. It occurs but three times in the Sacred Scriptures, and is always uſed in the popular ſenſe. 'To be a martyr,' ſays Dr. South, 'ſignifies only to witneſs the truth of Chriſt; but the witneſſing the truth was then ſo generally attended with perſecution, that martyrdom now ſignifies not only to witneſs, but to witneſs by death.' Shakſpeare's definition of it is nearly equally juſt, and more elegantly expreſſed. In the hiſtorical play of Henry VIII, cardinal Wolſey, after his fall, admoniſhes Cromwell in theſe words:

'Be juſt, and fear not.
Let all the ends thou aim'ſt at, be thy country's,
Thy God's, and truth's; then, if thou fall'ſt, O Cromwell,
Thou fall'ſt a *bleſſed Martyr*.'

The more we conſider the character of a martyr, according to the idea here laid down, the more our admiration is excited. Heroiſm and fortitude are virtues univerſally popular: and all that partakes of cowardice, evaſion, and meanneſs, is abhorred even by thoſe whoſe general principles may be juſtly arraigned. But in what reſpect can the fortitude of the greateſt hero recorded in hiſtory be compared with that of a man who *conſents* (for in conſent is the merit) to ſuffer a tormenting death rather than reſign an opinion, and a practice founded upon that opinion, which he knows to be true, and who diſdains all ſubterfuge and equivocation, even when a *prudential* degree of the latter might ſave his life? Againſt ſuch a man, whom ſhall we place? Shall we place an Alexander at the head of an army, rendered invincible by its numbers, and by the weakneſs of the countries he ravaged? The compariſon would be ridiculous, or, if allowable, would ſerve to raiſe the character of the martyr infinitely above that of the Macedonian conqueror. Shall we, then, contraſt with the character of a martyr that of a modern conqueror, returned home laden with the ſpoils of many campaigns, and decorated with the laurels of many victories? Here again no compariſon can be formed that is not againſt the latter; for in the modern art of war, little or nothing depends on the perſonal courage of a commander; all that he can do is, by his preſence to invigorate the imaginations of his troops, and to practice all that trick and artifice which entered the ſyſtem of war when gunpowder came into uſe, and when perſonal bravery, individual bravery, ceaſed to be called forth, or deemed neceſſary, unleſs in very extraordinary caſes. Nothing here is meant to take from the received and juſt opinions of military courage; but when greateſt, it cannot arrive at that dignity, that magnanimity of ſoul, which diſpoſes a man to ſubmit to torments of the moſt afflicting kind, and to death itſelf, that he may preſerve his religious principles. Let us take into one view the whole life

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of a hero, and what is it, when compared with the ſingle action of Cranmer, who held out the hand (which had ſubſcribed a temporary recantation) in the midſt of the flames, that he might ſurvive the limb which had coſt him ſuch diſgrace? However looſe our notions now may be reſpecting religion, we cannot but venerate an heroic act that has no parallel unleſs in the ſufferings of his contemporary martyrs. We live in a milder age, when religion is not likely to bring any man to the ſtake; and the chief ſentiment we derive from a peruſal of the ſufferings of martyrs, is an abhorrence of the deſpotiſm which occaſioned them. But while we indulge this laudable feeling, let us alſo honour the memory of men who, it is not too much to ſay, went through what many of us in all probability would ſhrink from, or evade by ſome ſubterfuge which the ingenuity of modern prudence and the cravings of intereſt would not fail to ſuggeſt.

Nor let it be ſaid that enthuſiaſm emboldened the martyrs in their ſufferings. Enthuſiaſm is the diſeaſe of the ignorant and weak, of men of diſordered imaginations and confuſed intellects. But the martyrs, here alluded to, may rank among their number ſome of the moſt learned noblemen, prelates, and divines of various ages; men who had been ſelected for high offices in the ſtate and church, and who might have retained them, if they could have cruſhed their convictions and ſtifled their principles. A man of rational piety cannot do this. A man of real honour would not, if he could.—Among the number, too, are to be reckoned men of vigorous intellect, and writers of conſiderable eminence. Nor can *enthuſiaſm* be juſtly imputed to any of them: for what are the principles which they were maintaining? Preciſely thoſe principles and that religion which the moſt liberal, learned, and enlightened men of the preſent age recognize as the beſt, and ſupport with all the force of matured reaſon and unanſwerable argument.

Neither can it be ſaid, in ſtrict truth, that they were raſh or headſtrong. Their hiſtory ſhows that they were patient and humble. As nothing could allure them from the principles which they were led to adopt from enquiry, ſo nothing could tempt them to ſhorten their ſufferings by any of thoſe actions which unprincipled deſpair impels men to commit. We read of no inſtance of ſuicide in the whole hiſtory of martyrdom. They awaited their ſentence patiently, and ſubmitted to it with a fortitude which it is not eaſy to conceive, and yet perhaps eaſier to conceive than to imitate.

'This circumſtance it is,' ſays a modern author, 'that ſhows an infinite ſuperiority in the behaviour of Chriſtians ſuffering in the cauſe of truth, to that of the North American Indians in braving torture and death. They do it, without complaining indeed, but with the moſt rancorous and revengeful diſpoſition; comforting themſelves with the thought of having inflicted on their enemies the ſame torments when it was in their power, and wiſhing to inflict them again. They die with the feelings of a brute beaſt; but Chriſtians with that dignity which is the perfection of human nature. They who, from a hatred of Chriſtianity, give the preference to the courage of the Indians, in bearing torture and death, to that of the Chriſtian martyrs, ſhew their utter ignorance of every thing in which true greatneſs of mind, and dignity of ſentiment conſiſt. This is diſcovered, not by the mere bearing of pain, but by the temper of mind with which it was borne.'

But, after all, if we peruſe the hiſtory of martyrdom, we muſt confeſs with Addiſon * that ſuch trials ſeem 'to be above the ſtrength of human nature, and able to overbear duty, reaſon, faith, conviction, nay, and the moſt abſolute certainty of a future ſtate. It is therefore not from a ſuperſtitious veneration of their charac-

* Evidences of Chriſtianity.

ters,

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ters, but upon more ſolid grounds, that he ſeems to think that there was ſome miraculous power to ſupport the ſufferer.

I have already hinted that a wrong application of the term *martyr* has often been made. This will appear very evident, if we recollect and allow the definition of it which I have given, and which is confirmed by every authority I could find.

One inſtance of the wrong application is in the caſe of king Charles I, who is denominated the *Royal Martyr*. —That king Charles was murdered is certain, becauſe he was put to death contrary to all forms of law, and by no conſtituted power; and it is proper that the memory of ſo foul a tranſaction ſhould be kept up, to guard the people againſt the horrors of licentiouſneſs, and to fix in their minds an era of great importance in our hiſtory. But king Charles was in no ſenſe a martyr. He was, taking the word in its original meaning, a *witneſs* for no truth, and ſurely not for the truth of the goſpel, nor (which is the grand requiſite to conſtitute a martyr) had he the alternative of recantation or death propoſed to him. He had no choice and no means, by any ſacrifice of principle, to ſave his life. On the ſame account, thoſe who fell in the Bartholomew maſſacre may with great propriety be ſaid to have been murdered, and murdered becauſe they were proteſtants, but almoſt all of them were denied the privilege of any alternative, and were therefore rather ſacrifices to bigotry than the martyrs of religion.

In ſome writings, the notion being unqueſtionably taken from the fate of Charles the firſt, the late unhappy ſovereign of France is called a martyr. But here is another perverſion of the word, for Louis was never queſtioned about religion at all, nor had he it in his option to live or die upon any ſpecific conditions. The ſavage and atrocious conduct of his murderers, and the approbation ſince given by many of the people to that foul act, muſt ever be a ſtain on their character more indelible than that of St. Bartholomew's day: for the latter happened in an age of darkneſs and tyranny, while the former took place at the cloſe of an enlightened century, and among a people *profeſſing* more pure principles of juſtice and humanity than any now upon earth.

In common converſation, and indeed in ſome books, the epithet *martyr* is not only miſapplied, but degraded in a variety of inſtances. We hear and read of men who are martyrs to love, to intereſt, to caprice, &c. This ſurely is a monſtrous perverſion of terms. Nay, a man who has bawled himſelf into a conſumption by playing the fool on a ſtage, is ſometimes termed a martyr. The abſurdity of all this, however, is ſo obvious, that it is unneceſſary to dwell upon it.

It is with no ſmall ſatisfaction that we can look around us, and now ſay, that the age of martyrdom is paſt; and that we live under a mild government, and among a race of beings whoſe ancient ferocity has been ſoftened by the gentle arts of civilized life. But, while we contemplate this with the ſatisfaction which a man naturally derives from the conſciouſneſs of perfect ſecurity, we ought to remember that the virtues of martyrs deſerve not to periſh with their ſufferings. Their fortitude, their patience, their ſteady perſeverance, and unſhaken conſtancy, may be revived with the moſt important advantages in an age of liberality. And, though we have no longer to encounter the hardſhips of impriſonment, and the fears of death, yet the ſame enquiries which they purſued after ſound principles, and the ſame fortitude with which they maintained them againſt all oppoſition, if common among us, would greatly tend to enlarge human happineſs, raiſe the dignity of our nature, and give that prudence in the enjoyment of freedom, without which it ſinks into the lethargy of ſlavery, or is confounded with the violence of licentiouſneſs.

C. A.

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ON DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

'To be happy at home is the ultimate result of all ambition, the end to which every enterprize and labour tends, and of which every desire prompts the prosecution.' RAMBLER.

NOTHING is so difficult to comprehend as domestic economy. Yet it is natural to suppose that what is a duty incumbent on a great proportion of mankind, should be at least well understood, if not punctually performed, and that if the failure of performance were general, it should be occasioned by ignorance only. But in establishing general rules we are apt to err, if we do not attend to general practice; for it is as certain that domestic economy is not understood, as that it is not practised.—Perhaps, indeed, we may consider the importance of domestic economy as we consider the certainty of death, namely, as a something which no man can deny, but of which no man seems to be so convinced as that his conviction influences his conduct.

If, however, from the respect which is due to our fellow-citizens, we take a middle path, between absolute ignorance and blind obstinacy, we must allow that domestic economy is a thing very little understood, and not always practiced where there is reason to think it might be very well understood. Were I to judge only from what I see, I should not hesitate to say, that there is scarely any thing so difficult to reduce to fixed rules, and to accommodate to general or particular cases. Where all is theory and no practice, all speculation and no action, one must be extremely puzzled to determine: but such it must be confessed is the present state of domestic economy.

That domestic economy is very little understood, and that it is an expression, the precise meaning of which is not generally acknowledged, will appear if we look round us, and observe the various modifications, shapes, and appearances it puts on in different families. The same object can never be pursued by means that are equally different, and equally honourable or dishonourable. The shades of difference may be conspicuous, but if the object be the same, the means must have some agreement, and something in which the common sense of all mankind concurs. Profusion and parsimony cannot be the same thing; yet both the profuse and the parsimonious will insist that they know what domestic economy is. They cannot however exist together, and such a contradiction in terms must occasion a confusion of ideas. Whichever way the decision is made, on whichever side the weight of prejudice is, *prudence* will ultimately be the sacrifice.

Every person established in life, is more or less interested in the knowledge of domestic economy, and it is therefore the more surprising that a branch of knowledge universally necessary should be only partially studied, or, as the vulgar proverb has it, that, 'What is every body's business should be the business of nobody.' Perhaps some confusion may have arisen from a mistaken idea of the word economy, as if it meant *savingness* or parsimony; qualities in a family that are not very agreeable or popular; whereas in its true and more enlarged sense, economy, or domestic economy, means all the different dispositions, arrangements, or *system* of conducting the affairs of a family, according to its rank in society, and with a strict eye to the *quantum* of its ways and means. It is in fact, a small government, or petty constitution.

There are two principal errors in the common management of families. The one is committed by those who *spend all they have*; and the other by those who *spend all they expect*.

The first class, that is those who

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spend all they have, reckon, perhaps with propriety, on a certain income, which cannot be altered or diminished. Having earned or acquired such an income, by whatever means, they assert that they have a *right* to spend it as they please; and having calculated to the uttermost farthing how far it will go, they determine to *see it out* year by year. Now, as every man has an undoubted right to dispose of his property in whatever manner he pleases, I cannot think that any great share of blame rests with persons belonging to this class; but if they are not criminal in thus forming a plan to 'live up to their incomes,' they ought to be told that it is very foolish to suppose that they can carry such a plan into execution for any great length of time. Independent of other considerations, which will come to be mentioned hereafter, I may venture to assert, with no dangerous risk of contradiction, that no wise man will ever think any income perfectly secure and unalterable (what is there in this world that is so?) and that he will therefore in most cases provide in some degree for the evil day.

Let us now see what persons such a plan as the above will suit, and what it will not.—I will allow that an old bachelor, living in one of the inns of court, who has perhaps no relations left, at least none that are anxious for any thing but his death; I say I will allow that such a man, who has outlived his passions, and whose desires are few and contracted, may exist easily, and to himself comfortably, upon the plan of a fixed income, and a perpetual bill of disbursements, in which it would be criminal to misplace a penny, or substitute a guinea for a crown. But a man of this mode is not an object of domestic concern, for he has no family to regulate, and no members of society to prepare for the duties of succeeding generations. He therefore does not properly belong to the class of persons interested in the right knowledge of domestic economy.

But if a family are to set out on the plan of expending their whole annual income; although they have a right to do so, how soon must their plan be deranged? If a man who has five hundred pounds *per annum*, when he marries, thinks he has a right to spend it all, can he continue the exercise of his right, when his family comes to be augmented by half a dozen children? Certainly not: for right is one thing, and power another. What is he then to do? *Retrench*, you will say—Granted—But who is not sensible how difficult that is, and what a contention of pride, vanity, and passion must follow even the bare suggestion of such a change. It is generally supposed to be easy to descend the hill of life. This I humbly presume is a mistake.

In fact, whatever right a man may have to dispose of his property, a wise man will always reflect on the numberless and important considerations which arise in opposition to that right, and which will weigh with him as heavily as the right itself. If nothing happens in his own family to cause a demand for extraordinary expences, he will reflect, that if *his* affairs are stationary, those of the world around him are in fluctuation, and that demands may be made from external circumstances, equally important with those included in his plan, but which he cannot honourably or conscientiously refuse. We are all linked together. One man cannot carry on the system of life. A multitude must do it.

But if the first class of persons, those who *spend all they have*, can bring forward a *right* to do so, the second class, those who *spend all they expect*, have no excuse of this kind to make, no plea from common sense, or common justice. Yet I am afraid this class is the most numerous, and he who has heard nothing of them, has heard nothing of common life. They are not like the others, persons possessing a certain income, but persons speculating on an imaginary one, dependent

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pendent moſt generally upon trade, and who ſeem to conſider their ſtock in trade as a gambler conſiders a pack of cards, inſignificant in themſelves, but by a lucky *turn up*, productive of great riches.

Sir Richard Steele, either in the Tatler or Spectator, I forget which, obſerves, that the ſureſt method of making a good fortune is to carry the appearance of an eaſy one. Sir Richard, with many of the moral writers of the Addiſonian ſchool, often conveyed keen ſatire in the form of a pretended maxim, little thinking that his meaning would in after times be miſunderſtood. But this has often been the caſe, and the quotation I have made is an inſtance in point. The grand rule of domeſtic economy, is to appear to be in affluence. But an appearance of this kind is not quite ſo eaſy in fact as it may ſeem in theory. On the ſtage, a man may dreſs as a king for little more expence, than would be neceſſary to equip a private gentleman for the complimentary viſit of a court birth-day. But in real life to ſeem affluent, is frequently attended with an expence, which is conſiſtent only with real affluence.

Here we are in a difficulty! How is this expence defrayed? By ſpending our expectancies, by drawing on futurity for the deficiencies of the preſent. What! you will ſay, ſpend that which we have not got, coin hopes into guineas, and ideas into bank notes!—*Even ſo*—Experience teaches us that nothing is ſo practicable to certain perſons as all this, however paradoxical it may appear to him, who views the world only through the medium of books. It is done by credit *decently* ſupported, and by paper money *plauſibly* qualified.

In a family under the guidance of this deluſive ſyſtem, (for a deluſion it will always prove) we find the appearance of grandeur and fortune, and an imitation of high life and ſplendour, on thoſe *great* days, when it is neceſſary to play the farce before the world. But to be able *any how* to do this, there muſt be a daſh of the mean and the ſordid, which, in the opinion of every man of real ſenſe and honour, renders the whole compoſition pitiful and diſguſting. Viſit the ſame family, when you are *not* expected, and the contraſt in their manner of living will explain all this. You will find that theſe *diſintereſted, worthy* perſons, live not for themſelves, but for others; that they are contented with plain food and meagre diet, that *you* may enjoy luxuries and ſuperfluities at their table; and that they are contented to ſleep in dogholes and crevices, that the greater part of the houſe may be converted into a ſuit of rooms, which are locked up from all uſes, but the uſes of public parade and oſtentation.

As the younger branches of ſuch a family become men and women, and indeed long before, they are introduced into, what they term, public life. The parents depend on the beauty and *ſpirit* of their children to make their fortunes, without the ſlow proceſs of economical induſtry; and the children cannot be ſuppoſed very loth to enter into the ideas of a life ſo eaſy and pleaſurable. The hopes of the family is, at the age of eighteen, an accompliſhed dancer, a very good drinker, knows ſomething of gallantry, and every thing of horſemanſhip. But of his real ſituation in life, he is more ignorant than, very often, the meaneſt of his father's domeſtics. Miſs, at the ſame age, entertains a proper contempt for a tradeſman, has a tolerable notion of cards, dances gracefully, and, with the aſſiſtance of an expenſive, but faſhionable milliner, acquires a reputation for dreſs, that is ſeldom known out of St. James', or St. George's pariſhes.

In ſome families, where this ſyſtem of high life below ſtairs is attempted, we may diſcover a mixture of the *genteel* and the *low*, that borders upon, if it does not ſurpaſs, the ridiculous. Such a mixture of *ſpirit* and *meanneſs* I never could underſtand or reconcile.

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Yet what ſhall we ſay to thoſe grand entertainments, to make up which, the ſpoons have been borrowed from one of the gueſts, the ſilver waiter from a ſecond, the tureen from a third; and where, in ſhort, the gueſts, if they did entertain a ſuſpicion, could legally ſtrip the ſide-board? How is it poſſible to reconcile this with a high ſpirit! All we can ſay, is to repeat an old and acknowledged truth, that the proudeſt people are of all others the moſt ridiculous, and that vain people are eternally tottering on the precipices of meanneſs.

The downfall, however, we ſhall ſuppoſe to come at laſt. How difficult is it for the moſt upright minds to bear a reverſe of fortune, which ſinks them in the opinion of the world! How far more difficult is it for thoſe who, when they fall, have no reſources of conſolation in their own minds, and have none to pity them, becauſe it is then diſcovered that they have carried on a deliberate ſyſtem of fraud and diſſimulation to the ruin, not only of their own families, but of many hundreds who, deceived by the falſe glare of opulence, have been induced to put confidence in them. In all ſituations of life, a hypocrite is an obnoxious character. But if the hypocrite be one, who wiſhes to paſs with the world as a virtuous or learned man, when in fact he is a profligate and a blockhead, and when he does not improve his talent to the ruin of another, he is himſelf the greateſt ſufferer.—Far different is the crime of him who has not only impoſed upon the world, and has deceived the unſuſpecting to their detriment, and perhaps deſtruction, but who has trained up a family in the ſame principles, who has given them hopes that could never be fulfilled, and has inſpired them with a pride which muſt now be fatal. Nor does his crime ſtop here; for a multitude of ſuch inſtances, and I wiſh I could ſay there are not a multitude upon record, tends to diminiſh that confidence which ought to ſubſiſt between man and man, which is the bond of ſociety, and perhaps one of the moſt palatable ingredients in the cup of human life.

On the ſubject of parents expending exceſſive ſums on the whims of their children, or on what may be called their own whims, the common modes and faſhions of high life, in order that their children may 'hold up their heads with their betters,' permit me to obſerve that, however common this may be, we are not always to impute it to a cauſe that will not bear defending. I truſt and hope that where this indulgence appears moſt abſurd, it may be traced to the operation of paternal affection, a principle at all times to be venerated. It were to be wiſhed that filial duty kept pace with it, but I am afraid it will prove too true, that this is not the caſe.

Filial piety, ſays an attentive obſerver of human life, is a flower of ſo delicate a nature, that we meet with but very few places which can produce it; and though we frequently hear of parents, who ruin themſelves for the ſake of their children, yet we ſeldom or ever hear of children who do any extraordinary acts of kindneſs to their parents. Perhaps nature has formed the parental ſenſibility infinitely more exquiſite than the filial, and, for ſome wiſe purpoſe, implanted a much greater fondneſs on our minds for thoſe we beget and educate, than for thoſe by whom we are begotten and educated ourſelves; at leaſt cuſtom has firmly eſtabliſhed ſuch different ſentiments relative to the behaviour of parent and child, that it is thought a matter of the higheſt praiſe in a wealthy ſon, to ſettle a paltry fifty pound for life on a diſtreſſed and worthy father, but an action of little or no merit in a father to ſettle twenty times the ſum upon an indigent ſon.—To theſe ſentiments I have only to add, that parents, with the beſt intentions, may carry their notions of duty toward their offspring even to a criminal length. Inſtead of giving them much money, it would be

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he greater generoſity to teach them to value a little, and to believe that *much* is not neceſſary for good and laudable purpoſes.

I have dwelt ſo long on the ſubject of domeſtic economy, as it regards the two claſſes of perſons above-mentioned, that I ſhall take a future opportunity to ſubmit what remains on the ſubject—Meantime, I am, &c.

PATER-FAMILIAS.

HOW TO MAKE EXCUSES.

'Why ſhould EXCUSE be born, or e'er begot?' CYMBELINE.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH there is not a more uſeful accompliſhment in genteel life, than *the art of making excuſes*, I don't recollect that it has ever been made the ſubject of a popular eſſay, or that any rules have been laid down to render it more familiar 'to the meaneſt capacities.' I am the more ſurpriſed at this, becauſe, independent of its great utility, it is an art very difficult to acquire, and moſt people, I believe, are diſpoſed to allow that bungling excuſes are very common things, and at the ſame time very diſgraceful and eaſily detected.

There is ſcarcely an hour in our lives, that we do not find it neceſſary to offer an excuſe, either for ſomething we have done, or for ſomething we have not done, for ſomething we have neglected to begin, or ſomething we have forgot to complete; for ſomething required of us, or ſomething which we ſhould have required of others. In my youth, I was ſtrictly admoniſhed never to be without an excuſe, but to put a good face upon the matter, and always to have ſomething to ſay for myſelf.—On theſe three points, the whole excuſatory or apologetic art depends. Nor was I long engaged in buſineſs or pleaſure, (for theſe are now generally mixed in pretty decent proportions) before I found how uſeful it was to play the one againſt the other; and between the two, I aſſure you, ſir, I have not been without an excuſe for the laſt thirty years. Indeed, there are no men who can ſo eaſily contrive excuſes as men of trade, if they will but unite pleaſure with it. The contending demands of theſe oppoſites is a fine ſource of apologies. Even trade itſelf affords us no ſmall ſupply of admirable *put-offs*; but then you know, ſir, one would not always plead buſineſs, leſt it might be thought vulgar and mechanical.

In writing letters, for inſtance, what an inexhauſtible excuſe have we in the going out of the poſt? This will anſwer, either for our neglecting to write at all, for writing too briefly, or for writing unintelligibly. Of many thouſand letters I have received in my time, I do not recollect above a dozen which did not conclude with theſe irrefragable words: 'But as the poſt is *juſt* going off, I remain, &c. &c.' What a convenient thing it is, and what a happy choice of time and circumſtances, to write always '*juſt* as the poſt is going out,'—to fold up one's letter to the melody of his horn; and hurry it into his bag with an air of conſequential buſtle, and expeditious importance! What a ſaving of time and labour, thus to poſtpone a thing, until labour becomes uſeleſs, and time cannot be permitted!

It is commonly ſuppoſed, that the emptineſs of our churches on a Sunday morning, proceeds from the infidelity and irreligion of the age, from abſolute contempt, or wilful negligence.—Let me do the age juſtice—This is not the caſe; for I have put the queſtion a thouſand times to ſome friends of mine, (who, by the bye, have a thouſand times given me the opportunity) but they always had an excuſe

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excuſe ready which ſtopt my mouth: 'The hair-dreſſer did not come at the hour appointed.'—This, Mr. Editor, I would have you attend to. It is one of the boldeſt ſtrokes in the whole art of excuſing, and although performed every Sunday in the year, with unbounded applauſe, will, I verily believe, never tire or be worn out.—Thus you ſee, ſir, there are two ſorts of men who do infinite miſchief to his majeſty's liege ſubjects. The poſtmen hinders them from writing their letters; and the hair-dreſſer ſpoils their devotion. And when we conſider that poſtmen are actually in the pay of government, and that hair-dreſſers are at leaſt connived at under our conſtitution, all oppoſition is in vain, and therefore we muſt allow that theſe excuſes are exceeding good.

But poſtmen and barbers are not the only inſtruments of delay, parents of procraſtination, and begetters of apologies. Taylors and ſhoemakers, a very uſeful body of men, are, I am ſorry to ſay it, to incur a very great ſhare of blame. My ſon cannot ſtep as far as the Bank or the Cuſtom-houſe, becauſe his new boots are not come home; and my dinner has often been ſpoiled, becauſe the taylor forgot to put a ſcarlet cape on the coat of my principal gueſt. One gentleman cannot take a ride, becauſe his buckſkin breeches are not ready, and another, becauſe his are juſt gone to be cleaned. Happy is it for us, ſir, that we can draw excuſes from matters ſo eaſily comprehended, and which every body muſt allow to be proper; for who can ſit down in company without a coat, or take a ride in the indecent *garb* of a *ſans culotte?*

My wife, as worthy a woman as lives, is a remarkable proficient in excuſes, whether at home or abroad. When we ſee company, all her converſation at dinner is a ſtring of excuſes, followed by a proportional collection of compliments from our friends. And, what really ſometimes provokes me not a little, (though I dare not ſay any thing) ſhe will make as many excuſes for a diſh that is on the table, as for the abſence of one, which it was not in her power to preſent, and is eternally contending, by every excuſe ſhe can invent, that there is not a thing worth eating, even while ſhe is cramming the gueſts with every thing, and they are anſwering her importunities, by doing ample juſtice to the feaſt.

When ſhe is to go out with me, ſhe finds a hundred excuſes for being too late.—The gown ſhe *muſt* wear, wants airing: ſhe can't find her gloves, though ſhe has ſearched the whole houſe for them; that is, every place where they were not to be found; and when all has been adjuſted, ſhe diſcovers that there is a ſmall rent, almoſt inviſible, in the ſouth-eaſt corner of her handkerchief—Theſe are internals. Now for externals—the ſervant is juſt gone for a coach, and conſequently is not yet returned—or is returned, and there is no coach on the ſtand—then Will is deſired to go and get one at any rate; and after all, it is well if we get into the coach without tearing part of the flounce, forgetting the fan, or diſcompoſing the architectural regularity of a ſide curl.

It was but laſt week, we made up a party of pleaſure to go to Hampton. Two ladies were detained by the aforeſaid hair-dreſſer, the extent of whoſe miſchief is not confined to Sundays only.—One gentleman's horſe had been blooded that morning, and he was gone to hire or borrow another.—A ſecond had ſome very particular buſineſs, but he would overtake us in half an hour.—My ſon had not finiſhed a bill of parcels, which I bid him write out two days before. The gentleman, who was the firſt mover of our expedition, had ſuch a violent head-ach, that it was thought neceſſary he ſhould 'take ſomething;'—and his brother, a very agreeable man, was ſeized ſo violently, that it was thought neceſſary he ſhould 'part with ſomething.'—In this crippled ſtate, two hours after the time appointed, our

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party set out; but with the singularly comfortable reflection, that every body absent had sent very good excuses. I should mention, that a very violent rain joined our party on the road; the only thing for which no excuse was offered.

I have sometimes thought, Mr. Editor, though with submission, that this art of excusing, when carried too far (for every thing may be carried to an extreme) trespasses a little on the art of making something that is expressed by a very unpolite monosyllable, which I therefore suppress. My acquaintance, John Rattle, esq. one of the ablest apologists I ever knew, assured me that he had no recollection of having, in any one instance, been without an excuse. Judging of Jack's talent by my own (and I believe our genius is pretty much upon a par) I could not help suggesting to him, one evening, that I did not see how he was able to accomplish all this without a little of—you know what—'No, no, my dear boy,' answered Jack, 'not a *lie*, no, no, I scorn that—only a kind of a white lie—a sort of *bounce*—you understand me?'—I know that Jack will be engaged to dine at three places, and yet content himself with a mutton chop at home. Then follow a string of excuses.—To one, 'he was obliged to go into the country'—to another, 'he was obliged to wait at home for a country gentleman,'—and to a third, 'he was so suddenly seized with the tooth-ach, that he was obliged to send for his surgeon, just as he was going to dress, who above all things insisted that he should not expose himself to the air.'

Jack's character, however, in spite of his great skill in the art of excusing, is a little tainted. The pleasure of his company occasions it to be in high demand, and he is ever ready with a faithful promise; but no person, who has the least knowledge of him, expects that he will keep his appointment. Some of his friends, who are tender of his honour, often beg that he will not give it under his hand that he will fulfill his engagement, but choose rather to leave it as a debt of honour, without any valid security. The consequence is, that wherever Jack appears, he disappoints expectation; and when he keeps his word, it is generally concluded, that something very extraordinary must have happened.

The only other branch of the apologetic art, which I shall touch upon in this letter, is the art of *forgetting*. This is of very great consequence. It will often succeed when every other method has failed; and, like a quack medicine, may be taken 'without loss of time or hindrance of business.' It is of singular service to those half-formed people, who have not genius or invention for the higher efforts of the art. Hence, it is of peculiar use to servants of all descriptions, whose memories are singularly possessed of certain amiable domestic deficiencies. Whatever some people may say in praise of a prompt memory, it is a much more difficult thing to learn to forget on certain occasions; for instance, to forget when it is not convenient that we should remember. This is a contrivance beyond all the powers of memory, and is only to be acquired by long practice, and by carefully erasing from our brains those marks, which some philosophers tell us, our ideas make, and which constitute memory.

While every year we are presented with an increased variety of memorandum books, each better than that which went before, I wonder that no enterprising man has published an *Obliviendum* book, in which we might set down every thing that is proper or convenient to forget—What is proper and what is convenient, are precisely the same thing in a manageable memory. If you, sir, know of any bookseller, who will speculate on a scheme of this kind, I shall be very happy to give him a few hints drawn from actual experience, and indeed, every assistance in my power to further

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ther so useful and desirable a work. I must tell you, however, that it will require some capital to engage in such an undertaking, because it must be printed on a very extensive plan. For one column of *engagements*, we must have at least five of *excuses*; and if we faithfully record every thing we forget, *i. e.* choose to forget, the number will exceed that of the things we remember, by at least ten times.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MARTIN MOLLIFY.

ON THE MISAPPLICATION OF WIT.

THE perversion of talents has seldom been considered as a crime of so great atrociousness as it really is. It would seem, that the very possession of brilliant talents was an excuse for the abuse of them, and that when a man was endued with them, he obtained a privilege to employ them, with impunity, to the worst of purposes. This is surely as absurd as it would be to say, that a man, whose sword was made of gold, had a right to kill with it; or that beauty ought to be prostituted, that it may give more general satisfaction. Yet it must be confessed, that certain talents cast such a splendour around them, as almost to blind the world against the mischief they do, and rivet our eyes on the glare only.—I was excited to turn my thoughts to this subject, a few nights ago, by accidentally hearing the name of a most infamous character given as a toast; and on my expressing some surprise, I was answered, 'Sir, I give him as a man of wit.'

Perhaps there are none of the branches into which genius may be divided, that is more abused to unworthy purposes, than *wit*. It is so popular, so highly favoured a qualification, that we seem to value it for itself, as paramount to all virtues, and never to regard its object. That 'wit is wit,' be the object what it may, I am disposed to allow; but I consider the choice of a proper object as an essential merit, and must therefore make a very wide distinction between that wit, which is employed to discourage vice or folly, and that which tends to throw a ridicule on things sacred and serious. It has been remarked, with too much justice, that when the indecent passages of our chief dramatic authors (Wycherly, Congreve, Vanburgh, &c.) are expunged, as they must be previous to representation, all the wit is flown. But are we really sufferers by this? Is it a hardship, that we are not permitted to drink the wholesome beverage, without a dash of poison be thrown in? Or that we are not allowed to convert the poison of amusement into its daily bread?

If the misapplication of wit were confined to those great geniuses, and their example were not infectious, it would be in vain to contend with men whose subtilty would be a match for our arguments. But, unfortunately, those whose pretensions to wit are confessedly slender, and who cannot arrogate to themselves an exclusive right to sport with serious subjects, will yet indulge their fancy, as far as it can go, on matters which, if not the objects of their belief, should at least be treated with respect. To this false appetite for saying clever things, we are to attribute the constant repetition of stale jests and witticisms at the expence of religion. But as religion was never treated by any really wise or learned man with contempt, whatever his individual sentiments or specific objections may have been, it follows that it can never be the subject of wit. Nothing ought to be the subject of wit, but what, by the general consent of mankind, is in itself vicious or foolish. Some wits, who have indulged an occasional stroke at religion, have candidly said that they meant no harm, 'but that when a good joke was uppermost, there was no keeping it in.' If this

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be the ſtate of wit; if the poſſeſſor of it has ſo little ſelf-command as to turn the weapon againſt his own convictions; if he is obliged to do wrong, and confeſs himſelf wrong, in a breath; we muſt at leaſt ſay, that the lot of the dull and the grave is happier than his; and that, if in his power, he had better throw away a weapon he knows not how to uſe, and which never ought to be drawn, unleſs on the juſteſt provocations.

Another very fertile ſubject of *little wit* among *little wits*, and which is not altogether unconnected with the former, is *Death*.—It is aſtoniſhing what pains are taken, that death ſhould never be mentioned by its proper name. In faſhionable life, adultery is called an affair of gallantry, murder an affair of honour, and ſeduction 'taking liberties.' Theſe crimes, thus gilded over, are leſs obnoxious to the taſte, and become familiar to the imagination. For a ſimilar reaſon, that death may be deprived of all its terrors, and not be diſplaced from its ſeat in converſation, it is repreſented by various metaphors. None of theſe are too vulgar for pretty general uſe, although none of them will bear the eye upon paper, if the writing be of the ſerious kind. We hear of one man who has 'hopt the twig'—a ſecond has 'kick'd the bucket'—a third 'has ſupt up his liquor'—a fourth has 'gone to kingdom come'—a fifth has been 'fetched at laſt'—and a ſixth 'is dead as mutton,' or 'gone to Davy Jones,' &c. &c. &c. Thoſe, who think theſe expreſſions are witty, muſt, however, confeſs that they are not new; for they have been in vulgar uſe as long as the preſent generation can remember; nor are they, like real ſterling wit, confined to men of diſtinguiſhed genius; for they are as frequent and as becoming in the mouths of the loweſt of mankind, as in the mouths of thoſe who may think themſelves wits by rank or privilege.

Without wiſhing to deprive theſe expreſſions of what little wit may be in them, (though the robbery would not be capital) is not this, at beſt, a very light and profligate manner of ſpeaking of ſo ſolemn an occaſion as death? This is a ſubject, which men will jeſt with when at a diſtance, or when they ſuppoſe it at a diſtance, (for in fact it never is ſo) but which they tremble at when it approaches. What is this but the action of a coward, that bluſters and talks big when his antagoniſt is out of hearing? Beſides, it is impoſſible that the perſons, whoſe death we mention in the above manner, can have been reſpected by us; for it is really ſpeaking of them as we would ſpeak of a dog, or any animal, for which it was impoſſible to cheriſh reſpect, or feel regret.—I appeal to theſe humoriſts, whether any of them would derive much ſatisfaction from the idea, that after the breath has left their bodies, their friends ſhould mention them merely as having 'kick'd the bucket.'—Should this pleaſant and lively manner of treating death get at laſt into the papers, how would the following paragraph read—'Laſt night, Mr. Thomas Diaper, *ſupt up his liquor* in the ſixty-third year of his age.' This may be carrying the abſurdity too far; but when an abſurdity is once ſet a going, who can ſay where it ſhall ſtop?

It will, I hope, be granted, that the name or terms by which we expreſs any thing, ſhould convey the meaning of that thing, and give us a correct idea of it. I need not explain to my readers, what images and ideas the word *death* inſtantly conveys to the mind, nor the train of thoughts which follows the mention of a friend having breathed his laſt. But how is a *bucket* connected with a ſtate of immortality, or what ideas can *Davy Jones* ſuggeſt about a world of ſpirits? The fact is, theſe witticiſms were firſt coined by men, who wiſhed to eaſe their own minds of all ſerious thoughts; and they have ſince been adopted, ſometimes by perſons to whoſe judgment they are repugnant, but oftener by thoſe who never think at all, and who

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who never are likely to have any very ſtriking notion of the grave, unleſs repreſented by a more ſenſible and juſt metaphor, than the 'kicking of a bucket,' or the 'being fetched.'

The puniſhment of death, than which nothing can even in ſuppoſition ſtrike more horror into the mind, is a ſubject of ſo many jeſts, that I know not whether I could not fill up a page with the bare enumeration of them. Their origin is not perhaps ſo honourable as that of the phraſes I have already enumerated, being, indeed, the compoſition and language uſed in jails, and which is ſo different from what is uſed any where elſe, that a late wit and antiquarian thought proper to favour the world with a dictionary of it. Much of this language, however, has come into common uſe, and we ſcarcely ever hear of the puniſhment of hanging mentioned with ſerioufneſs. On the ſtage, it is a ſtanding joke; and a low comedian, pointing to his neck with an arch and ſignificant laugh, is ſure to obtain the applauſe of the galleries. Yet this puniſhment, if conſidered rightly, is ſtill leſs a proper ſubject for mirth than natural death; for it is a death connected with all that is ſhocking to our nature, and diſgraceful to the character of the ſufferer. So very repugnant, indeed, is this puniſhment to our feelings, that ſome very ſenſible and philoſophic writers have doubted whether ſociety can be vindicated on the principles of juſtice, in taking away the life of a man. On this queſtion, I am not here diſpoſed to enter. But I am certain, that if ſociety cannot be vindicated for inflicting the puniſhment of death, individuals can yet leſs be vindicated for making it the theme of cruel and unfeeling jeſts.

Wit, when employed on ſubjects that demand the correction of the law, and yet may happen to be either above, or beneath law, is one of the moſt uſeful talents; and when employed to enliven ſubjects of literature and converſation, is one of the moſt pleaſing ones. But that which has ſo great powers is generally dangerous; and it is to be regretted, that we but ſeldom encounter real wit and real wiſdom in conjunction. That they were intended by the 'Giver of every perfect gift,' to be ſo, we cannot doubt, becauſe he has made nothing in vain, and certainly nothing to a bad purpoſe. But they have been divorced, and the ſeparation has often proved fatal to the virtue of ſociety.

'Wit and judgment,' ſays the acute lord Kames, 'are ſeldom united. Wit conſiſts chiefly in joining things by diſtant and fanciful relations, which ſurpriſe, becauſe they are unexpected: ſuch relations being of the ſlighteſt kind, readily occur to thoſe only who make every relation equally welcome. Wit, upon that account, is in a good meaſure incompatible with ſolid judgment; which, neglecting trivial relations, adheres to what are ſubſtantial and permanent. Thus memory and wit are often conjoined: ſolid judgment ſeldom with either.'

The ſubject, on which I have addreſſed you, may perhaps appear trivial, but *hæ nugæ in ſeria ducunt mala.*

DECENS.

The COURTIER: *An Anecdote.*

THE ſentiment which ſir Archy Macſarcaſm (in Love á-la-mode) conveys, when he tells his ſon, that 'he never ſtood *upright* in a great mon's preſence,' is ſo far from being original, that it is as old as the golden days of queen Eliſabeth.—William Powlett, marquis of Wincheſter, and lord treaſurer in the reign of Edward VI, being inſtrumental in preventing the duke of Northumberland from ſeating lady Jane Grey on the throne, was continued in his office both by queen Mary and queen Eliſabeth, and died in poſſeſſion of it, in his 98th year. Having been aſked one day, how he had kept that office through ſo many changes of government, he anſwered: 'By being a *willow*, and not an *oak*.'

A Letter

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A Letter to a Friend, containing ſome STRICTURES *on the general Uſe of the* FORTE PIANO, *and the modern* MUSICAL COMPOSITIONS.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

The incloſed Letter, ſome Time ago, fell into my Hands; the general Sentiment which pervades it is important to the muſical World, and is, I think, in ſome reſpect, new; and although I do not ſubſcribe to every one of the Writer's Opinions, yet I conceive that he is not unworthy of a place in your Magazine. As his Letter was never intended for Publication, any Apology for Style would be unneceſſary. I am, &c.

A CORRESPONDENT.

DEAR SIR,

I AM favoured with your letter, which was brought immediately to me. I find your daughter is a forte piano player, whence I conclude ſhe has been in the hands of ſome of the idle taſteleſs maſters of the day. Theſe wild fellows teach their ſcholars upon that inſtrument, becauſe they think if they do but teach them to gabble and chatter, they make fine players of them. But there is as much difference between fiddling and *playing*, as there is between gabbling and *expreſſive* reading. No muſical expreſſion can be produced by hammers; it is all tub-work at the beſt, whether forte or piano. It gives a thumping ſtaccato manner of fingering, that is as ungraceful to the ſight, as injurious to expreſſion, and renders the pupils incapable of the touch of a harpſichord; and with an organ, the nobleſt of all our keyed inſtruments, they play the very d—l! Set a forte piano player down to a harpſichord, or a good ſpinet finely in order, and he will expoſe himſelf to a judge of muſical expreſſion before he has played five bars; for he has no fine expreſſion of his own, becauſe the inſtrument he has been uſed to, is incapable of it, and he avoids fine taſte as he would a monſter. It affrights the modern fiddler.

You ſay you are fond of ſolemn muſic, and expreſs your predilection for Handel's, for that the general run of your daughter's leſſons ſeems ſuch an empty parade of execution, that the affections of the heart gain no intereſt in them. You need not have added this, having informed me that ſhe is a forte piano player.—I could have told it *you*—Solemn harmony! and on a forte piano? It is moſt murderouſly inſufferable. Mr. Handel's great genius would not allow him to write for that trifling inſtrument, and out of ten of his oratorios which I have by me, I ſcarcely find any thing fit for it. Such pieces as may be played upon it, with any degree of toleration, I have copied and ſent to you. But theſe are all of the talkative kind (except the Dead March in Saul) and not the muſic you want. However, they are excellent leſſons, not being mere miſcellaneous harmony, like the modern compoſitions; but *ſubject*, or *air*, ſupported through every piece. It is regular ſubject, or air only, that can improve muſical genius. The modern miſcellaneous ſtuff, however grammatical, will no more make a muſician, than novels and romances form the ſcholar. The former is taught to fiddle; the latter teaches himſelf to gabble.

As I remember you have a tolerable little ſpinet, this kept in good order, and *evenly*, but *tenderly* pinned, is more fit to practice upon than a forte piano. The ſpinet or harpſichord equally lead to the proper touch of the organ, to which the manner of touching the forte piano is directly contrary,

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contrary, and I believe never to be got over, if fixed by habit. Handel's fineſt airs and ſongs are bearable on a ſpinet. Let your daughter learn upon the ſpinet one of Handel's fineſt ſongs; for inſtance, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' and you will ſee what vile ſtuff a forte piano will make of it. This trial will ſufficiently prove to you, the truth of what I have aſſerted reſpecting the great imperfection of that inſtrument, and will ſoon convince you, that the way to the organ, is through the keys of the ſpinet or harpſichord, and the road to *muſical expreſſion* of courſe.

I deal ſo little in modern compoſitions, that I know nothing either of the Battle of Prague, or the Siege of Gibraltar; I believe one (if not both) to be Dr. Arnold's; if ſo, as he is one of the beſt modern compoſers, they may be worth your buying; but I think the doctor's *forte* lies more in ſongs, than other compoſitions. In theſe he as much excels the modern writers, as Handel has ſurpaſſed him; but the affected howling of the modern Italian, little better very often than that of a dog that has loſt his maſter, is all the *ton* now. The more affected the modern ſinger is, the more applauſe he meets with from the unfeeling multitude; and for theſe reaſons you never meet with a man of fine taſte and genius, at what is called in London the Profeſſional Concert. But all the forte piano-mongers are there, together with the great tribe of hearers, who receive inſtrumental muſic, rather as an amuſing noiſe, than as what makes any true muſical impreſſion on the heart. Beſides, there are a great many caps and feathers at ſuch meetings, that are far ſuperior to muſic of any kind, I fancy, with the greater part of the company.

You wiſh for my recommendation of ſuch muſic, as may be had in *detached pieces*, which I might think proper for the young lady. I know nothing of thoſe compoſers works who publiſh their *duby* in that manner. It is a ſhrewd ſign of their not being men of any very extraordinary genius or invention. Select pieces from thoſe I think the moſt inſtructive, as well as the fineſt compoſers, are not to be had at the ſhops, without their being copied at an enormous expence. The muſic you like, and what I ſhould recommend, is ſuch as is now ſeldom played, and the modern teachers tell you it is *out of faſhion*; but the true reaſon is, they do not feel it, and therefore they cannot play it, as it ought to be played. Indeed, none but perſons born with fine natural genius *will* prefer it. Without that natural gift, the compoſition of the fineſt maſters is as diſguſting, as Locke upon the Human Underſtanding would be to a perſon capable only of comprehending a novel or an idle romance.

[Here the writer recommends a catalogue of what he thinks the beſt harpſichord and organ muſic, chiefly of the old maſters; however, among them he mentions Charles Weſley's concertos, and adds,]

I cannot help making an obſervation upon this extraordinary muſical character. You ſee he has been born and bred up in this wretched age of trifling compoſers; but notwithſtanding this, his own natural genius has confined him to the choice of ſtudying the good old maſters, who wrote for muſical reputation, with the few of real genius, more than for profit, or to pleaſe common hearers. You hear nothing of him in the modern orcheſtra. He is now, I believe, ſcarcely 30 years of age, and ſome years ago our monthly magazines teemed with very juſt remarks upon his fine, natural muſical abilities. Thus it is, that true genius will mark out its own right road, and nothing can lead it aſtray. In this wide world, how few are there of theſe!

In the catalogue above, you are told what I think ſome of the beſt compoſitions for the organ or harpſichord. The laſt ſet, Alberti's, are very elegant and lively, and may be well

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well on the forte piano, although the author compoſed them for the harpſichord. All Handel's compoſitions above are proper for the harpſicord, but chiefly for the organ, except a few of his overtures. However, very few of the compoſitions of theſe authors are fit for a forte piano, a misfortune attendant upon the impertinence of that chattering inſtrument, which muſt either ſpeak in a hurry, or not at all. I could write out for you many of Handel's fineſt ſongs which I have by me, but they would be no more expreſſed by a forte piano, than upon that very ſilly, clattering, muſical invention, the *ſticcado*.

I have been writing to you a very long letter, without being able to help you to what you want; but a catalogue of ſome of the beſt authors can do you no harm, and may occaſionally be of uſe to you. Poſſibly both you and your fair daughter may be wedded to the forte piano: if ſo, you muſt content yourſelves with the mere grammatical gabble of the day, and ſeek no further after fine muſical *expreſſion*.

EXTRAORDINARY INSTANCES *of* GRATITUDE.

[From 'Watkins' Travels into Swiſſerland, Italy, Sicily,' &c.]

LORENZO MUSATA, a native of Catania, in Sicily, was, in the year 1774, taken in a Malteſe ſhip by an Algerine corſair. When the prize was carried into port, he was ſold to a Turkiſh officer, who treated him with all the ſeverity that the unfeeling diſpoſition of a barbarian, rendered intolerant by bigotry, could inflict. It happened fortunately for the Sicilian, that his maſter's ſon Fezulah, (about ten years old) became extremely fond of him; and, by numberleſs little offices of kindneſs, alleviated his ſlavery. Lorenzo, in conſequence, became as much attached to the boy, as the boy was to him; ſo that they were ſeldom ſeparate from each other. One day, as Fezulah (being then ſixteen) was bathing in the ſea, the current carried him off; and he certainly would have periſhed, had not Lorenzo plunged in, and ſaved him, at the hazard of his life. His affection was now heightened by gratitude, and he frequently interceded with his father for his deliverer's emancipation, but in vain. Lorenzo often ſighed for his country, and Fezulah determined that he ſhould return there. With this reſolution, he one night conveyed him on board an Engliſh merchant-ſhip that lay off Algiers; and having embraced him in tears, retired with all that exquiſite glow of pleaſure and ſelf-approbation, which virtue feels in acting with gratitude and generoſity. The Sicilian returned to his country, where he found that a relation had bequeathed him a ſmall tenement; upon which he ſettled, and enjoyed the ſweets of competency and repoſe, rendered infinitely more grateful, than they otherwiſe would have been, by the remembrance of his paſt ſlavery. At length, growing tired of a ſedentary life, he accompanied his kinſman, a maſter of a veſſel, to Genoa. On landing in the D'arſena, he heard a voice cry out—'Oh, my friend, my Lorenzo,' and inſtantly found himſelf in the arms of Fezulah. He was at firſt loſt in ſurpriſe and joy; but how rapid was the tranſition to grief, when he perceived by his chains that Fezulah was a ſlave!—He had been taken by a Genoeſe galley on his voyage to Aleppo. You have already ſeen that the ruling paſſions of Lorenzo's breaſt were generoſity and gratitude; and to theſe he now determined to ſacrifice every other conſideration. Having divided his purſe with his former companion, he took his leave, telling him he ſhould be again at Genoa within two months. And ſo he was. He returned to Sicily; ſold his little tenement, though to great diſadvantage, and with the money

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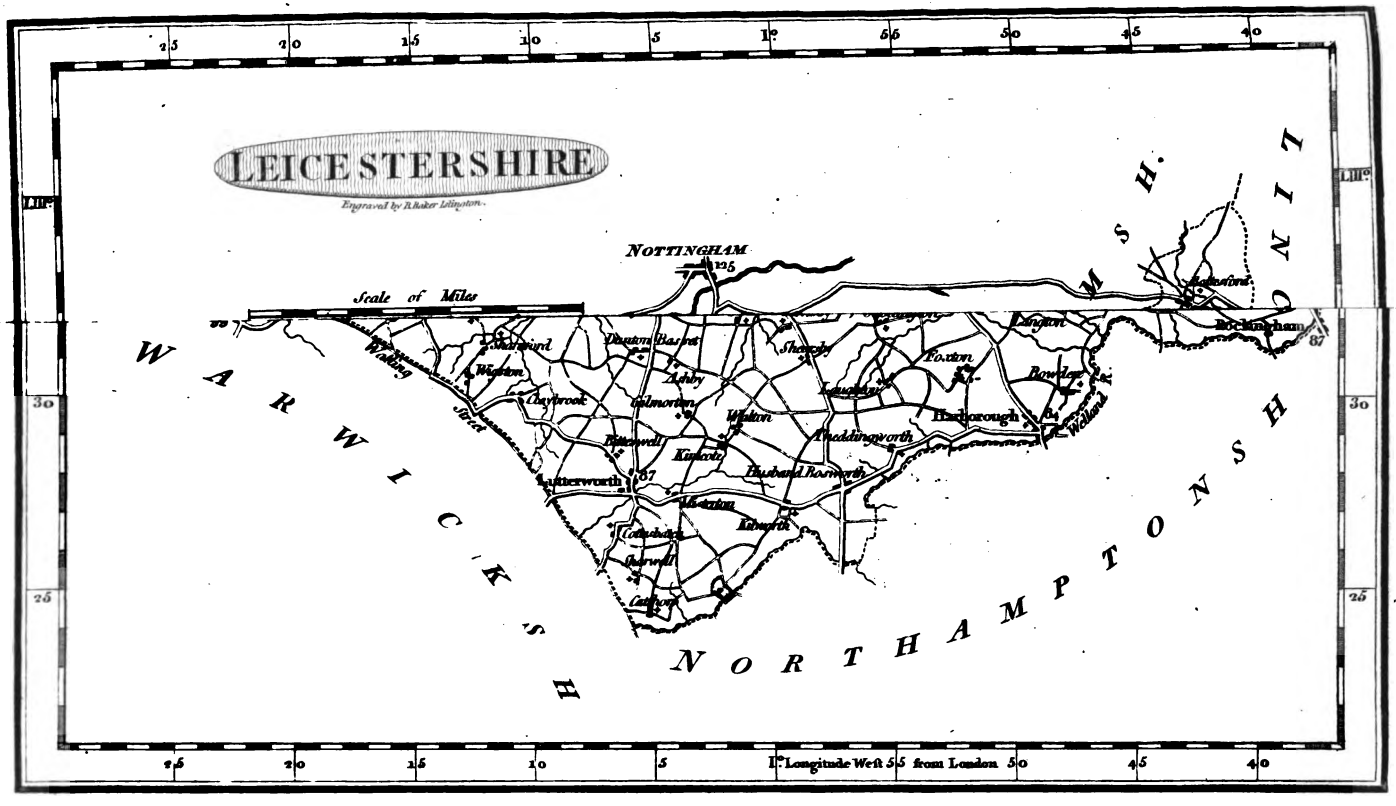

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UNIV. OF MICH.

money ranſomed his friend, whom he ſent back to his country. Fezulah has lately viſited Lorenzo at Catania, where they now are, and has not only repurchaſed for him his eſtate, but conſiderably enriched him.

Theſe actions might by ſome, who have more prudence than philanthropy, be deemed enthuſiaſtic; I muſt, however, conſider them as genuine virtue, and am only ſorry I cannot be an aſſociate in the friendſhip of Fezulah and Lorenzo.

An Account of LEICESTERSHIRE: *With a neat and accurate* MAP *of that County.*

LEICESTERSHIRE is bounded on the north by Nottinghamſhire; on the eaſt by the counties of Lincoln and Rutland; on the ſouth by Northamptonſhire; on the ſouth-weſt by Warwickſhire; and on the north-weſt by Derbyſhire. It extends about thirty-five miles from eaſt to weſt, and thirty from north to ſouth. It contains ſix hundreds, twelve market-towns, and 200 pariſhes; and ſends two members to parliament for the county, and two for Leiceſter.

The ſoil of this county is extremely healthful, and is, in general, ſtrong and ſtiff, compoſed of clay and marle. Hence it affords great quantities of rich grazing land, and is peculiarly fitted for the culture of beans, for which it is proverbially noted. The ſurface is, in moſt parts, varied and uneven. Toward the north-weſt, the Bardon Hills riſe to a conſiderable height; and in their neighbourhood lies Charnwood or Charley Foreſt, a rough and open tract. Farther to the north-weſt, are valuable coal mines, which ſupply the country round to a great diſtance. The north-eaſtern part feeds great numbers of ſheep, a principal article of the wealth of the county. The Leiceſterſhire ſheep are of a very large ſize, without horns, and clothed with thick long flakes of ſoft wool, particularly fit for the worſted manufactures. Of theſe the Poet of the Fleece thus ſpeaks:

Need we the level greens of Lincoln note,
Or rich Leiceſtria's marly plains, for length
Of whiteſt locks, and magnitude of fleece
Peculiar, envy of the neighb'ring realms.

The eaſtern and ſouth-eaſtern part of the county is a rich grazing tract, which breeds numbers of large ſize, to ſupply the London and other markets. This county, indeed, has long been famous for its large black horſes and horned cattle, as well as its ſheep; and its reputation has been much extended by the great ſkill and attention of Mr. Bakewell at Diſhley near Loughborough, who has bred every ſpecies of domeſtic quadruped to the utmoſt perfection of form and ſize.

With reſpect to manufactures, the exertions of the inhabitants are confined to the ſtocking trade, which is naturally connected with its chief product, wool, and is carried on principally at Leiceſter, the county-town.

The principal rivers are the Avon, which ſoon leaves the county, and runs to Warwick; the Soar, anciently the Leire, which runs north-eaſt to Leiceſter, and having received the Wreke, turns to the north-weſt, and falls into the Trent, where the three counties of Leiceſter, Derby, and Nottingham meet; the Anker, which runs North-weſt to Atherſton, on the edge of Warwickſhire; and the Welland, which runs north-eaſt by Harborough to Stamford.

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Some Account of the LIFE *of* PETER TERRAIL, *the Chevalier* BAYARD; *commonly called the* Good Knight, *without Fear and without Reproach.*

[From the French of M. G. de Bevilie.]

THE chevalier Bayard was born in the year 1476. The family name was Terrail, and Bayard the name of the caſtle in which he was born. This caſtle afterward became the poſſeſſion of William d'Avenſon, who, being deſirous to rebuild and beautify it, ordered the chamber, in which the chevalier was born, to be preſerved intire, in reſpect to his memory.

The houſe of Terrail, which has been ſome time extinct, held a very diſtinguiſhed rank among the firſt nobility of Dauphiny. It was one of the houſes, which, in that province, was honoured with the name of the *Scarlet Nobility*, by which the ancient nobility were diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who were created by the letters patent of Louis XI, which, when he invaded Dauphiny, he diſtributed without diſtinction to whomſoever would buy them. The family of Terrail was fruitful in heroes; the great great grandfather of the chevalier was killed at the feet of king John at the battle of Poictiers, fought againſt the Engliſh under the prince of Wales, on Sept. 19, 1356, in which their king was taken priſoner; his great grandfather fell in the battle of Agincourt, under Charles VI, October 25, 1415; his grandfather in that of Mont l'Hery; and his father was dangerouſly wounded at Guinegate; but the military glory of the chevalier eclipſed that of all his anceſtors. His inclination for arms diſcovered itſelf very early; and an anſwer which he made to his father, when he was no more than thirteen years old, was a ſufficient preſage of his future achievements; his father aſked him what kind of life he would chooſe, to which he anſwered, 'that having derived from his anceſtors an illuſtrious name, and the advantage of many ſhining examples of heroic virtue, he hoped he ſhould at leaſt be permitted to imitate them.' His father burſt into tears of joy, and replied, 'May God, my dear child, give thee grace to do it.' The next day, he ſent to the biſhop of Grenoble, his brother-in-law, requeſting that he would come to him, and when he came, he engaged him to preſent Bayard to the duke of Savoy, in the quality of his page. His clothes and equipage were got ready in one day. He mounted a horſe, which having never before felt a ſpur, gave three or four ſprings, which greatly alarmed the company; but the young hero, without being at all diſconcerted, ſettled himſelf on the ſaddle, and repeated the diſcipline of his heel till his ſteed became quiet, and ſubmitted to his direction. The parting of the father and mother with the ſon was affecting, and it is a lively picture of that noble ſimplicity of manners, from which we have ſo much degenerated, by the falſe refinements of an effeminate politeneſs. His mother recommended to him three things; the firſt was, to fear, to love, and to ſerve God; the ſecond, to be gentle and courteous to the nobility, without pride or haughtineſs to any; and the third was, to be generous and charitable to the poor and neceſſitous: 'for,' ſaid ſhe, 'to give for the love of God never made any man poor.' Bayard promiſed to follow theſe good precepts, of which his whole life was an example; he had a ſenſe of religion, which led him to fulfil all the duties it enjoins with the moſt exemplary punctuality and zeal; neither his youth, nor the tumult and hurry of a military life, nor the diſſolute company into which he naturally fell, nor even the failings from which he was him-

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himself not exempt, could ever extinguish in his breast the love of God, or the desire of serving him. Bayard continued about six months in the service of the duke of Savoy, who then presented him to Charles VIII, who sent him to the count de Ligny, of the imperial house of Luxembourg, that he might be brought up in his family. At the age of seventeen, he carried away all the honour of a tournament, which the lord of Vaudrey held in the city of Lyons. In 1494, Charles VIII resolved to assert his right to the crown of Naples: he therefore passed into Italy at the head of a numerous army, consisting of the prime nobility of his kingdom. So great an expedition was never fitted out with so much speed and splendour. The conquest was almost as soon lost as gained. Charles, as he was returning to France with less than 10,000 men, was attacked near Fornoue, by an army of six times the number. Upon this occasion, he behaved with the greatest intrepidity, and gained a complete victory. On this memorable day, Bayard distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner; he took a standard from a party of fifty men, and presented it to the king, who rewarded him with a present of 500 crowns. Soon after Charles VIII was succeeded by Louis XII, Bayard followed the new king to the war, which broke out in Italy, and was at the head of the most dangerous enterprizes. He undertook, singly and alone, to defend a bridge over the Garillon against 200 Spanish cavaliers; and he actually did sustain their whole force till the French troops came up to his assistance. Another time, with a party of no more than thirty-six men, he stopped the whole Swiss army near Pavia. Most of the advantages gained by the French, in the course of this war, were owing to his valour; and it was by these achievements that he obtained the name of the Good Knight, without fear, and without reproach; a distinction, which did him the more honour, as it was never possessed by any other, and as he acquired it at a time when the military honour of France was at its height; in the time of the Nemours, the Lautrecs, Tremouilles, Chabannes, Louis d'Ars, d'Alegres, and the Trivulles; but he seemed even to surpass himself in the battle of Barennes, which was planned and conducted by him alone. The confidence with which he inspired the troops, and the love which they had for him, were not merely the effects of his courage; they knew that his prudence was not inferior to his valour, and that he never would expose them wantonly or rashly; he was beside so disinterested, that he left the bounty wholly to others, without reserving any part for himself. One day, when he had taken 15,000 ducats of gold from the Spaniards, he gave half of them to captain Terdieu, and distributed the rest among the soldiers who accompanied him in the expedition. With the same noble generosity he divided 2400 ounces of silver plate, which he received as a present from count de Ligny, among his friends and followers. Having defeated Audre, the Venetian general, he took Brisse, and a lady of that city presented him with 2500 pistoles, to preserve her house from being pillaged; he divided them into three parts, 1000 of them he gave to each of the two daughters of that lady to help, as he said, to marry them, and the 500 which remained he caused to be distributed among the poor nunneries, that had suffered most in the pillage of the place. In this lady's house he lodged, till he recovered of a dangerous wound which he received in the action. Bayard, in his progress to military command, passed through all the subordinate stations; and if he did not arrive at the first military dignity in France, he was universally thought to deserve it. And, after all, the title of marshal of France was an honour which he would have possessed in common with many others; but to arm his king as a knight, was a personal

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ſonal and peculiar honour, which no other could ever boaſt. Francis I, who was himſelf one of the braveſt men of his time, determined, after his victory of Marignan, in 1515, to receive the honour of knighthood from the hands of Bayard.—Bayard modeſtly repreſented to his majeſty, that ſo high an honour belonged only to princes of the blood. But the king replied in a poſitive tone, 'My friend Bayard, I will this day be made a knight by your hands.' 'It is then my duty,' ſaid Bayard, 'to obey;' and taking his ſword, he ſaid, 'Sire, autant vaille que ſi c'etoit Roland ou Oliver—may it avail as much as if it was Roland or Oliver.' Roland and Oliver were two heroes, of whom many fabulous achievements have been related in books of chivalry. Roland was related to Charlemagne, and Oliver was conſtable of France above 400 years ago. When the ceremony was over, Bayard addreſſed his ſword with an ardour which the occaſion had inſpired: 'How happy art thou,' ſaid he, 'to have knighted ſo virtuous and ſo mighty a prince! certainly, my good ſword, thou ſhalt hereafter be gilt, laid up as a ſacred relique, and honoured above all others; nor will I myſelf ever draw thee, from this time, except againſt Turks, Saracens, or Moors. He then leaped twice from the ground, in an ecſtacy of joy, and returned the ſword into the ſcabbard. This ſword has been loſt, Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, having applied for it to the heirs of Bayard, without being able to procure it. Bayard alſo made an expedition into Piedmont, where he took Proſper Collonnes priſoner. Chabannes, who was marſhal of France, and Humbercourt and d'Aubigny, two general officers, all much ſuperior to Bayard, gave up the honour of conducting the expedition to him, and ſerved in it under his orders. The defence of Mezieres completed the military reputation of this extraordinary man. This place was far from being in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege, and it had been reſolved in a council of war to burn it, and ruin the adjacent country, that the enemy might find neither ſhelter nor ſubſiſtence. But Bayard oppoſed this reſolution, and told the king, that no place was weak which had honeſt men to defend it: he then offered to undertake its defence, and engaged to give a good account of it. His propoſal was accepted, and he went immediately and locked himſelf up in the town. Two days after he had entered it, the count de Naſſau and captain de Sickengen inveſted the place with 40,000 men. Bayard ſo animated his ſoldiers, ſowed ſuch diſſention between the two generals who beſieged him, and ſo effectually defeated all the attempts of the Imperialiſts, that in three weeks he obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, with the loſs of many men, and without once making the aſſault. All France now rang with the praiſes of Bayard; the king received him at Fervagues, with careſſes and encomiums of the moſt extraordinary kind; he made him a knight of his own order, and gave him, by way of diſtinction, a company of 100 men armed in chief, which was ſcarce ever given but to princes of the blood. In 1523, Bayard followed admiral Bonnivet into Italy, and in a defeat which the French ſuffered near Rebec, in April 1524, he received a muſket-ſhot in the reins, which broke the ſpinal bone. The moment he was ſtruck, he cried out, 'Jeſus! ah! my God, I am a dead man.' He then kiſſed the guard of his ſword, which had the figure of a croſs, recommended himſelf to God with great contrition, and uttered ſome prayers with a loud voice; he then ordered them to lay him under a tree, with his face toward the enemy, and to ſupport his head by placing a ſtone under it, which he ſaw lying upon the ground: 'Having never yet turned my back upon an enemy,' ſaid he, 'I will not begin the laſt day of my life.' He deſired the ſeigneur d'Alegre to tell the king, that he ſhould die contented, becauſe he died in his ſervice,

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vice, and that he regretted nothing, but that with his life he should lose the power of serving him longer. He then made his military testament, and confessed himself to his gentleman, there being no priest then at hand; though he afterward repeated his confession to a friar, that was brought to him by the marquis de Pesquaire. When the constable Charles de Bourbon, who pursued the French army after the defeat, came up to the spot where Bayard was dying, he expressed his concern to see him in that condition. 'Alas, captain Bayard,' said he, 'how sorry am I to see you thus! I have always loved you, and honoured you for your wisdom and prowess, and I now sincerely pity your misfortune.' 'Sir,' said Bayard, 'I thank you, but there is no reason why you should pity me, who die like an honest man in the service of my king, though there is great reason to pity you, who are carrying arms against your prince, your country, and your oath.' The constable, far from taking offence at the freedom of Bayard's address, endeavoured to justify himself by motives arising from his disgrace: but Bayard exhorted him with a feeble and faltering voice, to reconcile himself to his sovereign, and quit the part which he had unjustly and precipitately taken, in obedience to the dictates of his passion. Just at this time, the marquis de Pesquaire came up, and gave him every possible testimony of affection and esteem. Bayard very soon afterward expired, being only forty-eight years of age. His body was carried into France, and as it passed through Piedmont, the duke of Savoy received it with the same honours that he would have paid to a prince of his blood. The bishop, the clergy, the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the nobility, and the citizens of Grenoble, preceded the body, and conducted it to the cathedral, where the next day they assisted at the funeral service, with all the apparatus due to sovereign princes, and, according to an historian, 'non ducali, sed regio apparatu.' The grief of Francis I, was the most flattering eulogium that could be given. This prince, when he was prisoner at Pavia, said to seigneur de Montchenu, who followed him into Spain, 'If Bayard, who had so much experience and courage, had been alive, and with me, my affairs would have taken a more favourable turn: I should have acted by his advice; his presence would have been worth that of a hundred other commanders.

The WATERMAN *of* BESONS: *A Moral Tale.*

Concluded from Page 98.

AFTER the sultan's supper, continued Bathilda, the frightful Kislir-Aga, came with two of his blacks; and throwing himself prostrate at my feet, informed me that the sultan was waiting for me.

Perfumed, and clad as lightly, and as elegantly as our old Kadunes, the governesses of the seraglio, had thought proper, I was conducted by the blacks to Mahomet's chamber. He was a-bed; but there were lights in the apartment. He beckoned to me to approach, and instantly the blacks retired.

I was now all alone with the master of my life.—You are alarmed, ladies; but pray dismiss all apprehensions; my resolution was either to die or to escape.

Attentive to the lesson that had been given me, I bowed, and approached with a timid air. He noticed my pallid countenance and faltering steps. Come, my white rose, said he, to encourage me; come, and the fire of my love shall soon restore the ruddiness of your complexion. I advanced; and bowing again, according to custom, at the foot of the bed, before

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before I got into it, I availed myſelf of my talent for imitating a cat, and mewed in the ſofteſt tone poſſible.

A cat! cried the ſultan, leaping out of bed in a fright; a cat in my apartment! He rang his bell, and fell upon his ſofa in a ſwoon.

The ſound of his bell alarmed the whole ſeraglio. The eunuchs trembled: they all ſwore by Mahomet that it was impoſſible for a cat to find its way into the apartment: and the ſultana Valida, as ſoon as her ſon recovered his ſenſes, endeavoured to perſuade him that his fear was ill-founded. What, mother! ſaid he, with marks of impatience, will you ever believe me to be no better than a fanciful child? Ceaſe your endeavours to excuſe the negligence of my ſlaves. It was a cat, I tell you! and Emira is my witneſs; ſhe heard it as well as I. I affirmed that I abſolutely heard a cat; and fear having deceived his ſenſes, as is often the caſe, he added, that he had ſeen it run away, and make its eſcape when the door was opened.

The agitation which he was ſtill in, and which laſted all night, required repoſe. I was therefore carried back to my cell; and I there ſaid a thouſand tender things to my good angel, thanking him over and over again for the advice he had given me.

The next day, at tea, I was expoſed to the raillery of my frolickſome companions; but I let them make themſelves merry at my expence, and concealed my joy under a look of humility and confuſion; flattering myſelf that this adventure having put the ſultan out of humour, I ſhould no longer engage his attention.

I flattered myſelf in vain. He was deſirous of doing away what he called my diſgrace; and on the approach of evening ſent for me to the ſaloon of his pleaſures. In this ſaloon, ſtrewed with flowers, and redolent of the ſweeteſt perfumes, I found him half-reclined upon a ſofa of gold brocade. This time, indeed, he was gallant. He took the trouble of riſing to meet me; deigned to ſmile; and taking me by the hand, conducted me to the ſofa.

There, careleſsly recumbent on cuſhions, and with his head inclined toward me, he began by ſaying he felt himſelf obliged to me for the tender concern I had taken in his accident; told me that he was enchanted at finding I had a feeling heart; and aſked me if I really loved him. As I was mute, he took my ſilence for confeſſion.—Lift up your eyes, then, ſaid he; and let thoſe eyes at leaſt anſwer me. Then looking at me himſelf, as if he could have eaten me, he drew me toward him, and was going to infold me in his arms; when all on a ſudden I ſaw him tremble. My lord, ſaid I, what is the matter? He remained for a moment penſive and motionleſs. It is one! cried he, immediately after; it certainly is one! —What do you mean? ſaid I.—A mouſe! ſaid he. It is under theſe cuſhions; and was ſcratching cloſe to my ear. No doubt it is the ſame that the cat was on the watch for yeſterday. I feigned a deſire to tranquillize him; while he made an excuſe for his weakneſs; and either out of complaiſance or from confuſion, ſeated himſelf again by my ſide. But ſoon after the mouſe began ſcratching more loudly than before. Then, indeed, his courage failed him: he ruſhed precipitately out of the ſaloon, as if it had been on fire, and fought the deepeſt receſs of an adjoining cloſet.

I rang; his attendants came; and the ſultana-mother came with them. They found me alone, and trembling; and with the moſt natural air it was poſſible for me to aſſume, I related what had juſt happened to the ſultan. His mother, uneaſy and concerned, rapped at the cloſet-door, and at laſt obtained admiſſion. I went in with her; and, in compliance with her example, endeavoured to calm the agitation that had ſeized the ſultan's mind; but he was too much taken up with the mouſe to pay any attention to me.

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They were very ſtupid, ſaid Sophia, interrupting her, not to divine that you had been the cat, and that you were the mouſe!—Juſt ſo, ſaid Bathilda; but it is always the moſt ſimple idea that is the leaſt attended to; and, beſides, was it ſo eaſy to imagine that a young ſlave would venture to play the ſultan ſuch a trick; and that it was nothing but my fingers that had ſcratched the ſofa? Do you know, ladies, that my life was at ſtake, and that I ſhould have been whipped to death if the ſultan had diſcovered my deception? I was very much afraid; for the ſultana-mother, thinking it ſingular that the ſame accident ſhould happen twice, preciſely at the very hour, nay, at the very minute, when I was with the ſultan, ſuſpected ſome artifice.—This is not natural, ſaid ſhe; and if my ſon himſelf had not ſeen the cat—I ſaw it with my own eyes, cried he,; yes, I ſaw it run away; and, what is more, I perceived the ſmell of a mouſe. Theſe words impoſed ſilence on the ſultana, and I was again ſent away; for the ſultan was no longer diſpoſed for a tête-à-tête. I was not, however, yet out of danger. I was become the talk of the whole ſeraglio. The ſultana's reflection furniſhed matter of diſcourſe for our talkative governeſſes; and the Kadan-Kahia, in particular, revolving the buſineſs in her head, was continually repeating, The ſultana is in the right. Twice running, in the very nick of time!—No, this is not natural. At length an old Kadune thought ſhe had unravelled the myſtery. I have remarked, ſaid ſhe, to the Kadan-Kahia, that this young ſlave is not happy here; ſhe is ſad and penſive; and ſometimes ſhe weeps; I even ſuſpect her of being a Chriſtian at heart: now theſe people deal in ſorcery; and I do think ſhe employs it to make you uneaſy. I have taken from her, unperceived, the little book you ſee here: it muſt be written in diabolical characters; for I, who underſtand the Arabic, Turkiſh, and Perſian languages, cannot read a ſingle word. There are, no doubt, ſome words in it that allure cats and mice. It was a volume of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, in French, which I kept concealed, but which the duenna had laid her hands upon. This book was carefully inſpected; and, as nobody could decypher it, was carried to the ſultana-mother, who went in great haſte to communicate the diſcovery to the ſultan.

Oh! Oh! ſuſpicions! ſaid he; I never liſten to them; nor will I keep any but women that love me. If this girl be dull and ill-tempered, you have nothing to do but to ſend her away. I recollect, continued he, that the young Perſian prince, to whom I have given my palace at Adrianople as an aſylum, has aſked me for ſome means of amuſement. Send the young ſlave thither: however cold and gloomy, ſhe may be good enough for him. With this flattering eulogium I was diſmiſſed, and conducted, ſtill innocent, to the ſeraglio of the youthful Abbas.

I confeſs it was leſs eaſy to eſcape from his hands; for he was afraid of nothing. He was lively and tender, and thought me very pretty. But when he ſaw me weep, he was affected by my tears. He began by requeſting a recital of my misfortunes; nor did I hide any thing from him but my contrivance to get away from the ſultan. I was born free, ſaid I, concluding my narrative. I am a Chriſtian; and, according to our law, a woman can have but one huſband. By violence you may do with me what you pleaſe; but I have too much pride to ſurvive my ſhame; and in dying, I ſhould perhaps leave in your heart the eternal regret of having oppreſſed my weakneſs.

I! cried he; I an oppreſſor! Ah! do you not know that I am oppreſſed myſelf? He then told me, that this Turkoman, this Nadir, the ſame for whom my future huſband was then making matelotes, had robbed him of his throne; and that it was to reſtore it to him that the ſultan was making war upon the uſurper. I ſhould de-

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ſerve my misfortune, added he, if I took advantage of yours. It would be moſt agreeable to me, I confeſs, to poſſeſs, in my exile, ſuch a lovely woman as you; but whatever is not juſt or generous will never be poſſible for me. The ſultan has been ſo good as to give you to me; and I am going to entreat his permiſſion to ſend you back, or to ſet you at liberty.—Oh! no, for heaven's ſake, ſaid I, interrupting him, aſk him nothing: I have no inclination to fall again into his hands.—It is neceſſary for you then, ſaid he, to ſtay at leaſt ſome time here, and to appear to be on a good footing with me; for if he ſhould hear that I diſmiſſed you as ſoon as I received you, he would have reaſon to think that I diſdain his preſents. If, in three months, I do not perſuade you that our manners have alſo their advantages, and that the law we follow is ſufficiently pure to render a Perſian virtuous, I give you my word that you ſhall be free to leave me.

Ah! 'tis here, ladies, that I return thanks to my good angel; for it was he that was my ſupport. The young Perſian was handſome, amiable, and affectionate; he thought of nothing but me; and as ſoon as we were together, he forgot his misfortunes. If ever I am king, he uſed to ſay, and Emira will conſent to ſhare my fate, ſhe ſhall have nothing but ſlaves, and never a rival; I ſwear it by Mahomet.

It was this name of Mahomet that ſpoiled all; and after my young lover had ſpoken to me with eyes, a voice, and an expreſſion of countenance capable of ſoftening a heart harder than marble, my good angel was there, and ſaid to me in a whiſper; this Mahomet was an impoſtor; take care how you believe him; recollect that under his law all the women are ſlaves; and that among the Chriſtians, the humbleſt cottage is better than the moſt magnificent palace among the Muſſulmans.

The young prince, however, grew every day more in love, and more preſſing. His eyes loſt that timid ſoftneſs which had at firſt tranquillized me: ſometimes they ſparkled with fire; and then I ſaw them ſwimming in tears, whenever I hinted at the moment of our ſeparation. No, never, I believe, would he have had the courage to part with me. And I, can I tell to what I might have been brought by his grief and deſpair! I am ſo good-natured! and he was ſo intereſting in his misfortunes! But one night he was carried off from Adrianople, and ſhut up in a tower! Good young man! I wept for him! and I ſhall never forget him. I heard afterward that his confinement was the principal clauſe of the treaty of peace that Nadir had concluded with the ſultan.

The ſeraglio of Adrianople was ſtripped of its furniture. I was one of the ſlaves that was taken out of it; and from Trebizonde, where I was ſold, the Syrian who bought me made me ſet off with him for Aleppo. There it was that my dear Andrew ſaw me with grief delivered up to an old libertine of a Cypriot, frightfully ugly, and as peeviſh as the devil.

In the ſhip on board which I embarked with this deteſtable maſter, I ſoon perceived that he wanted to be on very familiar terms with me: I took it ill; my cold manner irritated him; but he kept within bounds, the witneſſes, under whoſe obſervation we were, making him repreſs his petulance.

He grew bolder when we had landed at Salamis, the place of his reſidence. Come, ſaid he, follow me, for it is time that I ſhould be obeyed. I wept and obeyed; and he led me trembling to a ſolitary pavilion at the bottom of his garden, where I was ſhut up, under the care of an old ſlave ſtill more ill-natured than his maſter. I will not tire your expectation, ſaid he, in an inſulting manner; but will wait upon you as ſoon as I have taken a turn about my houſe. We will ſup together: and I hope,

my

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my dear girl, that you will allow me to soften your rigour.

The windows of the pavilion looked into the garden; there was an iron grate before them; and the slave, who kept me under lock and key, was deaf to my complaints. My good angel himself seemed to have abandoned me; but my fortitude still remained. However, to confess the truth, I could not help thinking for a moment of the seraglio of Adrianople, and sighed at the idea being no longer in the power of the youthful Abbas. *He*, at least, never offered violence to my weakness; and Andrew himself allows that my regret was at that moment pardonable.

The night came; and the creaking of bolts announced the old villain's arrival. He came in, and shut the door. Hark'ee, my dear, said he, cruelty is no longer in season. I do not mean it as a reproach; but you cost me a thousand sequins, and I am determined to have a little love for my money.

He had a dagger in his girdle; and the wretch pointed it out to my observation with his eyes. I saw then that nothing remained, but to die, to yield to his desires, or to strangle him. I did not hesitate, and was standing on my defence; when, on a sudden, a shrill voice was heard under the windows. Open the door, you villain? said this voice to the slave; or, you shall die this instant. On hearing this, the Cypriot started and turned pale. Ah! said he, trembling, 'tis my wife! We are betrayed! She came in before he had time to get out of her way.

What! you old rogue, said she, you must have young slaves, must you; and that's the reason you left me so hastily after six months absence, without giving me the least mark of affection! Infamous libertine, you do not deserve so gentle and so tender a wife as I. While pronouncing these words, her eyes were starting out of her head; and her hand, holding a knife, threatened his breast.

Wife, said he, be quiet. I have done nothing to deserve your anger. You ought rather to praise my virtue. The slave will tell you so herself. I have not availed myself of my rights. —Of your rights, you wretch! — Yes, certainly, of my rights; I might, if I had pleased; the prophet says so himself.—The prophet may say what he pleases, but I know what I know; and it is not to folks like you that he allows more than one wife. Come, fair maid, follow me, you shall be under my protection. Yes, yes, I'll give you slaves of eighteen years of age, with a vengeance.

Madam, said I, while she was leading me across the garden, I admire the noble firmness with which you keep your husband to his duty.—'Tis the only way, said she, to make them love us. They are bold when we are weak; but they are weak, in their turn, when we cease to be timid; and with good management we easily bring them to reason.—And are you not afraid, said I, lest, in his violence.... —He, in his violence! Why, don't you see that he trembles in my presence? I am the Cadi's niece. I am not the prouder, however, on that account; and though *I* say it, I am complaisance itself: my husband makes me do what he pleases when he goes the right way about it. But, in return, I am determined that he shall love me, and that he shall love *me* alone; for he has promised it; and if he fails in his duty, I know what is mine: so you need not be afraid of his daring to disturb your sleep. He shall stay by me, and you may rest in peace.

And indeed, I passed the night very peaceably. The next morning, she insisted upon his selling me immediately, and in her presence. He obeyed, without a word. Now, said she, taking him by the beard, my dear little husband, let us make peace; for I am all good-nature, and will consent to forget what is past.

I should have laughed at this adventure, if it had set me at liberty;

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but I had fallen into the hands of a Barbary corſair, who was in the Levant, taking in a cargo of women for Egypt. Ah! now, indeed, my poor Andrew, what was going to become of your Bathilda?

The Algerine, after having put us on board, thought no more about us. He was entirely taken up with the working of the ſhip; for we were no more, in his eyes, than a flock of ſheep: but a ſeragiio awaited us at Grand Cairo; and the cruel wind was hurrying us thither with ſwelling ſails. It had been all over with me, if a Malteſe galley had not taken the African ſhip. We were fifteen in number; and the oldeſt was not more than twenty. You may eaſily conceive the joy of the French knights at winning from the Infidels ſo rich a prize.

I cannot ſay what was the fate of my companions. I fell to the lot of a chevalier de Lancy, the handſomeſt of the Malteſe.

The galley ſteered toward Marſeilles; and, during the voyage, I related my adventures to this dangerous knight. I told him how I had been guarded till that time by my good angel.—Who ſhould know that better than I? ſaid he, with a ſmile. It is I who am that good angel, and who now make myſelf viſible to obtain my reward for all I have done for you. I anſwered, that my good angel had hitherto been diſintereſted; and that I hoped he would ever remain ſo.

But while I was relating to him the misfortunes of the young Sophy, he had noticed my emotion, and ſeen the tears in my eyes; and when he had given me to underſtand that there was no hope of deliverance for that amiable prince, he had heard me heave a deep and ſorrowful ſigh. This mark of ſenſibility he took for a proof of weakneſs; and endeavoured to avail himſelf of it. Let us be ſincere, ſaid he. If the young Sophy had been a Chriſtian, you would have loved him, would you not?—If he had been a Chriſtian, ſaid I, he would have married me; and I ſhould have loved my huſband.—As to marrying you, ſaid he, that's out of my power: this little croſs * forbids me. But I will undertake to love you; and promiſe you I will acquit myſelf at leaſt as well as a Sophy.

Sir, ſaid I, may I take the liberty of aſking you, whoſe is the hair that I ſee incloſed in that pretty cryſtal heart which hangs at your boſom by a roſe-coloured ribbon? (I ſhould have told you that the weather was intenſely hot at ſea; and that the knight, to breathe more freely, was rather negligently dreſſed.)

You aſk me a ſecret, ſaid he, which I am not at liberty to reveal.—I think I can divine it, ſaid I. This hair is a pledge of love and fidelity; and in all probability you gave the like in exchange.—'Tis true, anſwered he, colouring.—Well, ſir, look at me, and ſee whether it be worth your while, on my account, to be guilty of infidelity and perjury toward her whoſe heart depends upon your faith. The knight caſt down his eyes. In my youthful reading, added I, nothing entertained me more than the hiſtory of Malta; and in the character of the knights I thought I diſcovered as much generoſity as frankneſs and valour. Be like them, as true as you are amiable; and do not deny me the obligation of being indebted to you for my innocence. In regard to my liberty, which I owe to you likewiſe, but which I do not hold equally dear, diſpoſe of it as you pleaſe, and offer it as an homage to her to whom you have engaged your own. I conſent to employ my whole life in her ſervice. You ſhall ſay to her; I delivered this girl from ſlavery: I reſpected her virtue and her misfortunes; and ſhe thinks it her duty to devote her life in return for my favours. Now, as ſhe cannot be mine,

* The croſs worn by the Knights of Malta at their button-hole.

I ſhould

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I ſhould wiſh ſhe might be yours. Is it not true, ſir, that this will be making the moſt noble, and at the ſame time the moſt agreeable, uſe of the rights you have acquired over me?

He was enchanted with this advice; and in proportion as he had before been embarraſſed, did he now become ſatisfied with himſelf. By this I learned, that a honeſt heart is never at eaſe while harbouring a thought that is not ſo.—No, ſaid the young waterman, a bad intention in the mind is like a thorn in the finger: we have the fever until we get it out.

We arrived at Marſeilles, and ſoon after at Paris. A letter of recommendation to the counteſs of M****, the pretteſt widow in the world, had preceded me; and, on the faith of the knight, I was received with kindneſs. But at Paris I thought of nothing but the vicinity of Beſons; and I managed ſo well, that one fine day I perſuaded my miſtreſs and her knight to make an excurſion to that part of the banks of the Seine which was ſaid to be delightful. I found my Andrew there. There he is, ſaid I, on ſeeing him; there is the man for whom I am deſtined by heaven. He is faithful to the appointment he gave me upon the market-place at Aleppo. At the ſame inſtant I perceived my father. Ah! then, indeed, I loſt my recollection, my ſenſes, every thing; Andrew himſelf was forgotten. I ſaw nothing but my father; I fainted away in his arms; and when I opened my eyes again, I beheld him on his knees, watering my boſom with his tears. It was that gentle dew that had juſt revived me. Andrew, as you may well ſuppoſe, could not contain himſelf for joy. Well, cried he, leaping and dancing; well, is not this what I promiſed you? There ſhe is!—Yes, ſaid I, there ſhe is, ſuch as ſhe was when heaven ordained her birth; and ſuch as ſhe was in her father's arms when he was torn from her embrace. I have gone through ſome dangers, but without ſtain; and heaven, that ſaved my life, is my witneſs, that I would have parted with my life ſooner than with my honour.

The knight and my miſtreſs knew not what to make of all this: they thought they were in a dream. But when we were a little recovered from our firſt emotion, we related to them very nearly what you, ladies, were ſo good as to deſire to hear; and they ſaw plainly that, with the aſſiſtance of my good angel, it was very natural for me to find my father and my faithful Andrew in the cottage of Beſons. The latter took the liberty of offering them a matelote; and we ſupped all together. Our happineſs ſeemed to make them as happy as ourſelves; and from that moment my amiable and generous deliverer reſtored me to my father, to diſpoſe of me as he might think fit. But I inſiſted upon accompanying my miſtreſs on her return; nor was it till the next day that I reviſited the cottage. I found my Andrew there, full of love and ardour. My gratitude would not permit me to let him languiſh in tedious expectation.

The counteſs and the knight condeſcended to be preſent at my marriage. The latter, as a reward for my deliverance, inſiſted, that the wedding-dinner ſhould be at his expence; and the former had the goodneſs to provide my wedding-clothes, which I reſerve for my daughter.

They would have wiſhed my father to return to the kingdom of Kazan, and reclaim his poſſeſſions. But the value of eſtates in that country reſides in the men that cultivate them: and where were we to find thoſe that we had left there? Beſides, Andrew thought himſelf ſufficiently rich with his boat and nets: my father, like him, found that he was in want of nothing; and I thought ſo too. We would no longer tempt the caprices of fortune; and, ſatisfied with the obſcure repoſe ſhe had granted us, we aſked for nothing more.

The good Lucas, who had felt a return of friendſhip for his nephew,

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left him his property at his death. We do not touch it: it will be the portion of our daughters, and a resource for such of our children as may find themselves exposed to want.—You expect, then, to have a great many? said Sophia.—Yes, if it please God, answered Andrew. His providence has taken care of us, and will take care of our children.

Well, ladies, was I in the right, said I, to my two fair companions, in saying that happiness might dwell beneath this humble roof?—Yes, said they, this is happiness certainly, if ever there were any in the world. But what astonishes me the most in their past adventures, and in their present situation, is that they are not astonished themselves.—Why should they? said I. Have they not seen these events naturally connected with each other? Nothing is surprising in this life but the causes and effects, of which the too distant relation conceals from us the way in which they are linked together; and every thing in the world would appear simple and natural, if we saw every thing distinctly, successively, and near at hand.

THE BRITISH MUSE.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq.
Poet Laureat.

NOT with more joy from desert shades,
Where prowl, untam'd, the savage train,
From pathless moors and barren glades,
Sad Desolation's gloomy reign,
Averted, bends the weary eye
To seats of rural industry,
Where harvests wave in yellow pride,
Where spreads the fertile champaign wide
The lucid stream, while Commerce leads
Through peopled towns and laughing meads;
Than turns the mind from scenes of woe,
Where ceaseless tears of anguish flow;
Where Anarchy's insatiate brood,
Their horrid footsteps mark with blood,
To shores where temperate Freedom reigns,
Where Peace and Order bless the plains,
Where men the sovereign of their choice obey,
Where Britain's grateful sons exult in George's sway.

Yet Albion ne'er with selfish aim
To her own race her care confines,
On all, the sacred gift who claim,
The golden beam of Freedom shines.
Sad out-cast from his native shore,
The wretched exile wafted o'er,
Feels Pity's lenient hand assuage
The wounds of Faction's cruel rage;
Her laws, to all protective yield
Security's impartial shield:
Who breathes her air, breathes purest liberty,
Gaunt Slavery flies the coast, who treads her soil is free.

Ambition's clarion has not charm'd
Her dauntless legions to the war,
Nor have her sons, by fury arm'd,
Follow'd Oppression's iron car;
Tho' prompt at Honour's call to brave
The hostile clime, the adverse wave,
Their thunder 'neath the burning zone
Shook the proud despot on his throne;
Yet while aloft in orient skies
Conquest's triumphant banner flies,
The generous victor bids the conflict cease,
And 'midst his laurels twines the nobler wreaths of Peace.

Blest Peace! O may thy radiance mild
Beam kindly on the opening year!
Yet should with frantic vengeance wild
The fiends of Discord urge their rash career,
Nor cold in Freedom's sacred cause,
Nor slow to guard her holy laws,
Faithful to him their hearts approve,
The monarch they revere, the man they love,
Britannia's sons shall arm with patriot zeal,
Their Prince's cause their own, his rights the general weal.

TRANSLATION of Mr. GRAY's celebrated ALCAIC ODE on the CHARTREUSE.

[From Holder's Miscellaneous Poems.]

HAIL, genius of this solemn scene!
Whate'er thy name! for surely dwells
More

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More than mortality within
These ancient solitary cells,
These awful rocks, these frowning steeps,
These pathless craggs, and thund'ring deeps,
These gloomy groves eternal night,
Some sacred presence sure invite.

Some hallow'd form's abode we see,
In Nature's wild fantastic road;
For 'tis her grand simplicity
That marks a Deity's abode:
Not the vain fabrics of the great,
The proud pavillions glitt'ring state,
Tho' Phidias' hand, with matchless art,
Its sculptur'd prodigies impart!

Oh! if this humble song thine ear
Approve, on my sequester'd head
Deign, in the envy'd quiet here,
Thy silent influence to shed.
But should my harder fate controul
This darling purpose of my soul;
And, plunging 'mid the storms of life,
My youth reluctant doom to strife:

Yet may at least my drooping age
(Cool'd every passion in my breast)
'Find out some peaceful hermitage,'
Where the tir'd traveller may rest:
Where, free from every care and pain,
Far from the noisy walks of men,
Death may my weary eyelids close,
In the soft arms of calm repose.

To the UNKNOWN AUTHOR of LOUISA MATHEWS.

SAY! from what perfect fair, with happy art,
Thy skilful pencil has portray'd each line?
What human model bared her living heart,
And bade thee sketch from thence the fair design?

For Fancy only, to one darling child,
Spread her rich hue, and open'd all her store:
She since decreed, Shaksperian flow'rets wild
Should flourish only in her fav'rite bower,

Ah! treacherous limner! to her lov'd retreat
Thy daring step and vent'rous spirit came;
Stole from her sacred bow'r the treasur'd sweet,
To deck the heroine you consign to fame.

The theft is plain, or else with pride elate,
Thy name had stood recorded on thy page;
Since thy domestic story, fix'd as fate,
Must charm, improve, refine, and mend the age.

Queen-square, Bath, Jan. 20, 1793.

THE CAPTIVE KING.

By Dr. WOLCOT.

Sung by Mr. INCLEDON.

DEAD is the dream of life that calm'd my care,
And dimm'd the beam of hope that charm'd despair!
Yet let my soul be firm,—pass one short hour,
And Louis scorns the arm of ruffian pow'r!

SONG.

Adieu, thou partner of my woes,
Where spectred silence reigns around;
And nought awakes the dread repose,
But moans that deep with horror sound.

No more these walls my grief shall hear,
And to a captive King reply;
Where morning rose upon his tear,
And night descended on the sigh.

Forbear, my love, these drops to shed,
And joy to think my woes shall cease:
Lo! when the Vale of Death I tread,
I wander from the storm to Peace!

Ye too, my idol babes, farewell!
Like me, those tender forms may bleed;
The gloomy crimes of murder swell,
While Nature shudders at the deed.

Yet know, we only fall to rise,
And start to glory from the dust;
To claim alliance with the skies,
The sacred refuge from th' unjust!

My spirit, lo! for your's shall wait:
Together we shall seek that shore,
Where Sorrow dies, and ruthless Fate
Can give the parting pang no more!

CHORUS.

Go, injur'd King, with Seraphs shine,
Behold, a brighter crown is thine!
And see appear with glad'ned eyes,
A host to hail thee 'midst the skies!

CAPTIVITY.

A serious Air, sung by Mrs. CROUCH, in Alexander's Feast, supposed to be sung by the unfortunate MARIE ANTOINETTE, Queen of FRANCE, during her Confinement in the Tower of the Temple.

SEE Austria's daughter, Gallia's Queen,
With haggard face and alter'd mien,
A captive wretch! unknown, unseen,
Amid this sad captivity!

My

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My foes prevail! my friends are fled!
These suppliant hands to Heav'n I spread—
Heav'n guard my unprotected head,
Amid this sad captivity.

When, as my babes lie hush'd in sleep,
Their couch in briny tears I steep;
Hang o'er their lovely forms and weep
Amid this sad captivity!

Victim of anguish and despair!
How grief has chang'd my flowing hair *?
How wan my wasted cheek with care!
Amid this sad captivity.

Now fancy paints my murder'd Lord!
I see th' assassin's blood-stain'd sword!
The lifeless trunk!—the bosom gor'd!—
Amid this sad captivity!

To thee, O King of Kings! I cry!
To thee I raise the streaming eye!
And heave the penitential sigh!
Amid this sad captivity:

THE RUINS OF PALMYRA.

[From an Ode to Melancholy, by Mr. Hole.]

PALMYRA, queen of cities! I behold
Thy faded glories: from the time-worn base
Thy pillars now are fall'n; no fretted gold
Inlays thy roofs; thy walls no statues grace.

The sun direct pours down his fervid rays,
And the parch'd soil seems kindled with the blaze.
Spreading wide its shadowy screen,
No tree adorns the cheerless scene.
Where the grain waved, and verdure smil'd,
Behold a barren sandy wild;
Sands, that when eddying winds arise,
In clouds of darkness sweep the plain,
As billows roll along the storm-vex'd main—
The traveller marks their course—in horror shrinks and dies.

Beneath this mould'ring arch I'll lay me down,
And muse upon the awe-inspiring scene.
Where is thy former pride, thy old renown?
Extinct, forgot, as if it ne'er had been.

Here once the busy courtiers throng'd around
Their purpled monarch: here the sons of war
At peaceful pomp and dull inaction frown'd,
Or call'd to arms, and shook the threat'ning spear.

Mark, where yon broken pillars strew the plain!
There rose a stately dome in ancient time:
There oft was heard the soul-entrancing strain,
And laurell'd bards awoke the song sublime.

In choral dance gay youths and maids appear'd,
And light they tript to many a sprightly sound.
Nor dance, nor song, nor sprightly lay is heard,
But more than midnight silence reigns around.

Where crowds opposing crowds have often toil'd,
Like mingling streams, athwart the street to pass,
In endless tides, is now a vacant wild,
With hoary moss bespread and spiry grass.

Through royal palaces now serpents glide—
Heard you that dismal hiss?—It spoke them nigh:
They wreathe around yon column's shatter'd pride,
And their scales glitter in day's fiery eye.

Through stately temples, where the sacred light,
By crowds ador'd, diffus'd perpetual day,
Wounding with horrid yells the ear of night,
The gaunt Hyæna roams in vain for prey.

Oh! what is pomp, and sublunary power?
And what is man, who boasts himself so high?
The sport of fate—the tenant of an hour;
Dust, animated dust, that breathes to die!

* The beautiful hair of this disconsolate princess is said to have changed its colour, on the third night of her imprisonment in the Temple.

Yet

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Yet man, unthinking man!
Deems not, that, swift as glides away
Each hour unmark'd, he hastens to decay:
Still busied with some idle plan
To spend in scenes of joy the coming years,
Or leave a bootless fame to grace his unknown heirs.—
Those heirs, who soon like him shall be no more,
Borne by the tide of fate to dark oblivion's shore.

The PYRAMIDS of EGYPT.

[From the Same.]

EVER-CHANGING, ever new,
Those air-spun visions, Fancy weaves, delight:
Though tinctur'd with the rainbow's varying hue,
Whose every tear is cloth'd in light,
They strike with chasten'd joy the mental sight.
I yield to thy controuling sway:
With thee, my guide, I bend my way
To Egypt's distant shore;
Egypt, once fam'd for arts, and wisdom's sacred lore.

How fall'n!—yet still thy pyramids sublime
Rear their bold heads, and mock the rage of time.
Unknown their mighty builder's name,
They tower aloft, man's glory and his shame.

Through the drear catacombs I stray,
Where rest the manes of the royal dead;
And by a dim-decaying taper led,
Urge, musing on, my doubtful way—
The walls e'er dank with dew: low murmurs sound.
Night, shadowy night, now closes thick around.

Behold! from yonder widely-yawning tomb
The great Sesostris rises to my view.
As slow he moves along the silent dome,
I mark his robes that glow with Tyrian hue;
The golden sceptre waving in his hand,
And awful brow, that speak his high command.
In faded splendour, yet with haughtier mien,
Succeeding kings appear: and as they glide
In solemn silence through the pageant scene,
On me they bend their fiery eyes of pride.
I see wild fury on each brow portray'd,
And horror in each bloodless cheek display'd.

Vanish, oh vanish from my sight,
Tyrannic shades, beneath whose sway
Earth trembled—and behold, in night
The fear-form'd spectres fade away.

A NIGHT SCENE.

[From the Same.]

SEE Night's sweet queen,
Her car slow-wheeling through the cloudless skies,
With silvery lustre gilds the blue serene.

Mute is the hill, the grove, the plain,
The echoing storm has ceas'd to roar:
No sound,—save where the billowy main
Low-murmurs on the distant shore.

Where o'er the deep yon rock projecting lours,
I'll rest, and wear in thought the fleeting hours,
There muse upon the days already past,
And those to come—how swift they too will fly!
Muse on the gloomy cell to which we haste,
As shoots the enkindled vapour through the sky.
Sudden it fades—its path no more is known—
A few brief hours elaps'd, its fate must be our own!

Rapt above sublunary scenes I tower,
And mark life's transient pleasures vague and vain.
Shall I then sigh at envious fortune's power,
Or disappointment thrill my breast with pain?

The light-wing'd moments, like the eastern blast,
Ere we can count them, fleet away:
And pomp and poverty, these moments past,
The oppressor and the oppress are undistinguish'd clay.

PRO-

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PROCEEDINGS *of the Third* SESSION *of the Seventeenth Parliament of* Great Britain, *continued from page* 145.

THE conſideration of the royal meſſage (*See page* 139) was likewiſe taken into conſideration by the lords, on Tueſday, February 12, when lord Grenville, after a long ſpeech, in which he recapitulated all the arguments hitherto uſed in favour of the meaſures of adminiſtration, moved the uſual addreſs, aſſuring his majeſty of their ſupport. Lords Stanhope and Lauderdale reſpectively moved amendments, that went to defeat the object of the addreſs, which, however, was carried without a diviſion. The ſpeakers in favour of the addreſs were the dukes of Portland and Leeds, lords Morton, Stormont, Hawkeſbury, Kinnoul, and Walſingham; againſt it, the marquis of Lanſdown, and lords Stanhope and Lauderdale. Nothing was ſtated, on either ſide, materially ſtronger than what was urged, the ſame day, in the houſe of commons, except what related to the finances of France. On this head, lord Stanhope aſſerted, that France, ſo far from being in a ſtate of bankruptcy, as had been affirmed, was, perhaps, the richeſt nation in the world. Excluſive of a great annual revenue, the nation had vaſt reſources in the crown and church lands, and in the eſtates of the emigrants (29,000 in number) which were forfeited. The amount of the value of thoſe lands was no leſs than 170 millions ſterling; and after deducting the whole expences, up to the preſent time, the reſidue would be found equal to the enormous ſum of more than 500 millions ſterling. On the other hand, lord Stormont entered minutely into the finances of France, her exhauſted reſources, and the country on the brink of famine; and he recited paſſages from the French reports, in which, among other means of economy, it was propoſed that they ſhould live two days in the week on rice and the fleſh of cats and dogs.

The ſubject of the war with France was reſumed in the houſe of commons, on Monday, February 18, when Mr. Fox propoſed the following five reſolutions:

'Firſt, That it was not for the honour of Great Britain to make war on France for any interference in her internal affairs, or for the eſtabliſhment of any particular form of government in that country.

'Secondly, That the aggreſſions of France were not of ſuch a nature as to juſtify a war in the firſt inſtance, prior to a negociation to obtain explanation and redreſs.

'Thirdly, That in the late negociation his majeſty's miniſters had not purſued meaſures likely to obtain redreſs, nor to avert a war, not having ſtated the grounds upon which peace might have been maintained.

'Fourthly, That the rights of neutral nations had not been attended to by his majeſty's miniſters in their neglect of interfering againſt the late unjuſtifiable and abominable invaſion of Poland by Ruſſia and Pruſſia. And

'Fifthly, That it is the duty of his majeſty's miniſters to adviſe his majeſty againſt entering into any treaty which might retard or prevent his making a ſeparate peace with France.'

It is not neceſſary here to recapitulate the arguments of Mr. Fox in ſupport of theſe reſolutions, as they were greatly expanded, on a ſubſequent day, in a motion made by Mr. Grey.—Mr. Jenkinſon moved the previous queſtion, for which were 270 againſt 44.

Mr. Grey's motion, juſt alluded to, was made on Thurſday, February 21, with a view, by having it on the journals, to ſerve as a kind of proteſt againſt the war. It was as follows:

'That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to aſſure his majeſty that his faithful commons, animated by a ſincere and dutiful attachment to his perſon and family, and to the excellent conſtitution of this kingdom, as well as by an ardent zeal for the intereſt and honour of the nation, will at all times be ready to ſupport his majeſty in any meaſures which a due obſervance of the faith of treaties, the dignity of his crown, or the ſecurity of his dominions, may compel him to undertake.

'That feeling the moſt earneſt ſolicitude to avert from our country the calamities of war, by every means conſiſtent with honour and with ſafety, we expreſſed to his majeſty, at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, 'our ſenſe of the temper and prudence which had induced his majeſty to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality with reſpect to the war on the Continent, and uniformly to abſtain from any interference in the internal affairs of France;' and our hope that

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that the steps his majesty had taken would have the happy tendency, "to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace."

'That, with the deepest concern, we now find ourselves obliged to relinquish that hope, without any evidence having been produced to satisfy us that his majesty's ministers have made such efforts as it was their duty to make, and as, by his majesty's most gracious speech, we were taught to expect, for the preservation of peace. It is no less the resolution than the duty of his majesty's faithful commons to second his efforts in the war thus fatally commenced, so long as it shall continue; but we deem it a duty equally incumbent upon us to solicit his majesty's attention to those reasons or pretexts, by which his servants have laboured to justify a conduct on their part which we cannot but consider as having contributed, in a great measure, to produce the present rupture.

'Various grounds of hostility against France have been stated, but none that appeared to us to have constituted such an urgent and imperious case of necessity as left no room for accommodation, and made war unavoidable. The government of France has been accused of having violated the law of nations, and the stipulations of existing treaties, by an attempt to deprive the republic of the United Provinces of the exclusive navigation of the Scheld. No evidence, however, has been offered to convince us that this exclusive navigation was, either in itself, or in the estimation of those who were alone interested in preserving it, of such importance as to justify a determination in our government to break with France on that account. If, in fact, the states-general had shewn a disposition to defend their right by force of arms, it might have been an instance of the truest friendship to have suggested to them, for their serious consideration, how far the assertion of this unprofitable claim might, in the present circumstances of Europe, tend to bring into hazard the most essential interests of the republic. But when, on the contrary, it has been acknowledged, that no requisition on this subject was made to his majesty, on the part of the states-general, we are at a loss to comprehend on what grounds of right or propriety we take the lead in asserting a claim, in which we are not principals, and in which the principal party has not, as far as we know, thought it prudent or necessary to call for our interposition.

'We must further remark, that the point in dispute seemed to us to have been relieved from a material part of its difficulty, by the declaration of the minister of foreign affairs in France, that the French nation gave up all pretensions to determine the question of the future navigation of the Scheld. Whether the terms of this declaration were perfectly satisfactory or not, they at least left the question open to pacific negociation; in which the intrinsic value of the object, to any of the parties concerned in it, might have been coolly and impartially weighed against the consequences to which all of them might be exposed by attempting to maintain it by force of arms.

'We have been called upon to resist views of conquest and aggrandizement entertained by the government of France, "at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but," asserted to be "peculiarly so, when connected with the propagation of principles, which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society."

'We admit, that it is the interest and duty of every member of the commonwealth of Europe to support the established system and distribution of power among the independent sovereignties which actually subsist, and to prevent the aggrandizement of any state, especially the most powerful, at the expence of any other: and, for the honour of his majesty's councils, we do most earnestly wish that his ministers had manifested a just sense of the importance of the principle to which they now appeal, in the course of late events, which seemed to us to menace its entire destruction.

'When Poland was about to recover from the long calamities of anarchy, combined with oppression; after she had established an hereditary and limited monarchy like our own, and was peaceably employed in settling her internal government, his majesty's ministers, with apparent indifference and unconcern, have seen her become the victim of the most unprovoked and unprincipled invasion; her territory overrun, her free constitution subverted, her national independence annihilated, and the general principles of the security of nations wounded through her side. With all these evils was France soon after threatened, and with the same appearance either of supine indifference, or of secret approbation, his majesty's ministers beheld the armies of other powers

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(in evident concert with the oppreſſor of Poland) advancing to the invaſion and ſubjugation of France, and the march of thoſe armies diſtinguiſhed from the ordinary hoſtilities of civilized nations by manifeſtos, which, if their principles and menaces had been carried into practice, muſt have inevitably produced the "return of that ferocity and barbariſm in war, which a beneficent religion, and enlightened manners, and true military honour, have for a long time baniſhed from the Chriſtian world."

'No effort appears to have been made to check the progreſs of theſe invading armies. His majeſty's miniſters, under a pretended reſpect for the rights and independence of other ſovereigns, thought fit, at that time, to refuſe even the interpoſition of his majeſty's counſels and good offices to ſave ſo great and important a portion of Europe from falling under the dominion of a foreign power. But no ſooner, by an ever-memorable reverſe of fortune, had France repulſed her invaders, and carried her arms into their territory, than his majeſty's miniſters, laying aſide that colluſive indifference which had marked their conduct during the invaſion of France, began to expreſs alarms for the general ſecurity of Europe, which, as it appears to us, they ought to have ſeriouſly felt, and might have expreſſed, with greater juſtice, on the previous ſucceſſes of her powerful adverſaries.

'We will not diſſemble our opinion, that the decree of the national convention of France of the 19th of November 1792, was in a great meaſure liable to the objections urged againſt it; but we cannot admit that a war, upon the ſingle gronud of ſuch a decree, unaccompanied by any overt acts, by which we or our allies might be directly attacked, would be juſtified as neceſſary and unavoidable. Certainly not; unleſs, upon a regular demand made by his majeſty's miniſters of explanation and ſecurity in behalf of us and our allies, the French had refuſed to give his majeſty ſuch explanation and ſecurity. No ſuch demand was made. Explanations, it is true, have been received and rejected. But it well deſerves to be remarked and remembered, that theſe explanations were voluntarily offered on the part of France, not previouſly demanded on ours, as undoubtedly they would have been, if it had ſuited the views of his majeſty's miniſters to have acted frankly and honourably toward France, and not to have reſerved their complaints for a future period, when explanations, however reaſonable, might come too late, and hoſtilities might be unavoidable.

'After a review of all theſe conſiderations, we think it neceſſary to repreſent to his majeſty, that none of the points which were in diſpute between his miniſters and the government of France, appear to us to have been incapable of being adjuſted by negociation, except that aggravation of French ambition, which has been ſtated to ariſe from the political opinions of the French nation. Theſe, indeed, we conceive, formed neither any definable object of negociation, nor any intelligible reaſon for hoſtility. They were equally incapable of being adjuſted by treaty, or of being either refuſed or confirmed by the events of war.

'We need not ſtate to his majeſty's wiſdom, that force can never cure deluſion; and we know his majeſty's goodneſs too well to ſuppoſe, that he could ever entertain the idea of employing force to deſtroy opinions by the extirpation of thoſe who hold them.

'The grounds upon which his majeſty's miniſters have adviſed him to refuſe the renewal of ſome avowed public intercourſe with the exiſting government of France, appeared to us neither juſtified by the reaſon of the thing itſelf, nor by the uſage of nations, nor by any expediency ariſing from the preſent ſtate of circumſtances. In all negociations or diſcuſſions whatſoever, of which peace is the real object, the appearance of an amicable diſpoſition, and of a readineſs to offer and to accept of pacific explanations on both ſides, is as neceſſary and uſeful to enſure ſucceſs as any arguments founded on ſtrict right. Nor can it be denied, that claims or arguments of any kind, urged in hoſtile or haughty language, however equitable or valid in themſelves, are more likely to provoke than to conciliate the oppoſite party. Deploring, as we have ever done, the melancholy event which has lately happened in France, it would yet have been ſome conſolation to us to have heard, that the powerful interpoſition of the Britiſh nation on this ſubject had at leaſt been offered, although it ſhould unfortunately have been rejected. But, inſtead of receiving ſuch conſolation from the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters, we have ſeen them, with extreme aſtoniſhment, employing, as an incentive to hoſtilities, an event, which they had made no effort to avert by negociation. This inaction they could

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could only excuse on the principle, that the internal conduct of nations (whatever may be our opinion of its morality) was no proper ground for interposition and remonstrance from foreign states; a principle from which it must still more clearly follow, that such internal conduct could never be an admissible justifying reason for war.

'We cannot refrain from observing, that such frequent allusions as have been made to an event (confessedly no ground of rupture) seemed to us to have arisen from a sinister intention to derive, from the humanity of Englishmen, popularity for measures which their deliberate judgment would have reprobated, and to influence the most virtuous sensibilities of his majesty's people into a blind and furious zeal for a war of vengeance.

'His majesty's faithful commons, therefore, though always determined to support his majesty with vigour and cordiality, in the exertions necessary for the defence of his kingdoms, yet feel that they are equally bound by their duty to his majesty and to their fellow-subjects, to declare, in the most solemn manner, their disapprobation of the conduct of his majesty's ministers, throughout the whole of these transactions; a conduct, which in their opinion could lead to no other termination, but that, to which it seems to have been studiously directed, of plunging their country into an unnecessary war. The calamities of such a war must be aggravated, in the estimation of every rational mind, by reflecting on the peculiar advantages of that fortunate situation, which we have so unwisedly abandoned, and which not only exempted us from sharing in the distresses and afflictions of the other nations of Europe, but converted them into sources of benefit, improvement, and prosperity to this country.

'We therefore humbly implore his majesty's paternal goodness to listen no longer to the councils, which have forced us into this unhappy war, but to embrace the earliest occasion, which his wisdom may discern, of restoring to his people the blessings of peace.'

Major Maitland seconded the motion; but as the view with which it was made was perfectly understood, and the subject had already been so amply discussed, no debate ensued, but the motion was negatived without a division.

Mr. R. Smith then read a petition, signed by 2500 persons of the town of Nottingham, praying for a reform in parliament. The petition stated the representation of the people to have passed away; that in its stead there existed the grossest abuse of the rights of the people; and that their rights were usurped in a manner which induced members in that house not to look to the people, but to others for approbation. It proposed, as a reform, the empowering all adults to vote for representatives; and to shorten the duration of parliaments. Mr. Smith moved for leave to bring up the petition.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the house could not, consistently with its own dignity, and the rights of the people they represented, permit a petition, like that just read, to be laid on their table. He would say nothing upon the propositions of opening the election of representatives to all adults, and shortening the duration of parliament; nor would he enter upon the question of a reform, that not being before the house: all he contended for was, that petitions to that house should be couched in respectful terms. The present was not so couched, but charged them with usurpation, and denied even the existence of a constitution, by declaring that the reality had been long gone, and that they were mocked by a mere nominal representation. By refusing to receive the present petition, the house would not be shutting their ears against petitions for reform; they would only be maintaining that dignity which it was their duty to maintain, by resisting every thing that was not brought before them with due respect.

Mr. Fox did not approve of the wording of the petition, but was in favour of the motion for having it brought up, conceiving that the house should be less nice upon a complaint of the grievances in the representation, than upon any other complaint.

Mr. Lambton said, that the house had agreed to the bringing up of Mr. Tooke's petition, which was more disrespectful; for Mr. Tooke asserted, that seats in that house were as notoriously bought and sold, as stalls for cattle in Smithfield-market.

Mr. Dundas answered, that Mr. Tooke's petition had been laid on the table, on the opinion of the house that the Controverted Election Act bound the house, without a question, to receive every petition complaining of an undue election.

Mr. Smith stated, from the authority of his constituents, that nothing disrespectful was intended against the present house of commons. The passage objected

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to he wiſhed had been expunged: what was meant, however, by that paſſage, was merely that abuſes had, in a length of time, crept into the repreſentation, deſtroying its original principle.

Mr. D. P. Coke lamented the inſertion of the objectionable paſſages, and imputed the blame thereof to the Aſſociated Society for Reform, which had led the people into the error now complained of. He ſaw ſo much the propriety of receiving the petition, as to divide the houſe upon the queſtion.

Mr. Burke condemned the petition as audacious and ſeditious, and charged the Revolution Society with being the propagators of ſuch ſedition. The friends to ſuch petitions were enemies to the invaluable right of petitioning; for ſuch petitions muſt either deſtroy the right, or, by their admiſſion, open the door to a torrent of libels, which the houſe would merit the moment they ſhould receive them deliberately.

Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan ſpoke in defence of the Revolution Society. They acknowledged their diſlike to the wording of the petition, but contended that it ought to be permitted to be brought up.

Mr. S. Smith read a letter from ſome of the perſons who had ſigned the petition, declaring that they meant no reproach to the houſe, but merely intended to ſtate to them grievances which had been for a long time creeping into the repreſentation. He was far from approving the manner in which the petition was couched, and hoped that no diviſion would take place.

The queſtion being put, the motion was negatived, there being, for bringing up the petition, ayes 21; noes 109; majority 88.

Mr. M. A. Taylor, in purſuance of a former notice, then proceeded to the diſcuſſion of the ſubject, relative to the erecting of barracks in the internal parts of the kingdom. He reprobated the meaſure as contrary to the conſtitution, dangerous to our liberties, calculated to over-awe the people, and to deſtroy principles, deemed dangerous, by the uſe of the ſword, inſtead of exerciſing againſt thoſe principles the wholeſome operation of the laws. In ſupport of theſe opinions, he quoted the authorities of Harley, Pulteney, Petham, lord Kaimes, and judge Blackſtone; and concluded by moving, partly in the words of judge Blackſtone, 'That the uniform and perſevering oppoſition made by our anceſtors to the erection of barracks, was founded on a juſt underſtanding of the principles of our excellent conſtitution, and founded upon high and legal authorities, whoſe recorded opinions were, that ſoldiers ſhould be quartered with the people; and *that no camps, no barracks, no inland fortifications, could be permitted with ſafety to the liberties of the people* *.'

The ſecretary at war, Mr. Minchin, lord Beauchamp, and lord Mulgrave, argued the neceſſity of the times for the meaſure, which, inſtead of being dangerous to our liberties, operated to the maintenance of public tranquillity, and, inſtead of exciting alarm in the people, was applauded as a meaſure founded in wiſdom; ſeveral parts of the kingdom having ſolicited the erection of barracks, inſtead of the eſtabliſhed mode of quartering the troops at public houſes, which, in time of war, was ruinous to publicans, and, in all times, injurious to the morals and health of the men ſo quartered.

Major Maitland, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Fox, cenſured the erecting of barracks as unconſtitutional. The chancellor of the exchequer replied to their arguments; and the queſtion being put, Mr. Taylor's motion was negatived without a diviſion.

On Monday, Feb. 18, Mr. Dundas entered into ſome very copious details, in order to prove the flouriſhing ſtate of the poſſeſſions of the Eaſt India company in Hindooſtan. In the courſe of this diſcuſſion, he referred to an account, containing the amount of the revenue, and charges thereon for three years, 1787-8, 88-9, 89-90, by which it appeared that the revenue was

For Bengal -	5,454,173	
Madras -	1,286,468	
Bombay -	147,155	
Total - -		6,887,796
The charges for		
Bengal -	3,131,210	
Madras -	1,578,365	
Bombay -	524,142	
Total	5,233,717	
Expences of Prince of Wales' Iſland and Bencoolen -	50,000	
Total of expence - -		5,283,717
Nett Revenue - -		£1,604,083

* Blackſtone, Book I. ch. 13.

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He intimated next an intended participation of the profits of the company with the public. Adverting to the company's debt, he brought in, to defray part of the charges, the ſum ceded to them by Tippoo; the whole of which, by advices he had yeſterday received, brought by the Ganges, had been completely paid, and the whole of Tippoo's engagements faithfully fulfilled. The proviſion for the debt of the company would not, therefore, be neceſſarily greater than what he had provided to meet it. There would then remain, after that proviſion, and after defraying every charge on the revenue, a clear ſurplus in India of 1,059,727l. applicable to commercial purpoſes. To this ſurplus was to be added the amount of the profits on the ſale of ſtores exported from this to that country, which, upon the loweſt eſtimate, amounted to 350,000l. making a total ſurplus of 1,409,127l. He congratulated the houſe upon the favourable change which had taken place ſince the year 1784, in our exports to India, where a great and promiſing market for our manufactures was opened to us. In 1784, the exports of Britiſh manufactures to India amounted to 400,000l. their amount now was more than a million. Speaking of the profit of the company's ſales, he ſaid, that, for ſix years paſt, the average profit, taken on the three firſt years, amounted to 434,581l. and on an average of the three laſt of the ſix years, to 916,497l.—He attributed this favourable change to the exertions of the governor-general in India, and to thoſe of the court of directors at home. Many might have heard of the name of Cornwallis as connected with his brilliant military character; as connected alſo with his great moderation, ſplendid victories, and many public virtues; but it required an inveſtigation of the interior of his government to be a maſter of his merit; for, by his exertions in cutting off frauds, and by watching over the commercial intereſts of the company, he had obtained advantages far beyond what the moſt ſanguine could have expected.—He then ſtated the debt of the company in India to be 9,094,930l. but of this 2,094,930l. was a floating debt that bore no intereſt. Their debt in England was 14,247,019l. Then ſtating againſt this the debts due to the company, their treaſures and effects, he aſſerted, that were they upon the cloſe of their affairs, they could pay off the whole of their debts in England, and have 12,000,000l. ſterling, excluſive of their territories, to diſcharge their India debt of 7,000,000l. He ſuggeſted the modes by which he intended to provide for the debts; obſerving, however, that he wiſhed the India debt never to be leſs than 3,000,000l. as it could be no inconvenience to the company, and tended to ſecure and perpetuate the connection between the natives and us. He ſtated the mode too by which the company would be enabled to aid the public with an annual addition to the revenue of 500,000l. and to make other important proviſions; particularly, an addition of two per cent. on their dividends. He then moved ſundry reſolutions, which were ordered to be printed, and the conſideration thereof reſumed on Tueſday ſe'nnight, in another committee of the whole houſe.—In the courſe of his ſpeech, Mr. Dundas, ſpeaking of the renewal of the company's charter, ſaid, that upon that ſubject there were abroad theories the moſt ridiculous and unfounded; his opinion was, that a greater injury could not be done to the manufacturing and commercial intereſts of the country, than by a ſuppreſſion of the Eaſt India monopoly.

On Wedneſday, Feb. 27, Mr. Wilberforce made his promiſed motion 'That the houſe would on Thurſday reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the circumſtances of the ſlave trade.'

Sir William Young conſidered the agitation of the buſineſs in the preſent times to be dangerous. He was deſirous of time to induce the Weſt Indians to co-operate with us, and concluded by moving an amendment, to omit the word 'Thurſday', for the purpoſe of inſerting in its ſtead the words 'this day ſix months.' This amendment was ſupported by Mr. Cawthorne, Mr. Eſte, Mr. Dent, lord Sheffield, and Mr. Gaſcoyne, who contended that the diſcuſſion of the queſtion, in the preſent ſtate of Europe, would be dangerous, impolitic, and uſeleſs.

The original motion was ſupported by Mr. Buxton, Mr. M. Montague, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Wilberforce, who obſerving, that as it went merely to the form of reviving the reſolution agreed to in the houſe in the laſt ſeſſion, it could not be rejected by the houſe, unleſs in direct oppoſition to thoſe meaſures they had reſolved to purſue, after a full and mature inveſtigation of an immenſe maſs of evidence, and which reſolutions had been founded on the permanent baſis of juſtice and humanity.

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The question being put, the original motion was negatived, there being Ayes 53—Noes 61—Majority 8.

The question being put, that the house should resolve itself into a committee on that day six months, the chancellor of the exchequer moved an adjournment of the question to Thursday se'nnight.

Mr. Cawthorne and sir William Young resisted the proposition, as did Mr. Jenkinson, who observed that the question ought to sleep, as the stirring of it, at present, he deemed dangerous.

Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wilberforce, agreeing that the business could be brought before the house in another shape, consented to withdraw the motion for postponing the question. The motion to defer the committee for six months, was then carried without a division, and Mr. Wilberforce immediately gave notice, that he would, on Thursday se'nnight, make a motion relative to the abolition of the slave trade.

On Monday, March 4, Mr. Sheridan rose, and terminated a speech of some length, by moving for a committee of enquiry into the seditious practices that it was said had existed; in order to satisfy the country, that there had been real and solid cause for the alarm that had been excited by administration, or the reverse. Mr. Lambton seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Martin, Mr. Fox, and colonel Macleod, and opposed by Mr. Windham, the lord mayor, and Mr. Burke. The debate had more personal sarcasm than novelty of argument in it; and as the subject has already been discussed, it is only necessary to add here, that Mr. Sheridan's motion being put, was negatived without a division.

On Wednesday March 6, several bills received the royal assent by commission, among which was a bill for providing for the families of militia-men.

The same day, Mr. secretary Dundas presented the following message to the commons:

'GEORGE *REX*.

'His Majesty having judged it expedient to employ, in the service of Great Britain, a body of his Electoral troops, for the purpose of assisting his allies, the states general of the United Provinces, and of prosecuting, in the most effectual manner, the just and necessary war in which his majesty is engaged, his majesty has directed an estimate to be laid before the house of the charge attending the employment of the said troops; and his majesty relies on the zeal of his faithful commons, that they will be ready to make the necessary provision for maintaining the same.'

A similar message was sent to the lords, who, the next day, agreed to the customary address.

On Monday, March 11, in a committee of the whole house on the supply, the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to open what is called The Budget. After an exordium on the essential importance of the war, he observed, that in stating the extensive supplies he should propose, he would go farther than had ever been done in preceding wars; for he would not only state what the demands actually were for public service, but even anticipate the expence of future service by estimates, and make provision for those estimates. Every thing he should propose would be perfectly agreeable to the system of issuing annually a million to the reduction of the national debt; and, even under the present exigencies of the state, he should make provision for the issuing of 200,000l. annually, in addition to that million. It was also his intention to guard against the accumulation of unfunded debt, and for that purpose to close an account thereof yearly. The unfunded navy debt, which was now 575,000 l. he should provide for a reduction of to that sum which the house had been contented to leave it at for times of peace.—He then proceeded to state the estimates; after which he observed, that he had great hopes that circumstances might arise, to enable us to take an effective part with our numerous allies in military operations; and he doubted not, if a favourable opening should offer, that the house would agree in any measure of subsidy which might operate to the pressing of the common enemy on all sides. Another increase of expence would arise from the necessary encampments which would take place at home. It was impossible to form any estimate to be depended upon of the expences arising from the services he had stated; but it was extremely material that a considerable sum should be set apart to provide for those exigencies as they arose; the sum he proposed to be set apart was a million and a half, in addition to the sums he had already stated for specific services. This sum he should propose to raise by Exchequer bills on a vote of credit; but to prevent the accumulation of Exchequer bills, it was his intention to provide for the discharge of one million and a half already

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out. Obſerving that he had now gone through the whole of the ſupply, he ſtated the amount of the total to be provided for to be 11,182,000l. To meet this ſupply, he ſtated the ways and means, which were the land and malt tax 2,750,000l.; ſurplus of the conſolidated fund 700,000l.; a diſpoſable ſurplus, in four quarters, of the permanent revenue, 2,185,000l.; the temporary taxes, laid on for the Spaniſh armament, to be continued, 255,000l. impreſt money, 250,000l.; from the Eaſt India Company 500,000l.; which would leave about 4,500,000l. to be ſtill provided for; which he propoſed to be by way of loan, of which, as the commiſſioners for liquidating the national debt were to furniſh part, would leave only 2,900,000l. to be furniſhed by individuals. Then reminding the houſe, that an act of laſt year went to add to the intereſt of all loans one per cent. for the reduction of the capital, he ſtated, that he would now only look to the terms of ſuch loan by ſpeculation; by ſuppoſing the ſtock at 75, and he ſaw no reaſon whatever for expecting it to be lower; the ſum to be raiſed by loan would create a capital of ſix millions, the intereſt for which would be 180,000l. to which would be to be added the one per cent. for the reduction of the capital, amounting to 60,000l. which, added to the intereſt, produced 240,000l. annually to be defrayed from the revenue of the Conſolidated Fund. To provide for this, he propoſed to render permanent

The additional duty on Bills of Exchange and Game Licences - - -	£ 85,000
The additional duty of 1d. per gallon on all Britiſh ſpirits	112,000
The 10 per cent. on Aſſeſſed Taxes - - - -	90,000
	287,000

Which was nearly 50,000l. above the ſum neceſſary, and which ſurplus might go to the growing produce of the Conſolidated Fund.

He then entered into ſeveral particulars to ſhew, that there was no reaſon to apprehend, that the ſurplus of the revenue (taken from an average of the three laſt years) would be leſs than he had ſtated it, even in the courſe of a war. In the laſt war, in which this country had a maritime ſuperiority, after the firſt year her commerce, ſo far from ſuffering, actually increaſed; and ſhould the preſent war continue longer than the preſent year, and it was ſcarcely probable that it could be ſo ſpeedily terminated, he hoped that our commerce would by no means be decreaſed. Should the preſent war require a repetition of proviſion, he hoped to ſhew that we had *reſources for the next campaign, and probably for another, without having recourſe to any new additional burdens on the people.* He concluded his ſpeech by an animated recapitulation of the important objects of the war, and by moving the ſeveral reſolutions.

Mr. Sheridan ſaid, the ſpeech of the right hon. gentleman was calculated rather for the harangue of an officer to his troops about to ſtorm a French redoubt, than an addreſs to the ſtewards of the national property for ſupplies to carry on a war which he ſtill thought might have been avoided. He concluded by declaring his opinion to be, that the continuance of the taxes about to expire was an additional taxation.

Mr. Drake expreſſed the pleaſure he had received from the ſtatement of the right hon. gentleman, and his hopes of a ſpeedy and glorious termination of the war.

Mr. Fox was ſtill in the opinion he had ever entertained of the war, namely, that it might have been avoided. He reprobated the recourſe had to the 500,000l. from the Eaſt India Company, which went to pledge the houſe to the renewal of their charter.

Mr. Pitt replied, that no ſuch pledge could be conſidered as made: upon the renewal of the charter, the houſe had hereafter to exerciſe its diſcretion.

The reſolutions were ſeverally put and agreed to, the houſe was reſumed, and the report ordered to be made to-morrow.

In the houſe of lords, on Thurſday March 14, lord Radnor called the attention of the houſe to a point which regarded their honour and dignity, and to what appeared to him to be an infringement on both: he meant the title of baroneſs of Bath, lately conferred on Laura Henrietta Pulteney. His lordſhip maintained, that when the title of marquis of Bath was conferred on Thynne lord Weymouth, that precedency-creation gave that nobleman an indiſputable and excluſive right to that title. He did not mean to diſpute the prerogative of the crown to create peerages, but when created, it became the duty of their lordſhips to protect them from infringement, and to attend to the manner and limitation of the exerciſe of that prerogative. He maintained that this was a caſe for their attention in that reſpect, and concluded with moving, That the houſe do form itſelf into a committee of privi-

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leges, to hear counsel on the question, Whether the crown could lawfully issue a patent, conferring a title on any person, when that title had been previously conferred on another?

The lord chancellor opposed the motion: he maintained that every thing was perfectly regular in this case; that there was no heraldrick mystery in it; and that this title, like every other propery, was protected by the courts below. He concluded with dissenting from the motion.

The house divided, for the motion: contents 2; not contents 21.

Lord Radnor then moved, That a humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly requesting, that his majesty would be pleased to recal and annul the letters patent creating Laura Henrietta Pulteney baroness of Bath, and that his majesty might bestow upon her any other dignity, or grant her any other compensation for the loss of that title. This question was negatived without a division.

Lord Radnor then moved, That their lordships do address his majesty, praying that this case should not be made use of as precedent. This was also negatived as before.

On Friday March 15, the attorney general moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing the holding treasonable correspondence with the enemies of his majesty's subjects, aiding, abetting, or comforting the said enemies.—Having observed, that he took the word *correspondence* in the legal sense only, that is, *intercourse*, and not in the popular sense of *letter-writing*, he took a general view of the acts relating to treason, from the act 25 Edw. III, to the latest temporary act; shewing, that, from time to time, according to the existence of circumstances, the legislature had declared what should be considered as treason. He quoted, as precedents, an act of William and Mary, and another of Anne; one of which made it high treason to hold any commercial intercourse with France, and prohibited the return of any subject of this realm from France, without a passport from our executive power, on a similar penalty; and both made it high treason to furnish arms, &c. for the use of the French king, or to go out of the kingdom into France, without leave from the executive power. He then stated the clauses of his bill.

The first was to prohibit any subject of Great Britain, in or out of the kingdom, from supplying, or contracting for, any article, for the use of the persons exercising power in France, or for their armies or fleets, or to be carried into any port of France; or to buy or deliver any article for the purpose of having it in any such way sent or disposed of. This prohibition extended particularly to military and naval stores—to money, bullion, corn, woollen cloth, &c. As somewhat abating the severity of the law in high treason, he proposed the punishment to be the same as in the case of counterfeiting the king's money, namely, not to go to the corruption of blood, nor to deprive the wife of her dower.

The second was to prohibit any subject of these realms, from contracting for lands, or in the funds of France, and from advancing money on any security from the persons exercising authority in that country. This he proposed, to distress the enemy; for the means which they looked to, to carry on the war, was by the sale of their lands.

The third was, that no person should go out of the kingdom to France, without permission under the privy seal, and that all persons so offending should be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor.

The fourth proposition would be to prevent even his majesty's subjects from coming into this country from France, without a passport. Any person so coming, should, previously to their quitting the ship they arrived in, deliver a declaration of their reasons for returning, of their place of residence, and of the cause of their having resided in France; to be delivered, immediately on landing, to the commissioner of customs, who was to send the same immediately to the secretary of state; and that the person having so made a declaration, should continue within a certain boundary, until he should obtain leave to depart, or until he should have entered into bail before two magistrates, for his good conduct.

The last proposition would be to prevent, by punishment for misdemeanor, the insurance of the shipping or goods of the enemy, in any part of the world.—He concluded by moving for leave to bring in the bill.

Mr. Fox declared the motion to be repugnant to every idea of freedom and justice, and, in every view, to the interests of this country. He reprobated the prohibition of buying lands in France, as contrary to the principle he had ever considered as sacred, namely, individual property—the security of which was violated,

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when the right was denied to the proprietor of disposing of that property when and how he deemed fit. With respect to the prohibition of buying into the funds of France, or into the funds of any other country, with whom we might be at war, he never expected to hear such a doctrine advanced as political in England, where encouragement had always been held out advantageously to us, for foreigners, even with whom we were at war, to purchase in our funds.—Supplying the enemy with arms had always been deemed treasonable; but even if that law should be revised, he was inclined to think, when the modern way of carrying on war was considered, namely, by revenue, it would be political to admit the sale of arms to an enemy, for it was certain they would not be sold without profit. He objected to the restrictions imposed on British subjects returning from France, which would empower the king to banish any Englishman who might now be in France. If such a power were granted, where was all our boasted freedom, when it would be left to the caprice of a minister to punish an innocent, and even a meritorious man? The prohibition of insurance was impolitic: no insurance would be taken but upon the general chance of gain; and if, as was generally the case, the insurers were gainers, the French must, for that very reason, be losers.—In fine, the only object of the bill appeared to be the insinuation of a correspondence and intercourse which had no existence.

The solicitor-general justified the policy of prohibiting the sale of arms, by observing, that refusing to France that means of carrying on the war, this country would gain more, than she could gain by a profit on the sale of arms.—In justifying the prohibition of purchasing lands in France, he said, no person, who recollected the American war, could do otherwise than attribute, in a great measure, our want of success in that contest, to the interest which many persons in this country had in that. France had exhausted her revenue: she was now spending her substance to enable her to carry on the war. That substance, however, she could not readily mortgage, without having recourse to individuals in this country. By prohibiting all purchases in her lands or funds we destroyed that resource. On the prohibition of Englishmen going to and returning from France without passports, he stated the danger of permitting a free intercourse with that country; the prohibition could not be deemed a hardship: it was simply a restraint upon a few, for the preservation of the whole from danger. The last proposition he also justified. More was to be gained by prohibiting the insurance of the shipping and goods of the enemy, than in permitting it: we had numerous cruisers, into whose hands the commerce of our enemy was falling. The insurance, however, operated in their favour, as a species of convoy, which he deemed it prudent, in a war like the present, to prevent.

Mr. Martin said, that the bill appeared to be calculated to disable the French from carrying on the war against us: he should, therefore, give it his support.

Mr. Erskine reprobated temporary treasonable acts. He deemed the proposed bill to be a mere insinuation against the loyalty of the people, and an invasion of their rights.

Mr. North said, that if the legislature permitted the purchasing of land in France by British subjects, they would permit the creation of an interest ultimately advantageous to France, and as disadvantageous to England. The same would be the case, should money be permitted to pass from this into that country, on any pretence, or in any shape whatever. The prohibition of Englishmen going to and returning from France without passports, appeared to be a measure so necessary, that parliament, by neglecting to make such a law, would be guilty of a criminal neglect of their duty.

Mr. Curwen ridiculed the prohibition of purchasing lands and funds in France as wild and foolish, the state of that country not affording the shadow of security for the money of any man.

Mr. Yorke observed, that the objections to the bill were preposterous. The first part went merely to enact that which had been frequently done before; and the new clauses were justified by the new circumstances in which the country was placed. Although the great majority of the country was firmly attached to our constitution, there certainly did exist some persons in this kingdom whose wish was to aid France to their utmost, and to promote French principles: against such men the present bill would operate, and against them the legislature acted wisely to guard the country.

The attorney-general, in answer to what had fallen from Mr. Curwen, said, that land might be deemed more solid security than assignats, yet the legislature,

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knowing that Engliſhmen were prevailed upon, from certain views of intereſt, to truſt to aſſignats, deemed it wiſe to prohibit that folly by an act of parliament.

Mr. Francis aſked the attorney-general, whether he knew of any remittance having been made to France, ſubſequent to the declaration of war, for the purpoſe of buying land, or inveſtment in the French funds: if no ſuch fact were known, there exiſted no ground for the bill?

The attorney-general anſwered, that he did not think it neceſſary to ſtate his knowledge, or ignorance, of the exiſtence, or non-exiſtence, of ſuch remittances, as a ground for his bill.

The queſtion was then put, and carried without a diviſion.

The ſame day, when the committee of the whole houſe had come to the reſolution for raiſing 438,000l. for payment of the Hanoverian forces ſubſidized by Great Britain, a debate enſued, ſupported on one ſide by lord Fielding, major Maitland, meſſ. Curven, Fox, and Sheridan; and on the other, by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and captain Berkeley. The oppoſition charged adminiſtration with criminal neglect and tardineſs in the meaſures they had adopted for proſecuting the war, and in forming their alliances. Though undertaking ſuch a war had been originally repugnant to the intereſts of the country, yet, as it was now undertaken, it was the duty of the houſe to carry it on with the utmoſt vigour, in order, by efficient exertions, to procure ſooner the bleſſings of peace. How diametrically oppoſite had the conduct of miniſters been to their own profeſſions in that reſpect. Their negociations and their warlike operations were in an inverſe ratio. The former were as raſh and precipitate, as the latter were tardy and inefficient. When a powerful country, like Great Britain, ought to have furniſhed its allies ſpeedily, and with ſuch a body of troops as could yield effectual aſſiſtance, men were ſent to Holland by twenties and by tens.—A right hon. gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had, ſo far back as the month of December, informed the houſe, that France ſhould be conſidered as in a ſtate of hoſtile preparation; and yet no aid had been ſent to the Dutch, ſo long menaced, and afterward attacked by general Dumourier, till the 22d of February, when about 2000 of the guards had been detached thither; which was ſubjecting thoſe gallant men to almoſt certain deſtruction, their ſtrength and numbers being totally inadequate to the greatneſs of the expedition. So criminal even was the neglect of miniſters, that proper tranſports had not been provided for their reception, At a ſeaſon of the year, when ſtorms were naturally to be expected, a number of our gallant countrymen, officered by perſons of the beſt blood in the kingdom, and led on by a prince of the blood-royal, were heaped one over the other, in tranſports ſo ill prepared as to want even ballaſt. Report had it, that ſo ill had the expedition been conducted, that the field-pieces and cartridges were left behind.—Had miniſters, as they ought to have done, if credit were due to their own repeated declarations, ſtating the important ſervices rendered by the guards, ſent them out at the beginning, and not waited till the 22d of February, effects, yet more beneficial, might have accrued. A treaty with the elector of Hanover was alſo a matter not very complex, and required no great time to accompliſh; and though the right hon. gentleman had mentioned the ſubject three months back, it was not perfected before the end of February, when 12,000 Hanoverians were engaged into the Britiſh ſervice; a number by no means equal to the object for which they were retained. Thoſe troops were never ſent till Dumourier had taken Breda and Gertruydenberg, and was beſieging Williamſtadt; till he had made himſelf maſter of the important country adjacent, which might, by timely and effectual ſuccours, have been prevented.

On the part of adminiſtration it was argued, that though it was admitted the tranſports had met with a hard paſſage, yet ſurely they could not be reſponſible for the uncertainty of the weather. The charge of the condition of the tranſports, brought by gentlemen on the oppoſite benches, operated againſt themſelves, and was a proof of the expedition uſed by miniſters. With reſpect to the quantum of the force ſent, it was to be conſidered that this country, though powerful in maritime, was not equally ſo in its military force. Seldom, at the commencement of a war, had a ſtronger or better equipped force been draughted from Great Britain. If the difficulty of recruiting, and the neceſſity of retaining a proper number for defence at home, were conſidered, as they ought, more praiſe than blame would attach itſelf to his majeſty's ſervants. Near 2000 of the guards, and 12,000 Electoral troops, it was readily admitted, would not alone have been ſufficient: but gentlemen ought to recollect, that

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that the Dutch, and other allies, had also great armies. The Dutch entertained different ideas of the inefficiency of our succours, and, on every occasion, expressed their satisfaction and gratitude to Great Britain.

Capt. Berkeley, in the course of his speech, having insinuated that an hon. gentleman (Mr. Fox) on the other side, was a friend to Dumourier, was called to order; and a conversation, fraught with much heat, arose, which was terminated in the hon. captain's retracting his words. The resolutions then passed, without a division.

[To be continued.]

AFFAIRS OF FRANCE,

Continued from page 133.

After the declaration of war against England and Holland, one of the first decrees of the national convention, on the 8th of February, strongly evinced the deplorable state of France: it was a decree to suspend the process which, by virtue of a former decree, had been instituted against the authors of the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September; and that the committee of legislation should make a report upon the necessity of prosecuting that inquiry, or of proclaiming an amnesty. The result of this report was the following decree, on the 11th of February: 'The convention extinguishes and abolishes all criminal process commenced against any insurgents who have been committed previous to the 21st of January last; and orders, that those culprits, who are detained upon suspicion, shall be liberated without delay: those persons who are guilty of assassination and treason, shall not be included in the present amnesty.'

On the 16th of February, M. Condorcet presented the plan of a new constitution, from the committee which had been appointed to draw it up. It was ordered to be printed, and sent to the departments, &c. When it is accepted by the nation, and there is any prospect of its being permanent, it will then, and not till then, be our duty to lay it before our readers. We shall, at present, notice only the first article, which relates to the executive power. It is as follows:

'Article I. The executive council of the republic shall be composed of seven general agents or ministers, and one secretary.

1. A minister of legislation; 2. A minister of war; 3. A minister of foreign affairs; 4. A minister of the marine; 5. A minister of public contributions; 6. A minister of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; 7. A minister of public works, succours, establishments, and the arts.

The organization of the executive power contains 33 articles. Article 13 states—that the direction and inspection of the armies by sea and land, and generally, whatever concerns the external defence of the state, is entrusted to the executive council.

On the 2d of March, the national convention declared, that Brussels was united to the French republic. This fresh manifestation of a spirit of conquest and aggrandizement was not the only one. Different places continued to be noticed as accessions to the republic. In a word, it seemed as if this infatuated assembly deemed their armies invincible, and incapable of experiencing a reverse of fortune.

The same day, they decreed, that all treaties of alliance or commerce which existed between the ancient French government and the powers with which the republic is at war, are annulled; and they declare also an entire prohibition of all English manufactures, goods, &c.

The same day also, the convention adopted a long decree prescribing the conduct which the French generals are to observe in exercising the revolutionary power in Holland. This decree, which is founded on the same principles as that of December 15, frees the Batavians from the oath required of them in 1788; abolishes servitude, tithes, and privileges; destroys the stadtholdership, the states-general, and the courts of justice; and suppresses the taxes on bread and beer until the Batavian people, united in primary assemblies, shall have declared their will. The French generals are authorised to affix seals to all the moveables, and above all, to sequestrate the immoveable property of the stadtholder, his favourers, adherents, or voluntary servants.

On the 7th of March, the convention, as if France had not already a sufficient number of enemies, passed the following decree: 'The national convention declares, in the name of the French nation, that

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in consideration of the multiplied acts of aggression on the part of Spain, *the French republic is at war with the king of Spain.*

In the mean time, intelligence of the late defeats of the French armies in the Netherlands began to reach Paris, and to the consternation occasioned by this, were added rumours of counter-revolutions, and actual insurrections, on pretence of the scarcity of provisions, but in reality for the purposes of plunder. On the 9th of March, the convention decreed, that there should be established an extraordinary tribunal, to judge, without appeal, all conspirators and counter-revolutionists. This they have styled the Revolutionary Tribunal. The next day, the president received the following letter from the community of Paris:

'Citizen President,

'I am ordered by the council-general to transmit to you the subjoined decree. I must inform you, that the council-general are harassed by numerous deputations. It appears that a great commotion is likely to take place. The people wish to shut the barriers, and sound the tocsin. They wish for a new insurrection. Several members of the convention, whom they do not name, are threatened. The council-general have written to the forty-eight sections. They have taken every necessary precaution to prevent disorder. They sit permanently.'

Extract from the Minutes of the Council General of the Commons of Paris.

'After reading a letter from the administrators of the police, stating that armed men were proceeding to shut the barriers, the council general, considering that a law passed in September last, forbids the shutting of the barriers under pain of death, unless the national convention has been previously informed of these facts, has declared its intention respecting the shutting of them. The council general therefore charges the commandant-general to put the present decree in execution.'

Bourdon de L'Oise, 'These facts appear to me doubtful; I move that the mayor, the procureur of the commune, and the commandant of the national guard, be immediately summoned to the bar to certify them.' This was decreed; after which the mayor of Paris appeared at the bar, and confirmed the facts mentioned in the decree of the commons. He added, that new deputations from the sections had informed him that tranquillity was restored; and general Santerre read the orders which he had given for preserving the peace of the capital. Nine thousand men, he said, had been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march on the first requisition of the constituted authorities, and the patroles had every where been doubled.

The decree of the convention respecting the revolutionary tribunal was as follows:

I. The revolutionary committee shall take cognizance of every enterprise, plot, and attempt, against the liberty and sovereignty of the people, and the unity, indivisibility, and external as well as internal safety of the republic; of every plan tending to establish royalty, and of every crime relating to the fabrication of forged assignats.

II. This tribunal shall consist of six judges, divided into two sections. Three members in each section shall be sufficient to examine facts denounced.

III. The judges shall be chosen by the national convention, by the appel nominel, and by a relative majority.

IV. To this tribunal shall belong a public accuser and two assistants, named by the convention in the same manner as the judges. A commission of six members shall also be appointed to draw up the decrees of accusation which may be passed by the convention.

V. The jurors shall be in number twelve, and their substitutes three. They shall be taken from the department of Paris, until the 1st of May next; an epoch when the electoral bodies shall renew their juries.

VI. Crimes against general safety, assigned heretofore to the cognizance of municipalities, shall in future be judged by the revolutionary tribunal.

VII. There shall be no appeal from the sentence of this tribunal.

VIII. Sentence passed in the absence of the accused, shall have the same effect as if they were present.

IX. Persons accused, who shall not appear within three months, shall be considered as emigrants, and shall be treated as such.

On Monday, March 11, Bournonville, the new minister of war, sent in his resignation. Upon this, a member moved, that the convention should immediately enter into a discussion on the organization of the ministry in general. This motion was violently opposed, and Carra expressed

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passed his surprise that the minister at war should resign his office, without declaring the motives which had induced him to pursue that step. He moved, therefore, that a decree might be passed to compel Bournonville to disclose the whole truth.

Another member exclaimed against every measure that might tend to concentrate the executive power in the convention. Such a plan, he said, appeared to him only calculated to murder liberty, and plunge France into an abyss of misfortunes.

Danton, formerly the minister of justice, observed, that the present circumstances were such, that the convention ought not to deprive itself of the power of choosing ministers, even from among its own members. Being interrupted by some murmurs, 'I declare,' said he, 'in the name of my country, that I will never accept the office of minister, as long as I shall have the honour of sitting among its representatives. I make this declaration without false modesty, for I think I am equal to any other citizen of the republic; but I hold it as an incontestible truth, that you will never do any good as long as you are not sensible of the necessity of carrying on matters openly. With regard to Bournonville, I shall do him that justice which he deserves. You cannot suppose, without doing him an injury, that a man, such as he, who has been exposed to so many dangers, and seen death so near, can be subject to terror. Bournonville has judged himself. One may be an excellent warrior, and yet be very unfit for a minister, at a time, above all, when every public man has need of a certain air of popularity, and such as that a suspicious people may have confidence in him. I move then, that the convention will pass to the order of the day, on every motion tending to make Bournonville give an account of the motives which induced him to resign.' This idea was adopted.

Hevelierre L'Epaux said, I maintain, that if you choose ministers from among your own members, you will establish, with the terrible tribunal which you have just organized, the most execrable species of tyranny. To-morrow, perhaps, a popular commotion may dissolve the convention. What then would be the case? Would not this tribunal, which would, undoubtedly receive laws from certain individuals, deprive France of the warmest friends of liberty? Certainly it would. I, among others, on the trial of the ci-devant king, voted against an appeal to the people, and for the punishment of death purely and simply. I have always borne in my heart an inveterate hatred against tyranny; and it is from a necessary consequence of the horror with which it inspires me, that I will oppose, with the utmost energy, that tyranny which may be attempted to be raised on the ruins of the ancient system. I move then, that this proposition may be expressly rejected; and I declare, that while a drop of blood shall remain in my veins, I will exert myself to the utmost to prevent France, and especially the department of Mayenne and Loire, of which I am the adopted child, and which has twice honoured me with its confidence, from bending its neck under that yoke with which some attempt to oppress it.

Cambacares wished to give perfect simplicity to the springs of government, and by that to make them all end at the same point.

Bancal observed, that when Louis XVI. was their centre, they all ended at the same point, and wished to know what kind of despotism was the mildest, that of an assembly, or that of a king? He endeavoured to prove that the despotism of an assembly would conduct to that of a king, and, to support his assertion, he took a successive view of all the epochs of the revolution brought about by Cromwell.

Danton having withdrawn his proposition, it was again brought forward by Robespierre, who said, he could not conceive the motive which induced his colleague Danton to say that he would not accept an office in the ministry. He acknowledged that he would act in a contrary manner. 'We no longer' added he, 'live at a period, when the title of Dictator, Protector, or Tribune, can be a reasonable subject of reproach. All those who possess good sense or honesty cannot consider a dictatorship or protectorship but as phantoms created by fear or malevolence. A man, who is sensible that he can serve his country in important offices, ought not thus to have the false modesty to say that he will not accept them; for this reason Robespierre will take upon himself every burden which he does not think superior to his strength, even that of a place in the ministry, which, in his opinion, is consistent with the functions of a legislator.'

After some other members had spoken, the

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the convention closed the discussion, and passed to the order of the day on the proposal made for declaring members of the convention eligible to all the offices of the state.

The convention passed also to the order of the day, on a proposal made by Duprat, to oblige all the representatives of the people to choose between their own functions, and those with which they might be interested either in the army, the administration, or the priesthood.

The convention passed likewise to the order of the day, on the motion made for obliging Bournonville to assign the motives which induced him to resign. It was however decreed, that he should not quit Paris till he had given in his accounts.

[To be continued.]

CONTINENTAL ADVICES.

Cagliaria in Sardinia, Jan. 25.

ON the 21st instant, a French ship of the line, and a bomb-ketch, appeared before the island of St. Peter, which was immediately surrendered to the French, the commandant having previously retired to this place with a detachment of 800 men, and such provisions as they could bring with them, and spiked the cannon they left behind. The French have also taken the island of Antioch.

Yesterday, the French fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, anchored in this harbour. The admiral sent a detachment of twenty men on shore with the national flag, and an officer, who demanded the surrender of the place; but the lieutenant of the port cautioned them not to advance; and when they arrived near the Pratic-house, the sardes killed the drummer and sixteen others: the rest retreated to the ship. It is expected that the town will be bombarded this morning.—*Lond. Gaz.*

Turin, in Piedmont, Feb. 16. Intelligence has been received here, that on the 27th of January, the French squadron in the gulph of Cagliari, consisting of twenty or twenty-one ships, of which four were bomb vessels, and seven ships of the line, having approached the city of Cagliari, began to bombard it, and were answered by a brisk firing of red-hot balls. This attack was continued for three days, when the ships retired out of the reach of the cannon, but without quitting the gulph. Several of the ships were damaged in their masts and rigging, and one was set on fire by a red-hot ball, but by the timely assistance of the others the fire was extinguished. The bombs produced no effect but upon the suburbs below the city, and only five men were killed. During the cannonading the French attempted to land in several places to procure provisions, but they were every where repulsed by the militia, and lost upward of 500 men.—*Ib.*

Munich, Feb. 17. Accounts are just received of the duke of Deux Ponts' very narrow escape from an army of 3000 French, who have taken possession of his residence of Carlsberg, near Deux Ponts. His serene highness received intelligence of their approach on the evening of the 9th instant, from one of his peasants, and had but just time to escape, with the duchess and the ladies of her court. The French took possession within an hour afterward, and have plundered that very costly residence. The duke and duchess arrived safe at Manheim the following day. —*Lond. Gaz.*

Aranjuez, Feb. 18. On Thursday last, M. Bourgoing, the French charge d'affaires at this court, left Madrid on his return to Paris by the way of Barcelona.—*Ib.*

Hague, March 2. His royal highness the duke of York arrived here on Wednesday evening, and the ships and transports, with the brigade of guards, arrived at Helvoet yesterday at five o'clock, perfectly safe and well.

Breda has surrendered by capitulation; the garrison marched out on the 25th ultimo, with their arms and field pieces, toward the garrisons of Heusen, Bois le Duc, &c. under an explicit condition to be at liberty to serve during the war.—*Ib.*

Hague, March 4. An account has been received here of the Austrian army under general Clairfait having passed the Roer on the night of the 28th ult. and repulsed the French army, as well on the side of Duren as on that of Juliers, and compelled them to retreat beyond Aldenhaven, with the loss on the side of the French of 2000 men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, twelve pieces of cannon, thirteen ammunition waggons, and the military chest. On the following day his royal highness the archduke attacked several French batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon.—*Ib.*

Hague,

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Hague, March 5. An officer arrived here this evening with an account of the capitulation of Gertruydenburg, after three days bombardment, on the ſame conditions as thoſe given at Breda. The garriſon, conſiſting of a Swiſs regiment and 160 cavalry, is to evacuate the town to-morrow, with the cannon of the battalions, all the horſes, and to march to Bois le Duc.—*Lond. Gaz.*

Hague, March 6. An officer is juſt arrived from the prince of Heſſe at Maeſtricht with intelligence, that on the 3d inſtant, the prince de Saxe Cobourg obtained a moſt complete victory over the French, chaſing them out of Aix-la-Chapelle as far as Liege, with a loſs, on their part, of 4000 killed, 1600 priſoners, and more than twenty pieces of cannon. On the ſame day, prince Frederick of Brunſwick took ſome batteries at Zwalme, killed 1300 of the French at Brugge, and took 700 priſoners, and marched toward Ruremonde.

The French retired from before Maeſtricht with precipitation, and left ſome baggage and cannon. They had thrown above 6000 ſhells into the town.

Yeſterday, the French retired about a league before Williamſtadt, and had ſuſpended the firing. An officer, who left the place laſt night, ſays that the brave garriſon was ſtill under arms, and in high ſpirits.—*Ib.*

Hague, March 8. Intelligence has been received here, that an advanced corps under the archduke Charles is in poſſeſſion of Tongres; that the Auſtrian army has taken Liege; that Ruremonde has been taken by prince Frederick of Brunſwick; and that the French have evacuated Fort St. Michael.—*Ib.*

Frankfort, March 9. Koniglein ſurrendered to the Pruſſians yeſterday, and the late French garriſon which occupied that fortreſs, conſiſting of about 440 men, are arrived in this city.—*Ib.*

Dort, March 15. Intelligence has juſt been received from Williamſtadt, that the garriſon made a ſally with forty-five men only: that they ſpiked three eighteen-pounders, which were in the battery under the Dyke, killed twenty Frenchmen, and took nine priſoners, without loſing a ſingle man.—*Ib.*

Hague, March 15. It appears, by recent accounts received here, that forty-eight pieces of cannon were taken at Liege, and very large magazines, of hay, corn, and above forty thouſand muſkets.—*Ib.*

Hague, March 17. Intelligence is juſt received here, that the French have raiſed the ſiege of Williamſtadt, evacuated Klundert, and retreated toward Antwerp, after ſetting fire to the village of Moerdyk, and to their own batteries, and leaving ſome cannon behind them.—*Lond. Gaz.*

Ham, in Weſtphalia, Feb. 1. Monſieur of France has publiſhed a proclamation here, which mentions the late murder of Louis XVI, and declares that 'the Dauphin, Louis Charles, born the 27th of March 1785, is king of France and Navarre, under the name of Louis XVII.' Monſieur then declares himſelf regent, and that he aſſumes the reins of government, conjointly with the other princes of the blood royal, of whom count d'Artois is appointed lieutenant of France. The proclamation is dated 'January 28th, under our ſeal, which we make uſe of in the ſigning of ſovereign acts, until the ſeals of the kingdom, deſtroyed by the reigning faction, are re-made; in the year 1793, and the firſt of the reign of Louis XVII.'

Monſieur has appointed the marſhals Broglio and Caſtries his miniſters of ſtate.

Hague, March 22. Intelligence has been received here of a victory obtained by the prince of Saxe-Cobourg over the French, at Neerlanden near Tirlemont, which was preceded by a long and ſharp action.

On the 15th inſtant, the advanced poſts of the Imperial army had been beat back from Tirlemont, which was retaken by the enemy. On the 16th, M. Dumourier attempted to paſs the left wing of the imperial army. On the 17th, there was a change of poſition, and a briſk cannonade. On the 18th, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, M. Dumourier attacked the center of the imperial army, but was repulſed: he was likewiſe repulſed by the imperial right wing; but about three o'clock in the afternoon, M. Dumourier's right wing penetrated through the imperial left wing, whoſe cavalry was prevented from manœuvring, the ground being interſected by ditches: the corps of reſerve, commanded by M. Clairfayt, then decided the victory. The French retired in good order until ſix o'clock in the evening, when the imperial light cavalry put them to the rout.

The number of killed and wounded is variouſly reported: It is ſaid that the French have loſt thirty-three pieces of cannon.—*Lond. Gaz.*

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HISTORICAL CHRONICLE.

FEBRUARY 20.

THIS day, a reſpectable meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor tavern, purſuant to advertiſement, for the purpoſe of conſidering on a plan to reward ſailors and ſoldiers who ſhould be maimed in the preſent war; and to raiſe a fund for the widows and orphans of ſuch ſailors and ſoldiers who fell in the ſervice of their country. As the very idea of ſuch benevolent and laudable motives for a ſubſcription is ſufficient to ſtimulate the country, and call forth their liberality on the occaſion, we need not enlarge on the ſubject, and doubt not it will have its proper effect in the breaſts of humanity. William Devaynes, eſq. M. P. was called to the chair, and a committee of twenty-five gentlemen were appointed to conduct the buſineſs.

Glaſgow, Feb. 16. Yeſterday morning, between four and five, the ſeſſion-houſe at the weſt end of the Tron church, which has, for a conſiderable time paſt been occupied, during the night, as a guard-room, by the guard of citizens, was diſcovered to be on fire. The flames had burſt through the roof before the fire was perceived, and communicating to the church, raged with ſuch violence as to preclude all hope of ſaving the building. The efforts of the firemen and other inhabitants were therefore ſolely, and ſucceſſfully, directed to the preſervation of the adjacent buildings. By ſeven o'clock the ſeſſion-houſe and church were completely deſtroyed; the records of the preſbytery and ſeſſion of Glaſgow, ſince the year 1582, which were depoſited in the ſeſſion-houſe, are almoſt entirely loſt. About ten volumes of the preſbytery records, which had been miſſing for upward of a century, were accidentally recovered within theſe twelve months. The church was rebuilt in the year 1592.

FEBRUARY 21.

On Tueſday, was tried before lord Kenyon and a ſpecial jury, an indictment againſt Thomas Dowling, for wilful and corrupt perjury, in the evidence he gave at the Old Bailey, on the trial of captain Kimber, charged with the murder of a negro girl.

The indictment contained forty-three aſſignments of perjury. There were, however, only two to which the attention of the jury was directed. The firſt charged the defendant with having falſely ſwore, that captain Kimber treated the girl with great cruelty; that he ſuſpended her by the arms and legs, flogged her himſelf, and that by his barbarous treatment, a diſorder was brought upon her which led to, and terminated in her death. The ſecond charge was, that the defendant falſely ſwore, that he never declared to any perſon, that he would be revenged upon captain Kimber, and work his ruin. To this charge the evidence only applied.

Three witneſſes were examined in ſupport of the proſecution, the ſubſtance of whoſe evidence was, that the defendant had declared in their preſence and hearing, that captain Kimber had groſly ill-treated him on board the ſhip Recovery, of which the captain was commander, and the defendant ſurgeon; that he had deprived him of a privileged ſlave, by allowing him only one inſtead of two; and that he would be revenged on him, and work his ruin ſome way or other.

Three witneſſes were called for the defendant, to prove that two of the witneſſes for the crown ought not to be believed on their oaths; but their evidence related only to ſome private and pecuniary tranſactions.

Mr. Wilberforce was examined, who ſtated, that the defendant did not voluntarily offer himſelf to him as a witneſs, reſpecting the cruelties attending any part of the ſlave trade, but that he had ſent for him, in conſequence of his hearing that he could communicate ſome information relative to a tranſaction that had happened upon the coaſt of Calabar.

Lord Kenyon having ſummed up the evidence, the jury, after a ſhort deliberation, brought in their verdict, guilty.

And yeſterday came on, before lord Kenyon, the trial of Stephen Devereux, for perjury, charged to have been committed by him, on the trial of captain Kimber, at the Old Bailey. Some witneſſes having been called to prove the examination of the defendant before ſir Sampſon Wright, his examination at the Old Bailey, and other matters, and ſeveral witneſſes heard on the part of the defendant, lord Kenyon, with much propriety, ſtopped the further progreſs of the cauſe, giving it as his opinion, that the evidence for the proſecution was ſo mainly ſhaken by that brought forward on the part of the defendant, that he muſt neceſſarily be acquitted; and the jury agreeing with his lordſhip in opinion,

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opinion, immediately brought in a verdict of—Not Guilty.

FEBRUARY 22.

On Tuesday, Dugald Campbell, charged with having given false characters to men servants, was brought before the right hon. Thomas Harley and sir Benjamin Hammet. Three persons attended the examination, who had received false characters. The first was, William Beverley, esq. of Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place; and John Campbell, esq. of Soho-square, who deposed, that he had hired a servant some time ago, and was directed to the prisoner for a character, who then went by the name of Mr. Smollet, a Scotch merchant; the third that appeared against him, was Charles Blicke, esq. of South Lambeth, who deposed, that he hired a servant, who directed him to his pretended master, which was the prisoner, and who, at the time he applied for his character, went under the title of sir Cormack Mackenzie, a Scotch baronet. The prisoner was convicted in the penalty of 20l. for each offence; and not paying the same, he was committed to the New Compter.

FEBRUARY 25.

This morning, at seven o'clock, the three battalions of foot-guards, destined for foreign service, marched from the parade in St. James' Park to Greenwich, where they immediately embarked on board the transports that were to convey them the next day to the Nore, and thence to Holland. They were under the command of the duke of York, who was to accompany them in the Syren frigate. On their march to Greenwich, the soldiers were honoured, all the way, with the presence of his majesty, in a general's uniform, on a beautiful milk-white charger; the queen and three eldest princesses in a coach; the prince of Wales, in the uniform of his regiment of light horse; the duke of Clarence, in a coach and six; and the duke of Gloucester and prince William, in the uniform of the first regiment of guards.

FEBRUARY 26.

On Saturday, Thomas Spence, who keeps a book-stall at the top of Chancery-lane, was tried at the Sessions house at Clerkenwell, for publishing a certain seditious book, entitled 'The Rights of Man, Part the Second, written by Thomas Paine.' By a flaw in the indictment, he was acquitted.

William Holland, printseller in Oxford-street, was also tried for publishing a certain seditious pamphlet, entitled, 'An Address to the Addressers, on the late Proclamation,' and was found guilty. The court sentenced him to be imprisoned one year, pay a fine of 100l. and find security for his good behaviour for one year, from the expiration of his imprisonment; himself in the sum of 200l. and two securities in the sum of 100l. each.

FEBRUARY 27.

Yesterday was tried, before lord Kenyon, in the court of king's bench, an action brought by Mr. Campbell, an officer in the army, against Mr. Hook, another officer in the army, for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife. The defendant was *her uncle*, her mother's brother. He visited her at her mother's house, and there the criminal intercourse commenced. The husband, at this time, was in the service of the East India company: it was in the year 1788.—The criminal intercourse being proved, the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with three thousand pounds damages.

MARCH 1.

This day, a proclamation was issued, ordering a fast, throughout England, on Friday April 19, and in Scotland, on Thursday April 18.—This gazette also contains a proclamation, offering a pardon to all deserters.

Charleston, South Carolina, Jan. 15. The legislation of this state passed a law on the 21st ult. prohibiting the importation of negroes thereinto for the period of two years from the 1st of the present month, when the last prohibitory act expired.

MARCH 4.

The house of Mr. Adam, the architect, near Barnet, in the absence of the family, was attacked in the early part of last week by some banditti, for the evident purpose of committing depredations. The husbandry bailiff was alarmed, and discovered them; on which, he fired among them, and killed one of the gang. A few evenings afterward, a party of thirteen ruffians returned to their charge. The bailiff was again alarmed, fired among them, and killed two.

On Saturday, four persons, genteelly dressed, called on horseback at Mr. Adams' house, and addressed the bailiff, who was by their conversation drawn to some distance from the house, by answering questions, and making remarks on the grounds. The party then having, by their manner, unguarded all suspicion, took an opportunity of shooting him, and left him for dead on the spot at two o'clock in the afternoon: he was, however, alive yesterday, but without hopes of recovery.

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MARCH 6.

This day, a common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the election of a repreſentative in parliament for this city in the room of Brook Watſon, eſq. who, on being appointed, from half-pay, commiſſary-general of the forces ſerving abroad, had vacated his ſeat, by accepting the Chiltern Hundreds, in order that the city might be fully repreſented. The candidates were, Mr. alderman Newnham and Mr. alderman Anderſon, when the ſheriffs reporting the number of hands to be in favour of the latter, and no poll being demanded, he was declared duly elected.

MARCH 8.

Dover, March 6. This afternoon arrived ſixteen French priſoners from Rye, on their road to Deal. They were conducted by a party of the Berkſhire militia, commanded by the earl of Barrymore. The whole party halted at the turnpike at the top of Folkſtone-hill, and took ſome refreſhment; but a melancholy accident befel his lordſhip, on regaining his ſeat in his gig; for his fuzee, which he carried with him, unfortunately went off, and ſhot him through the head. Colonel St. John, of the Queen's regiment, who happened to be near the ſpot, ſent immediately to Folkſtone for a ſurgeon, but his lordſhip died a few minutes after he arrived.

Kingſton, St. Vincent, Jan. 26. On Thurſday, the Providence, captain Bligh, and the Aſſiſtance, captain Portlock, arrived here from Otaheite. They ſailed from England, on the 2d of Auguſt 1791, arrived at Otaheite the 10th of April following, where they remained till the 19th of July, and having effected the object of their voyage, left that iſland in perfect health, and arrived at St. Helena, the 17th of December, whence they had only a paſſage of twenty-ſeven days here. It muſt afford no ſmall pleaſure to the inhabitants of this part of the world, to learn, that 300 bread-fruit plants have been landed here, in excellent order, for the purpoſe of being diſtributed among the different iſlands; but our grateful acknowledgements are particularly due to our beloved ſovereign, who, ever mindful of the wants of his ſubjects, directed this beneficial undertaking. The remainder of the plants, amounting to an equal number, are intended for Jamaica, whither captain Bligh will proceed in a day or two, and thence return to England. A number of other valuable plants are brought by captain Bligh, and ſome of the moſt delicious fruits.

Captain Bligh has on board two men, natives of Otaheite, going to England with him.

Captain Bligh went out and returned by the Cape of Good Hope. He alſo, in his return, called at Timor, and came through the heretofore unexplored ſtrait between New Guinea and New Holland, which, we underſtand, has been named Providence Straits. This paſſage is mentioned as extremely perilous, and, inſtead of being, as was ſuppoſed and laid down, clear and open, was full of ſhoals, rocks, and ſmall iſlands. The Providence and Aſſiſtance were repeatedly in the moſt imminent danger of being loſt, and though the diſtance, in good ſea room might be run in a couple of days, ſo ſlow was their progreſs, that it took twenty-one to get through it. At times they could not run more than five miles a day, and they loſt ſome anchors. Some of the iſlands in this ſtrait are inhabited, and a communication was held with the natives, who appeared friendly; but, on a ſudden, a number of canoes put off, and approaching cloſe to the Aſſiſtance, threw in a volley of arrows, by which one man was killed and two dangerouſly wounded. They, however, retired very precipitately, on the Providence firing at them and ſtriking one of the canoes, by which ſome were killed.

It was in this ſtrait the Pandora frigate was loſt; and it is conjectured that M. de la Peyrouſe periſhed there.

There are on board the Providence part of the crew of the ſhip Matilda, a whaler belonging to London, which was wrecked in the South Seas, and had got to Otaheite in their boats. No account could be collected of the Bounty. Only one man died of diſeaſe during the voyage. The aſſembly, which met on Wedneſday, came to an unanimous reſolution, in conſequence of the unparalleled ſufferings of captain Bligh in his firſt voyage, and his unwearied perſeverance to the final accompliſhment of his object, to preſent him with a piece of plate, of the value of one hundred guineas, as a mark of the ſenſe this iſland entertains for his diſtinguiſhed merit; and an addreſs alſo paſſed both houſes, expreſſive of their loyalty and firm attachment to the conſtitution.

MARCH 13.

At the aſſizes for Reading, came on before ſir John Wilſon, knt. a trial upon an ejectment, brought by Mrs. Prankard and Mr. Weldale, a butcher, as co-heirs of the late ſir Francis Knollys, bart. when

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after

after a hearing of four hours, a verdict was given for the plaintiff, to the entire satisfaction of the whole court.—Property to the amount of 120,000l. and upward, depended on the above trial.

Madras, Sept. 8. Tippoo has absolutely refused furnishing any assistance to the rebel Polygars. Another payment of the Seringapatam money has been made, and it is supposed the young hostages will soon be redeemed. In the mean time they appear perfectly happy with us, have an excellent town and country-house, attend assemblies, &c. At lady Oakley's rout, the youngest asked lord Cornwallis which was his daneing wife? They were highly anxious to obtain permission to go on board a man of war. His lordship thought it proper to obtain their father's previous consent; but before that was obtained, the whole had all taken their departure.

A liberal subscription was opened at Calcutta, soon after the news of the peace, to present lord Cornwallis with a diamond star, George, loop, &c. But no sooner was his lordship acquainted with it, than he declined this honour, and put a stop to a scheme which had been a favourite object with the settlement.

MARCH 22.

Liverpool, March 20. This afternoon, about two o'clock, a dreadful accident happened here. As the Pelican privateer, belonging to Nicholas Ashton, esq. of this town, was cruizing in the river, by a sudden gust of wind, she overset and instantly went to the bottom! She was manned with ninety-four choice seamen, and had on board upward of forty persons, exclusive of her crew; out of which number only thirty-two have been saved! From one of those that were saved, we are informed that it was owing to the guns being loose that the misfortune happened; that when the gust of wind heeled her, the weather guns broke through the lee ports, and she instantly filled with water. Her masts at low water mark appear about half out of the water.

Norwich, March 20. The prodigious rot which has for some months past subsisted among the flocks of sheep, particularly in the long woollen ones, will sufficiently explain why there has been no decline in the price of wool, while yarns have fallen suddenly twenty per cent. in consequence of the war in which we are involved, and which, unhappily for the numerous dependents upon the manufacture of this city, has discharged full 2000 weavers from their looms; at the same time it will account for the very great reduction in the poor spinner's wages. Combing wool is now 300 per cent. dearer than it was ten years back, when yarn was only about twenty per cent. cheaper; at this time a pound of combed wool is worth as much as one spun into yarn was then; of course the manufacturer must either have his work done at very reduced wages, or he must wholly decline giving employment to the spinner. To a country where, on an average, upward of 60,000l. per annum is paid for this seemingly unproductive kind of labour, this is an object of some moment; at the same time it may shew that what is gained by the land in one instance, may be drawn from it in another.

Orders have been issued from the adjutant-general's office at Edinburgh, fixing the head quarters of the seven fencible regiments, now raising there.—Those of the duke of Gordon's corps are at Aberdeen; —of the marquis of Lorne's, at Sterling; —of Mr. Montgomery's, at Glasgow;—of the earl of Breadalbane's, at Perth;—of the earl of Hopetoun's, at Linlithgow; of Mr. Wemys', at Inverness;—and of sir James Grant's, at Forres.

MARCH 25.

An edict has been published by the empress of Russia, and which appears at length in the Dutch papers, declaring the treaties of commerce, &c. with the French nation, null and void. It also prohibits the importation of any of the French gazettes into the Russian dominions, as well as her subjects from going to France, or having any connection whatever with that nation. But if any of the French wish to settle in her territory, they must take an oath of fidelity, which is prepared for that purpose.

Yesterday the minister contracted with messrs. Thelussons and their friends, for a loan of six millions 3 per cent. consols. at 72 per cent.; in consequence of which, the commissioners of public accounts are to continue buying the annual million allowed for liquidating the public debt, instead of lending government a million and a half, as was at first proposed.

Helvoetsluys, March 24. The states general, in consequence of lord Auckland's memorial, have come to a resolution to request the court of Great Britain not to withhold the further supply of troops, and also, that, on their arrival, they may be permitted to pursue the general enemy of Europe into their own country.

A few days since died at Lench, in

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Worceſterſhire, in his 101ſt year, William Nicolls, a labouring man, deſcended from Richard Nicolls, ſtudent of Magdalen college, Oxford, in the reign of queen Eliſabeth, and who was one of the ornaments of that reign.

MARCH 25.

On Friday, Flindal the incendiary, and one Williams, were tried before baron Hotham, upon the charge of a burglary committed on the houſe of Mr. Davis at Peckham, during the fair in Auguſt laſt. They were capitally indicted, but as the jury rated the property ſtolen at 4s. 6d. they were ſentenced to ſeven years tranſportation. The judge afterward informed Flindal, that, if he had been caſt for death, he ſhould have ordered him for execution in a few days.

A cauſe of very conſiderable importance to innkeepers, was determined laſt week at Lancaſter, before ſir Francis Buller, bart. A perſon went into the houſe of a publican in Mancheſter, with a parcel of goods, which he told the miſtreſs of the houſe he wiſhed to leave till the next market day. She replied, ſhe was not ſure he could, for they were very full. The owner of the goods called for ſome ale, and ſat down upon a ſofa, putting the goods behind it. In a ſhort time the parcel was ſtolen, while he remained on his ſeat; and he brought an action to recover the value from the landlord of the houſe. This the landlord reſiſted, alleging that the goods were never out of the owner's poſſeſſion. A verdict was, however, given in favour of the plaintiff, upon the ground that he was a gueſt in the houſe, and that, while he remained ſo, his property muſt be ſecured to him.

MARCH 26.

Whitehall, March 25. A convention was this day ſigned by the right hon. lord Grenville, his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, and by count Woronzow, envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary from the empreſs of Ruſſia, for renewing the treaty of commerce of the year 1766, between Great Britain and Ruſſia, for the term of ſix years.—*Lond. Gaz.*

IRELAND.

Dublin, March 2. Yeſterday, in the houſe of lords, the hon. Simon Butler and Mr. Oliver Bond, having been ſummoned to appear in conſequence of a paper publiſhed by the United Iriſhmen, animadverting on the conduct of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, they appeared accordingly, and on being queſtioned, avowed the publication, and aſſerted that it contained nothing illegal or unconſtitutional. After this declaration, they were ordered to withdraw for a while; in the mean time, the houſe voted the paper in queſtion a ſcandalous libel on their privileges; and, on the motion of the earl of Weſtmeath, ordered that the parties ſhould be fined 500l. and confined ſix months. Mr. Butler and Mr. Bond were then ordered to the bar. The chancellor pronounced the ſentence of the houſe, and they were immediately conducted to Newgate by alderman Warren and black rod.

BIRTHS.

Counteſs of Harrington, a daughter.
Viſcounteſs Stopford, a ſon and heir.
Counteſs of Albemarle, a ſon and heir.
Lady C. Capel, a ſon and heir.

MARRIAGES.

Hon. captain Thomas Windſor, to miſs Bagnall, daughter of John Bagnall, eſq. of Early-court, Berks.

Hon. Archibald Stuart, ſon to the earl of Moray, to miſs Cornelia Pleydell, daughter of Edmund Martin Pleydell, eſq. of Milbourn St. Andrews.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, to lady Jane Hope.

Henry Howard, eſq. of Corby Caſtle, to miſs Neave, daughter of Richard Neave, eſq.

DEATHS.

THE only ſon of lord Arden.

Lately, Henry Laurens, eſq. formerly preſident of the American congreſs.

Lady Powerſcourt.

Barbara counteſs dowager of Caithneſs.

Lady Dover.

Lady Margaret Watſon.

Sir Robert Lawley, bart. M. P.

Caroline baroneſs Dinever.

Thomas Woods Knollis, earl of Banbury.

William earl of Beſborough.

William earl of Mansfield.

PROMOTIONS.

Edwin Martin Atkins, eſq. of Kingſton Lille, ſheriff of Berks, vice Thomas Goodlake, eſq. deceaſed.

Sir John Temple, bart.—Conſul-general of the eaſtern ſtates of America.

Phineas Bond, eſq.—Conſul-general of the middle and ſouthern ſtates.

William duke of Mancheſter—Lord-lieutenant of Huntingdonſhire.

Brook

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Brook Watſon, eſq.—Commiſſary-general to the forces abroad.

Dr. Thomas Giſborne and Dr. William Heberden, jun.—Phyſicians extraordinary to the queen.

John lord Mountſtuart—Lord-lieutenant of Glamorganſhire.

John Dryden, eſq. of Canons Aſhby, Northamptonſhire—knighted.

BANKRUPTS. From the GAZETTE.

FEBRUARY 26.

Richard Crown, of Hunden, in Suffolk, ſhopkeeper.

Iſaac Burnett, of Kingſton-upon-Hull, grocer.

William Williams, of the Old City-chambers, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, broker.

John Eve, of Oxford-ſtreet, coach-maker.

Thomas Hornſby, of Roxby, in Lincolnſhire, and John Hornſby, of Winterton, grocers and co-partners.

MARCH 2.

Robert Dale, of Batterſea, in Surry, brewer.

Samuel Buckland, of Long-lane, Bermondſey, coal-merchant.

Robert Heward, of Cannon-ſtreet, colour-man.

Joſeph Colles, of Prince's-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare, wine-merchant.

Clement Lyall, of St. George's-fields, ſoapmaker.

William Repath, of Lambeth, builder.

William Chamberlain, of Fetter-lane, baker.

George Oſmond, of Hammerſmith, carcaſe-butcher.

James Dunn, of Burr-ſtreet, St. Botolph, Aldgate, mariner.

William Stace, of Romford, in Eſſex, broker.

John Harley, of St. Martin's-court, Leiceſter-fields, ſtaymaker.

Jonathan Pym, of Ludgate-ſtreet, merchant.

John Phipps, of Waldron, in Suſſex, grazier.

Thomas Currier, of Birmingham, buckle-maker.

John Banyer, of Harpley, in Norfolk, grocer.

Stephen Puddicombe Halfyard, of Calne, in Wilts, dealer.

MARCH 5.

Edward Wilſon, of Birmingham, builder.

Thomas Newman, of Middle Hulton, in Lancaſhire, victualler.

James Howard, of Rochdale, in Lancaſhire, machine-maker.

Robert Bew, of Taft, in Warwickſhire, ſhopkeeper.

William Barwell, of Gretton, in Northamptonſhire, ſhopkeeper.

MARCH 9.

Samuel Crakanthorp, of Colcheſter, in Eſſex, maltſter.

William Lewis the younger, of Aberavon, in Glamorganſhire, victualler.

John Wood, of Preſton, in Lancaſhire, linen-draper.

Samuel Hands, and Robert Burton Cooper, of Birmingham, and Thomas Wright, of London, buckle-makers and copartners.

Samuel Hands, and Samuel Peal, of Birmingham, and Anthony Hunt, of Briſtol, curriers and copartners.

William Sawyer, of Birmingham, dealer.

George Stratton, and Hugh Jones, of Cheapſide, ironmongers and copartners.

Anthony Hide, of Goodge-ſtreet, Tottenham-court-road, haberdaſher.

Joſeph Kirkman, of Gower-ſtreet, Bedford-ſquare, builder.

John Francis Clarke, and William Maſon, of Caſtle-court, Lawrence-lane, haberdaſhers and partners.

John Bell, merchant, ſurviving partner of Benjamin Jordan and Robert Cullin, of Norfolk, in Virginia, merchants.

Rowland Thomas, of Birmingham, buckle-maker.

Thomas Watkins, of Piccadilly, cheeſemonger.

Daniel Hancock, and Leonard Weſt, of Liverpool, merchants and copartners.

Thomas Williams, of Racquet-court, Fleet-ſtreet, wholeſale perfumer.

Hugh Jones, of New Surry-road, Surry, ſmith.

William Flower, of Mount-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare, ſadler.

MARCH 12.

John Francklin Tunnard, and Samuel Sadler, of Bucklerſbury, money-ſcriveners and copartners.

John Luffman, of Alfred-buildings, Moorfields, printer.

Peter Biggs, of Blackman-ſtreet, Southwark, auctioneer.

William Deaſton, of Coventry, baker.

Joſeph Gurney, of Briſtol, goldſmith.

James Lake, of Swanſea, in Glamorganſhire, dealer.

William Swan, of Devizes, Wilts, ironmonger.

Silveſter Obbins the younger, of Boſton, in Lincolnſhire, carpenter.

James Pannel, of St. Paul's Belchamp, in Eſſex, butcher.

Thomas

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Thomas Sanderſon, of Cromer, Norfolk, innholder.

Walter Chandler, of Briſtol, cutler.

MARCH 16.

Robert Barret, of Leadenhall-ſtreet, hatter.

James Routlidge, of Paul-ſtreet, St. Leonard, Shoreditch, carpenter.

George Spence Eyles, of St. Leonard, Bromley, money-ſcrivener.

Edward Darvill, of Watling-ſtreet, goldſmith.

John Love, of Clipſtone-ſtreet, St. Mary-le-bone, builder.

Benjamin Davies, of Black-friars-road, Surry, linen-draper.

John Gatward, of Hill-ſtreet, St. Luke, builder.

Edmund Townſend, and Robert Fiſbe, of Chepſtow, in Monmouthſhire, grocers and copartners.

Henry Piſtor, of Thavies-inn, watch-maker.

James Pearſon, of Weſton Underwood, Bucks, graſier.

James Maſey, Philip Maſey, and James Rogers, of Briſtol, hoopers and partners, (trading under the firm of James and Philip Maſey, and Co.)

John Purnell, of Briſtol, merchant.

Robert Banington Gibſon, of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondſey, mariner.

Joſiah Baughan, and Richard Guyer, of Bell-yard, Fiſh-ſtreet-hill, hat-makers and copartners.

Alexander Willock, and Francis Willock, of Broad-ſtreet-buildings, merchants and copartners, (carrying on trade under the firm of Alexander and Francis Willock.)

Edmund Townſend, of Chepſtow, in Monmouthſhire, grocer.

MARCH 19.

Timothy De Souza Pinto, of Aldermanbury, wine-merchant.

Thomas Bell, of the Borough, High-ſtreet, Southwark, apothecary.

Joſeph Shilſton, of Tottenham-ſtreet, carpenter.

John Forbes, and Daniel Gregory, of Aldermanbury, merchants and copartners, (carrying on buſineſs under the firm of B. Burton, Forbes, and Gregory.)

Iſaac Lloyd, of Pembroke, mercer.

William Gayner, of Briſtol, broker.

George Wyatt, of Shiffnall, in Salop, timber-merchant.

George Packer M'Carthy, and Robert Walter Vaughan, of Briſtol, ſaleſmen and copartners.

Thomas Bingham, of Meſham, in Derbyſhire, grocer.

MARCH 23.

John Chriſtian Splitgerber, of Little Trinity-lane, merchant, (trading under the firm of John Chriſtian Splitgerber and company.)

Benjamin Reynolds, of James-ſtreet, Covent-garden, carpenter.

Benjamin Williams, of Pall-mall, St. James', grocer.

Iſaac Maſon, and James Haygarth, of Deptford-bridge, near Greenwich, Kent, cabinet-makers and copartners.

John Burghall, of Newgate-ſtreet, cheeſemonger.

John Richards, of Durham place, Bethnal-green, mariner.

John Rhodes, of Lower Whitley, in Yorkſhire, clothier.

Samuel Sandys, of Liverpool, earthen-ware-merchant.

Solomon De Mendes, and Michel Verbeke, of the City-chambers, London, merchants and copartners.

James Simms, of Mancheſter, fuſtian-manufacturer.

John M'Cullom, of Briſtol, merchant.

James Marriott, of Olney, Bucks, lace-merchant.

Iſcah Marriott, of Olney, Bucks, grocer.

William Ellerby, of Leven, in Yorkſhire, miller.

John Croſs, of Greyhound-yard, Holborn, horſe-dealer.

Thomas Kift, and Bartholomew Doyle, of Briſtol, inſurance-brokers and copartners.

MARCH 26.

Robert Platts, of St. Clement Danes, taylor.

David Sanders, and William Sanders, of Warwick, builders and copartners, (carrying on buſineſs under the firm of David and William Sanders, builders, timber-merchants, and bankers.)

John Sharp, of Warwick, ſeedſman.

George Packer M'Carthy, of Briſtol, woollen-draper.

Robert Walter Vaughan, of Briſtol, woollen-draper.

Patrick Fitzhenry, of Briſtol, merchant.

Ann Graham, of Botolph-lane, orange-merchant.

John Coleman, of Liverpool, baker.

Francis Calvert, of Tottenham-court-road, horſe-dealer.

Iſcah Marriott, of Olney, in Bucks, grocer.

Robert

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Robert Stares, of Bishop's Waltham, in Southampton, miller.

John Ricketts, of Bromyard, in Hereford, ironmonger.

John Stockman the younger and Thomas Sutton, of St. Nicholas, in Devon, shipwrights and copartners.

Henry Lenton, of Belton, in Rutland, dealer in horses.

Bartholomew Doyle, of Briſtol, merchant.

Thomas Kift, of Briſtol, broker.

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March 16, 1793.

By the Standard Wincheſter Buſhel of Eight Gallons.

	Wheat.		Rye.		Bar.		Oats.		Bea.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London	5	8	4	5	3	10	2	7	3	9
INLAND COUNTIES.										
Middleſex	6	0	—		3	11	3	0	—	
Surry	5	9	3	6	3	9	2	9	4	3
Hertford	5	8	—		3	11	2	7	4	5
Bedford	5	11	—		3	10	2	10	4	1
Huntingdon	5	9	—		3	9	2	7	3	11
Northampton	5	10	4	2	4	1	2	5	4	2
Rutland	5	10	—		4	7	2	9	4	10
Leiceſter	6	2	—		4	3	2	3	4	11
Nottingham	6	5	4	3	4	6	2	7	4	10
Derby	6	7	—		4	8	2	10	5	0
Stafford	6	3	—		4	6	2	9	4	11
Salop	6	0	4	5	4	3	2	9	5	5
Hereford	5	5	5	2	3	11	3	0	4	9
Worceſter	5	10	4	2	4	1	2	10	4	1
Warwick	5	11	—		4	5	2	10	4	8
Wilts	6	2	—		3	9	2	9	5	2
Berks	6	1	—		3	6	2	9	4	1
Oxford	6	0	—		3	6	2	8	4	5
Bucks	5	9	—		4	0	2	7	4	2
Brecon	6	7	4	9	3	9	2	0	—	
Montgomery	6	3	—		3	7	2	5	4	6
Radnor	6	0	—		3	5	2	3	—	
MARITIME COUNTIES.										
Eſſex	5	7	4	1	3	8	2	6	3	10
Kent	5	5	3	10	3	8	2	7	3	11
Suſſex	5	3	—		3	7	2	7	—	
Suffolk	5	3	—		3	9	2	4	3	5
Cambridge	5	3	3	7	3	9	1	10	3	10
Norfolk	5	4	3	5	3	3	2	1	3	9
Lincoln	5	5	4	4	3	10	2	0	4	0
York	5	1	3	6	3	6	2	1	3	11
Durham	6	3	—		3	10	2	3	4	7
Northumberland	5	2	3	9	3	2	2	2	4	0
Cumberland	0	0	5	4	3	6	2	1	—	
Weſtmorland	6	6	5	6	3	11	2	5	—	
Lancaſter	6	2	—		4	3	2	9	4	6
Cheſter	5	11	—		4	1	2	7	—	
Flint	5	10	—		4	4	2	4	—	
Denbigh	6	4	—		4	1	2	2	4	10
Angleſea	5	6	—		3	7	1	6	—	
Carnarvon	6	1	5	0	3	6	1	10	—	
Merioneth	7	4	5	7	4	0	2	3	—	
Cardigan	7	0	5	0	3	8	1	7	—	
Pembroke	4	10	—		3	0	1	5	—	
Carmarthen	6	2	—		3	10	1	6	—	
Glamorgan	7	1	—		4	3	2	10	—	
Glouceſter	6	4	—		3	9	2	7	4	1
Somerſet	6	6	—		3	6	—		3	6
Monmouth	7	0	—		3	10	—		—	
Devon	6	4	—		3	0	1	9	—	
Cornwall	6	0	—		2	10	1	11	—	
Dorſet	6	3	—		3	5	2	7	5	0
Hants	5	11	—		3	9	2	7	4	9

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PRICES

PRICES of STOCKS, from FEBRUARY 26 to MARCH 27, 1793, both inclusive.

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Days	Bank Stock.	3 per C. reduced.	3 per C. consols.	4 per C. consols.	5 per C. consols.	Long Ans.	Short Ans.	India Stock.	India Ans.	India Bonds.	South Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	English. Lot. Tic.
26	161 ½ ¼	72 ¼	71 ⅛ ⅝	87 ⅜	101 ⅝	21 ⅛		197		73.pr			71	7 ⅞dif.	
27	163 ¼	73 ⅜	7 ⅛ ¼	88 ¼	104	21 ⅛ ¼	10 ⅜	194 ¾		10		73		7 ½	
28	164 ¼ ¾	73 ⅜	72 ¼ a 73 ¼	89	104	21 ⅛ ⅜	10 ⅜ ⅝	196		9			72 ½		
1	164 ¼	73 ⅜	72 ¼ a 73	88 ½	103 ½	21 ⅛ ⅜	10 ⅜	196		10		73 ¼		7 ⅜ ¼	
2	166	shut.	73 ¼ a 72 ⅞	89	104	21 ⅛ ½	shut.	196 ¼	shut.	10				7 ¼	
4	165		73 a 72 ⅝	88 ⅞	103 ¾	21 ⅛ ½		196 ¼		9				7	
5	166 ¼		73 ½	89 ⅛	104 ⅛ ¼	21 ⅛ ¼		197		9			73		
6	166 ¼ ¼		73 ⅜ ¼	shut.	104 ⅛ ½	shut.		196 ¾		9				6 ⅞	
7	165 ¼		72 ⅞ ⅜		104			195 ¼		7			72 ⅝	7	
8	168		73 ⅜ ¼ a 74 ½		105 ⅛			198		6	81 ¼	74 ½		7	
9	168 ½		73 ½ a 74 ½		107			198		6		shut.		6 ¼	
11	168		74 ¼ a 73 ⅜		106 ½			198		7	83			6 ¼ ¼	
12	167 ½ ¼		73 ½ a 74 ½		106 ½			197 ¼		4				6 ¼	
13	169 ¼ ½		74 ½ a 75 ⅝		108			199		10	84				
14	173 ¼ ½		75 ¼ a 78		111 ¼ ⅝			201 ¼ ½		12					
15	173 ¼ ½		78 ¼ a 76 ⅞		108 ⅛ ¼			201 ½ ¼		12				6 ¼	
16	173 ½		77 ½ a 76 ¼		108 ¼ ½			201 ¼ ½		11				6 ¼ ¼	
18	176		78 ½ a 77 ⅝		108			204 ¼ ½		14				6 ¼	
19	174 ¼ ¼		77 ½ a 78		108			203 ¼ ¾		14	85 ¼		77 ½	6 ¼	
20	174 ¼ ¼		77 ⅞ a 78 ⅜		109 ¼			204 ½ ¾		16				6 ⅜ ⅝	
21	174		77 ⅜ a 78 ⅝		108 ¼ ½			204 ½ ¾		16				6 ⅜ ⅝	
22	174		77 ¼ a 76 ⅞		107 ⅞			204 ¼ ¼		16				6 ⅜ ¼	
23	174 ½		77 ¼ a 76 ½		107 ⅜			204 ¼ ¼		13				7 ¼	
25	174 ½		76 ½ a 77 ⅞					205 ¼		7				7 ¼ ¼	
26	174 ¼		76 ½ a 77 ½		108 ¼			205 ¾ ¼		6			76 ⅞	7 ¼ ¼	
27	173		77 a 76		108 ⅛			204 ¾		1				7 ½	

☞ In the 3 per Cent. consols. the highest and lowest Price of each Day is given; in every other Article the highest Price only, the Long and Short Annuities excepted, which are given within a sixteenth of the highest Price. In the different Funds that are shut, the Prices are given with the Dividend till the Days of Opening.

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J. Baker sculp. Islington.

JOHN DYER,

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MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of the Reverend* JOHN DYER, *LL. B.*
With a fine Portrait of that eminent Poet.

JOHN DYER, although not one of the higheſt in literary fame, yet, of conſiderable eminence as a poet, was born in the year 1700, and was the ſecond ſon of Mr. Robert Dyer, of Aberglaſney, in Caermarthenſhire, a ſolicitor of great capacity and reputation.

Of the education of our poet it is only known, that he finiſhed his ſchool ſtudies at Weſtminſter, under the tuition of Dr. Friend. Hence he was called home, to be inſtructed in his father's profeſſion. But his father died ſoon after; and having been ever fond of amuſing himſelf with drawing, and entertaining, moreover, a great diſlike to the ſtudies of the law, he determined to embrace a profeſſion more congenial to his taſte. With this view, he became the pupil of Mr. Richardſon of Lincoln's-inn-fields; an artiſt of conſiderable reputation then, although now better known by his books than by his pictures.

Having ſtudied, ſome time, under his maſter, he 'became (as he himſelf obſerves, in his letter to the Rev. J. Duncombe) an itinerant painter in his native country, South Wales, and in Herefordſhire, Worceſterſhire, &c.*' At the ſame time, he cultivated a poetical talent; and, in the year 1727, printed his Grongar Hill in Lewis' Miſcellany. Being probably diſſatisfied with his own proficiency, he made the tour of Italy. In that favourite ſeat of the muſes, beſide the uſual ſtudy of the remains of ancient magnificence, and the works of the great maſters, he frequently ſpent whole days in the country in the vicinity of Rome and Florence; ſketching with facility and ſpirit the moſt pictureſque and beautiful views. The images which theſe exhibited, he naturally transferred into his poetical compoſitions. The principal beauties of his Ruins of Rome are perhaps of this kind; and the various rural landſcapes in his Fleece have been particularly admired.

He returned to England in 1740, and then publiſhed the Ruins of Rome. It does not appear that he made much uſe of his acquiſitions, whatever they were, as a painter. He ſoon found that he could not reliſh a town life. He had naturally a fondneſs for books, for ſolitude, and reflection; and as he now experienced ſome degree of ill-health, he could not ſubmit to the aſſiduity which his preſent profeſſion required. As the turn of his mind too was rather ſerious, and his behaviour and conduct had been irreproachable, he was adviſed by his friends to enter into holy orders; and it may be preſumed, that, although his education had not been regular, he found no difficulty in obtaining them. He was ordained by the biſhop of Lincoln, and had the degree of bachelor of laws conferred upon him.

About the ſame time, he married a lady of Coleſhill in Warwickſhire. Her name was Enſor. 'Her grandmother,' he obſerves, in the letter already quoted, 'was a Shakſpeare, deſcended from a brother of every body's Shakſpeare.' His eccleſiaſtical proviſion was, for a long time, but ſlender. In the year 1741, his firſt patron, Mr. Harper, gave him the living of Catthorpe in Leiceſterſhire, of about eighty pounds a year. This he quitted, in 1751, for Belchford, a ſmall living of ſeventy-five pounds a year, which was given him by the lord chancellor, through the intereſt of David Wray, eſq. one of the deputy tellers of the exchequer, a friend to virtue and the muſes. A year after, through the ſame intereſt, ſir John Heathcote, of Normanton, in

* Letters by ſeveral eminent Perſons deceaſed, 2 vols.

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Rutlandſhire, preſented him with the living of Coningſby, near Horncaſtle, in Lincolnſhire; and, in 1756, that worthy baronet, without any ſolicitation, procured for him, from the lord chancellor, the living of Kirkby, in the neighbourhood of Coningſby. The latter was worth one hundred and forty pounds a year, and the annual value of Kirkby was one hundred and ten pounds. But he was at firſt, a loſer by the exchange of Belchford for Coningſby, on account of the repairs of the parſonage houſe, and the expences of the ſeal, diſpenſations, journeys, &c.

In 1757, he publiſhed The Fleece, his greateſt poetical work. In this he did not forget ſome grateful effuſions to his generous patrons:

Now, of the ſever'd lock, begin the ſong,
With various numbers, through the ſimple theme
To win attention: this, ye ſhepherd ſwains,
This is a labour. Yet, O *Wray*, if thou
Ceaſe not with ſkilful hand to point her way,
The lark-wing'd muſe, above the graſſy vale,
And hills, and woods, ſhall, ſinging, ſoar aloft;
And he, whom Learning, Wiſdom, Candour grace,
Who glows with all the virtues of his ſire,
Royſton * approve, and patronize the ſtrain.
Book II.

And thou, the friend of every virtuous deed
And aim, though feeble, ſhalt theſe rural lays
Approve, O *Heathcote*, whoſe benevolence
Viſits our vallies; where the paſture ſpreads,
And where the bramble; and would juſtly act
True charity, by teaching idle Want
And Vice the inclination to do good,
Good to themſelves, and in themſelves to all,
Through grateful toil. Book III.

But he did not long ſurvive this publication, nor the increaſe of his preferments. He had long ſtruggled with a conſumptive diſorder, which terminated in his diſſolution, in the year 1758. He left four children; the youngeſt of which, a boy, was eight years of age, at the time of his father's death.

Speaking of our author's poetical talents, Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that he was not a poet of bulk or dignity ſufficient to require an elaborate criticiſm. 'Grongar Hill,' he continues, 'is the happieſt of his productions. It is not, indeed, very accurately written; but the ſcenes which it diſplays are ſo pleaſing, the images which they raiſe ſo welcome to the mind, and the reflections of the writer ſo conſonant to the general ſenſe or experience of mankind, that when it is once read, it will be read again.

'The idea of The Ruins of Rome ſtrikes more, but pleaſes leſs; and the title raiſes greater expectation than the performance gratifies. Some paſſages, however, are conceived with the mind of a poet; as when, in the neighbourhood of dilapidating edifices, he ſays,

At dead of night
The pilgrim oft, 'mid his oriſons, hears,
Aghaſt, the voice of time-diſparting towers.

'Of The Fleece, which never became popular, and is now univerſally neglected, I can ſay little that is likely to recall it to attention. The woolcomber and the poet appear to me ſuch diſcordant natures, that an attempt to bring them together is to couple the ſerpent with the fowl. When Dyer, whoſe mind was not unpoetical, has done his utmoſt by intereſting his reader in our native commodity, by interſperſing rural imagery, and incidental digreſſions, by clothing ſmall images in great words, and by all the writer's arts of deluſion, the meanneſs naturally adhering, and the irreverence habitually annexed, to trade and manufacture, ſink him under inſuperable oppreſſion; and the diſguſt which

* The late earl of Hardwicke, then viſcount Royſton, ſon of the lord chancellor.

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blank verſe, encumbering and encumbered, ſuperadds to an unpleaſing ſubject, ſoon repels the reader, however willing to be pleaſed.

'Let me, however, honeſtly report whatever may counterbalance this weight of cenſure. I have been told that Akenſide, who, upon a poetical queſtion, has a right to be heard, ſaid, 'That he would regulate his opinion of the reigning taſte by the fate of Dyer's Fleece; for, if that were ill received, he ſhould not think it any longer reaſonable to expect fame from excellence.'

With deference to our great critic, it is not eaſy to conceive that there is any 'meanneſs *naturally* adhering to trade and manufacture,' to that variety of employment, and thoſe exertions of ingenuity, by which

—— Diſtreſs, and wretchedneſs, and want
The wide felicities of labour learn.
FLEECE Book I.

The employments of a hedger or a ditcher, a ploughman or a threſher, are humble only with reſpect to rank and affluence; and no employment can be *naturally* mean or degrading, but in proportion as it is unworthy of a man of probity. The employments of rural labour, even the moſt minute, have ever been a favourite ſubject with the poets.

Such themes as theſe the rural Maro ſung
To wide-imperial Rome, in the full height
Of elegance and taſte, by Greece refin'd.
SPRING 55.

The Poet of the Seaſons himſelf has not forgotten the *fleece* in his charming rural deſcriptions. He has deſcended (if a deſcent it be) to the ſhearing, and even the waſhing of ſheep. He acknowledged the *ſimplicity* of the ſcene, but thought not of any *meanneſs* naturally adhering to it.

A *ſimple* ſcene! yet hence Britannia ſees
Her ſolid grandeur riſe: hence ſhe commands
Th' exalted ſtores of every brighter clime,
The treaſures of the Sun without his rage:
Hence, fervent all, with culture, toil, and arts,
Wide glows her land: her dreadful thunder hence
Rides o'er the waves ſublime, and awes the world.
SUMMER 423.

It ſeems equally abſurd to ſay, that there is an 'irreverence habitually annexed to trade and manufacture'—that is, to the exertions of induſtry, which fill with competence and peace the humble roofs of the artiſt and mechanic; which exalt and adorn the more elegant ſcenes of ſociety, and render life itſelf delightful.

The powerful ſun
Hot India's zone with gaudy pencil paints,
And drops delicious tints o'er hill and dale,
Which *Trade* to us conveys. Not tints alone,
Trade to the good phyſician gives his balms;
Gives cheering cordials to th' afflicted heart;
Gives, to the wealthy, delicacies high;
Gives, to the curious, works of nature rare;
And when the prieſt diſplays, in juſt diſcourſe,
Him, the All-wiſe Creator, and declares
His preſence, power, and goodneſs unconfin'd,
'Tis *Trade*, attentive voyager, who fills
His lips with argument. To cenſure *Trade*,
Or hold her buſy people in contempt,
Let none preſume.
FLEECE Book II.

After Mr. Dyer's death, his poetical pieces were publiſhed, in 1761, in one volume 8vo. The three principal are Grongar Hill, The Ruins of Rome, and The Fleece. In all theſe, a poetical imagination perfectly original; a natural ſimplicity, connected with the true ſublime, and often productive of it; and the warmeſt ſentiments of benevolence and virtue, have been univerſally obſerved and admired.

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SELECT PASSAGES FROM SHAKSPEARE.

NUMBER XVII.

MEASURE for MEASURE.

Our Virtues given to be exerted.

Duke.

THERE is a kind of character in thy life,
That, to the obſerver, doth thy hiſtory
Fully unfold: Thyſelf and thy belongings *,
Are not thine own ſo proper †, as to waſte
Thyſelf upon thy virtues, them on thee.
Heaven doth with us, as we with torches do;
Not light them for themſelves: for if our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not. Spirits are not finely touch'd,
But to fine iſſues ‡: nor nature never lends
The ſmalleſt ſcruple of her excellence,
But, like a thrifty goddeſs, ſhe determines
Herſelf the glory of a creditor,
Both thanks and uſe ‖.

How finely are we inſtructed here, that our talents and virtues are not to be concealed in the ſhades of obſcurity, but ſhould be exerted, if poſſible, in the moſt conſpicuous ſituations; that, by the force of example, they may promote, in a more extenſive degree, the happineſs of our fellow creatures. How beautifully correſpondent is this to the language of Holy Writ! 'Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee your good works. The path of the juſt is as a ſhining light, that ſhineth more and more unto the perfect day. He that ruleth over men muſt be juſt, ruling in the fear of God; and he ſhall be as the light of the morning, when the ſun riſeth, even a morning without clouds §.'—In this paſſage too it is intimated, that all our virtues are derived from heaven. This, likewiſe, is the ſentiment of an apoſtle: 'Every good gift, and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights ¶.'—This ſentiment is not unhappily expreſſed by Guarini in his Paſtor Fido:

Queſto parte di noi, che intende, e vede,
Non è noſtra virtù, ma vien dal cielo:
Eſſo la dà come a lui piace, e togli.

That part of us, by which we ſee and know,
Is not our virtue, but deriv'd from heaven,
That gives it, and can take what it hath given.

FANSHAWE.

Affectation of Popularity cenſured.

Duke. I love the people,
But do not like to ſtage me to their eyes:
Though it do well, I do not reliſh well
Their loud applauſe, and *aves* vehement;
Nor do I think the man of ſafe diſcretion,
That does affect it.

No perſon that has lived long in the world, and remarked the ficklenes of popular favour, but muſt perceive the force of this obſervation. The man, whom uncommon talents, and a fortunate concurrence of circumſtances, have raiſed to the higheſt honours, may be extolled for a time as the ſaviour of his country, and at laſt experience neglect, and ſink into oblivion. He is the truly great man, who actuated by the nobleſt motives of duty, will deſpiſe his own intereſt, and brave even popular execration, to ſerve his country. How ſuperior will ſuch a man think that inexhauſtible ſource of ſatisfaction, the 'Mens conſcia ſibi recti,' to all the little triumphs of a momentary deluſion!

* Endowments. † Are not ſo much thy own property.
‡ To great conſequences; for high purpoſes.
‖ *Uſe*, in Shakſpeare's time, ſignified *intereſt of money*.
§ Mat. v. 16. Prov. iv. 18. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. 4. ¶ James i, 17.

The

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The Eloquence of Youth and Beauty.

Claudio. I pr'ythee, Lucio, do me this kind ſervice:
This day my ſiſter ſhould the cloiſter enter,
And there receive her approbation *:
Acquaint her with the danger of my ſtate;
Implore her, in my voice, that ſhe make friends
To the ſtrict deputy; bid herſelf aſſay him;
I have great hope in that: for in her youth
There is a *prone* and ſpeechleſs dialect
Such as moves men; beſides, ſhe hath proſperous art,
When ſhe will play with reaſon and diſcourſe,
And well ſhe can perſuade.

This is one of the many paſſages in our author, in which the original beauty of the ſentence is obſcured by an obſolete expreſſion, or by an expreſſion now chiefly uſed, like the wood *prone* above, in an ill ſenſe. Dr. Johnſon would read *power* or *prompt*, either of which words would certainly render the paſſage more intelligible. Mr. Steevens conjectures, that *prone* may mean *humble*, as a *prone* poſture is a poſture of ſupplication. But leaving the commentators to ſettle this, there is certainly a peculiar kind of perſuaſiveneſs, a certain irreſiſtible eloquence, in youthful beauty and innocence, which Claudio very judiciouſly urges to his friend Lucio; and of which the latter alſo appears very ſenſible when he encourages Iſabella to try her powers:

Go to lord Angelo,
And let him learn to know, when maidens ſue,
Men give like Gods; but when they weep and kneel,
All their petitions are as freely theirs
As they themſelves would owe † them.

A Virgin accoſted.

Lucio. Hail, virgin, if you be; as thoſe cheek-roſes
Proclaim you are no leſs!
This beautiful addreſs will remind the claſſical reader of a paſſage in Virgil; where Æneas, meeting Venus in the diſguiſe of a huntreſs, expreſſes a doubt, whether he is accoſting a goddeſs or a mortal:

O (quam te memorem!) virgo: namque haud tibi vultus
Mortalis, nec vox hominem ſonat. O dea, certe,
An Phœbi ſoror, an nympharum ſanguinis una?

Your name, oh! nymph, or oh! fair goddeſs ſay?
A goddeſs, ſure, or ſiſter of the day;
Or one, at leaſt, of chaſte Diana's train?

Fenelon, likewiſe, makes Telemachus expreſs the ſame doubt in his interview with Calypſo: 'O vous, qui que vous ſoyez, mortelle ou déeſſe, quoiqu' à vous voir on ne puiſſe vous prendre que pour une divinité.—Whoever thou art, whether a goddeſs or a mortal, for to ſee thee it is impoſſible not to think thee ſome celeſtial power,' &c.—And in the Tempeſt, when Miranda and Ferdinand firſt ſee each other, they expreſs the ſame ideas. Thus Miranda:

I might call him
A thing *divine*; for nothing *natural*
I ever ſaw ſo noble.

And Ferdinand:

Moſt ſure, the *goddeſs*
On whom theſe airs attend!——
——————— My prime requeſt,
Which I do laſt pronounce, is, O you wonder!
If you be made, or no?

A Nun.

Lucio. I hold you as a thing enſky'd and ſainted;
By your renouncement, an immortal ſpirit;
And to be talked with in ſincerity,
As with a ſaint.

Such a picture as this would almoſt tempt a young and inexperienced virgin to become the cloiſtered votary of

* Enter on her probation or noviciate.
† *Owe* ſignifies in this place, as in many others, to poſſeſs, to have.

ſuper-

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ſuperſtition, and to adopt the language of Eloiſa:

How happy is the blameleſs veſtal's lot;
The world forgetting, by the world forgot!
Eternal ſunſhine of the ſpotleſs mind!
Each prayer accepted, and each wiſh reſign'd;
Labour and reſt, that equal periods keep;
Obedient ſlumbers that can wake and weep;
Deſires compos'd, affections ever even;
Tears that delight, and ſighs that waft to heaven.
Grace ſhines around her with ſereneſt beams,
And whiſpering angels prompt her golden dreams.
For her the unfading roſe of Eden blooms,
And wings of ſeraphs ſhed divine perfumes,
For her the ſpouſe prepares the bridal ring,
For her white virgins hymeneals ſing,
To ſounds of heavenly harps ſhe dies away,
And melts in viſions of eternal day.
POPE.

But to this charming poetical viſion what a contraſt does the Diſcontented Nun exhibit!

This temporary tranſport ſoon expir'd,
My drooping heart confeſs'd a dreadful void:
E'er ſince, alas! abandon'd, uninſpir'd,
I tread this dome, to miſery allied.
No wakening joy informs my ſullen breaſt,
Thro' opening ſkies no radiant ſeraph ſmiles;
No ſaint deſcends to ſooth my ſoul to reſt;
No dream of bliſs the dreary night beguiles.
Here haggard Diſcontent ſtill haunts my view,
The ſombre genius reigns in every place,
Arrays each virtue in the darkeſt hue,
Chills every prayer, and cancels every grace.
I meet her ever in the cheerleſs cell,
The gloomy grotto, and unſocial wood:
I hear her ever in the midnight bell,
The hollow gale, and hoarſe-reſounding flood.
JERNINGHAM.

Heſitation.

Lucio. Our doubts are traitors,
And make us loſe the good we oft might win,
By fearing to attempt.

This obſervation extremely well expreſſes the nature and danger of irreſolution. To the ſame purpoſe, there is a paſſage in the Medea of Seneca:

Fortuna fortes metuit, ignavos premit.

——— Fortune dreads the brave,
But triumphs o'er the coward.

Inferences from the Conſideration of human Frailty.

Angelo. We muſt not make a ſcarecrow of the law,
Setting it up to fear * the birds of prey,
And let it keep one ſhape till cuſtom make it
Their perch, and not their terror.
Eſcalus. Ay, but yet
Let us be keen, and rather cut a little,
Than fall †, and bruiſe to death. Alas! this gentleman,
Whom I would ſave, had a moſt noble father.
Let but your honour know ‡,
(Whom I believe to be moſt ſtrait in virtue),
That, in the working of your own affections,
Had time coher'd with place, or place with wiſhing,
Or that the reſolute acting of your blood
Could have attain'd the effect of your own purpoſe,
Whether you had not ſometime in your life
Err'd in this point which now you cenſure him,
And pull'd the law upon you.
Angelo. 'Tis one thing to be tempted, Eſcalus,
Another thing to fall. I not deny,
The jury, paſſing on the priſoner's life,
May, in the ſworn twelve, have a thief or two
Guiltier than him they try. What's open made

* To *fear* is to *affright*, to *ſcare*.
† That is, fall *the axe*; or rather, let the criminal fall, &c.
‡ To *know* is here to *examine*; to *take cogniſance*.

To

To juſtice, that juſtice ſeizes. What know the laws,
That thieves do paſs on thieves? 'Tis very pregnant *,
The jewel that we find, we ſtoop and take it,
Becauſe we ſee it; but what we do not ſee,
We tread upon, and never think of it.
You may not ſo extenuate his offence,
For I have had ſuch faults †, but rather tell me,
When I that cenſure him do ſo offend,
Let mine own judgment pattern out my death,
And nothing come in partial. Sir, he muſt die.

Eſcalus. Well! heaven forgive him! and forgive us all!
Some riſe by ſin, and ſome by virtue fall:
Some run from brakes of vice, and anſwer none;
And ſome condemned for a fault alone.

The political arguments for juſtice, and the humane motives for mercy, are finely contraſted here between the two deputies. The obſervations of Eſcalus are worthy the attention of all who reflect too harſhly on the offences of others, and never remember the frailty and imperfection of their own nature: like thoſe ſo juſtly condemned by our bleſſed Saviour, 'who could obſerve the mote in their brother's eye, but perceived not the beam in their own.'—But our bard, well knowing, that notwithſtanding this, the offences of others were no juſtification of our own, has added Angelo's fine anſwer to Eſcalus, to obviate that objection.

Mercy.

Iſabella. No ceremony that to great ones 'longs,
Not the king's crown, nor the deputed ſword,
The marſhal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,
Become them with one half ſo good a grace
As mercy does. If he had been as you,
And you as he, you would not have ſlipt like him;
But he, like you, would not have been ſo ſtern.

The exerciſe of mercy, particularly in princes, ſeems to be a favourite topic with Shakſpeare. In the Merchant of Venice, Portia thus addreſſes the Jew:

The quality of mercy is not ſtrain'd;
It droppeth, as the gentle dew from heaven
Upon the place beneath: it is twice bleſs'd;
It bleſſeth him that gives, and him that takes:
'Tis mightieſt in the mightieſt; it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown;
His ſcepter ſhews the force of temporal power,
The attribute to awe and majeſty,
Wherein doth ſit the dread and fear of kings;
But mercy is above this ſcepter'd ſway,
It is enthroned in the hearts of kings,
It is an attribute to God himſelf;
And earthly power doth then ſhew likeſt God's,
When mercy ſeaſons juſtice: Therefore, Jew,
Though juſtice be thy plea, conſider this,
That, in the courſe of juſtice, none of us
Should ſee ſalvation: we do pray for mercy;
And that ſame prayer doth teach us all to render
The deeds of mercy.

And in Titus Andronicus, the following paſſage is probably one of thoſe which were introduced by our author.

Tamora. Wilt thou draw near the nature of the Gods ‡?
Draw near them then in being merciful:
Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge.

Dryden has a fine paſſage on this ſubject in his All for Love:

Heaven has but
Our ſorrows for our ſins, and then delights
To pardon erring man: ſweet mercy ſeems
Its darling attribute, which limits juſtice,
As if there were degrees in infinite,
And infinite would rather want perfection
Than puniſh to extent.

* That is, it is *plain* we muſt act with bad as with good; we puniſh the faults, as we take the advantages, that lie in our way, and what we do not ſee we cannot note.

† *For.* That is, *becauſe, by reaſon that* I have had ſuch faults.

‡ Homines ad deos nulla re propius accedunt, quam ſalutem hominibus dando. *Cic.*

But

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But in the play before us, Iſabella is not content with urging Angelo to be merciful, from the conſideration how much mercy becomes a judge, and that it is the darling attribute of Heaven, but ſhe adds a very powerful argument in the reflection how much all of us, as individuuls of the human race, have need of mercy from above:

Alas! alas!
Why, all the ſouls that are, were forfeit once;
And he that might the vantage beſt have took,
Found out the remedy. How would you be,
If he, which is the top of judgment, ſhould
But judge you as you are? O, think on that;
And mercy then will breathe within your lips,
Like man new made.

What a fine ſimile in this laſt line! As if ſhe had ſaid, 'You will then appear as tender-hearted and merciful, as the firſt man was in his days of innocence, immediately after his creation.' Dr. Johnſon, however, is of opinion, that the meaning is, 'You will change the ſeverity of your preſent character:' in familar ſpeech, 'You will be quite another man.'

Juſtice.

Iſabella. Yet, ſhew ſome pity.
Angelo. I ſhew it moſt of all, when I ſhew juſtice;
For then I pity thoſe I do not know,
Which a diſmiſs'd offence would after gall;
And do him right, that, anſwering one foul wrong,
Lives not to act another.

It is unqueſtionably requiſite, that a judge ſhould guard againſt extreme ſenſibility, which is unjuſt weakneſs, as well as againſt inflexible ſeverity, in caſes which may admit the exerciſe of mercy. One of lord chief juſtice Hale's memorials was, 'When I find myſelf ſwayed to mercy, let me remember, that there is a mercy likewiſe due to the country.'

The Abuſe of Authority.

Iſabella. O, it is excellent
To have a giant's ſtrength; but it is tyrannous,
To uſe it like a giant.
Could great men thunder,
As Jove himſelf does, Jove would ne'er be quiet,
For every pelting *, petty officer,
Would uſe his heaven for thunder; nothing but thunder.
Merciful heaven!
Thou rather, with thy ſharp and ſulphurous bolt,
Splitt'ſt the unwedgeable and gnarled † oak,
Than the ſoft myrtle. But man, proud man!
Dreſt in a little brief authority;
Moſt ignorant of what he's moſt aſſur'd,
His glaſſy eſſence; like an angry ape,
Plays ſuch fantaſtic tricks before high heaven,
As make the angels weep ‡; who, with our ſpleens ||,
Would all themſelves laugh mortal.

Iſabella, in this fine paſſage, does not allude to the ſhort duration of the power of Angelo, 'dreſt in a little brief authority,' during the Duke's abſence, but to the ſhort period for which the greateſt potentates in the world can hold dominion; for their exiſtence here, their 'glaſſy eſſence,'

* *Pelting* here is *paltry*.
† *Gnarled* is *knotted*; gnarre being the old Engliſh word for a knot in wood.
‡ The notion of angels weeping for the ſins of men is rabbinical.
|| Biſhop Warburton obſerves, that the Ancients thought that immoderate laughter was cauſed by the bigneſs of the ſpleen. Shakſpeare ſeems here to conſider laughter as a merely mortal paſſion, and an unworthy one. He ſuppoſes the angels to be without that ſpleen, or inclination to ill-natured laughter, ſo ſtrong in man; and adds, that if they had it, they would find ſuch great cauſe to exert it, from the fantaſtic tricks men daily play, that they would laugh themſelves out of their immortality; a phraſe of the ſame import as ours, 'I ſhall laugh myſelf to death.'—God is ſaid, in the Scripture, *figuratively*, 'to laugh his enemies to ſcorn.'

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as our poet beautifully ſtyles it, is but momentary; and all their vanity and oſtentation, their oppreſſions and abuſes of authority, in a word, their 'fantaſtic tricks,' which would excite commiſeration and contempt, if now viewed by celeſtial beings, muſt one day be accounted for in the preſence of the Supreme Judge of the Univerſe, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.

Aſſumed Privilege of Authority.

Iſabella. We cannot weigh our brother
with ourſelf;
Great men may jeſt with ſaints: 'tis wit
in them;
But, in the leſs, foul profanation.
That in the captain's but a choleric word,
Which in the ſoldier is flat blaſphemy.
Angelo. Why do you put theſe ſayings
upon me?
Iſabella. Becauſe authority, tho' it err
like others,
Hath yet a kind of medicine in itſelf
That ſkins the vice o' the top: Go to your
boſom;
Knock there: and aſk your heart what it
doth know
That's like my brother's fault: if it confeſs
A natural guiltineſs, ſuch as is his,
Let it not ſound a thought upon your
tongue
Againſt my brother's life.

To men converſant in the world theſe ſentiments muſt appear perfectly in nature. *We* mortals, proud and fooliſh, *cannot* prevail upon our paſſions to *weigh* or compare *our brother*, a being of like nature and like frailty, *with ourſelf*. We have different names and different judgments for the ſame faults committed by perſons of different conditions. The concluſion of Iſabella's argument conveys a ſentiment that cannot be inculcated too often, that the conſciouſneſs of our own faults ought ever to incline us to mercy.

The Power of virtuous Beauty.

Iſabella. Save your honour! [*Exit.*
Angelo. From thee; even from thy virtue!
What's this? What's this? Is this her
fault, or mine?
The tempter, or the tempted, who ſins
moſt? Ha!
Not ſhe; nor doth ſhe tempt: but it is I,
That lying by the violet, in the ſun,
Do, as the carrion does, not as the flower,
Corrupt with virtuous ſeaſon. Can it be,
That modeſty may more betray our ſenſe
Than woman's lightneſs? Having waſte
ground enough,
Shall we deſire to raze the ſanctuary,
And pitch our evils * there? O, fie, fie,
fie!
What doſt thou? Or what art thou, Angelo?
Doſt thou deſire her foully, for thoſe things
That make her good? O, let her brother
live:
Thieves for their robbery have authority,
When judges ſteal themſelves. What!
do I love her,
That I deſire to hear her ſpeak again,
And feaſt upon her eyes? What is't I
dream on?
O cunning enemy, that, to catch a ſaint,
With ſaints doſt bait thy hook! Moſt
dangerous
Is that temptation, that doth goad us on
To ſin in loving virtue: never could the
ſtrumpet,
With all her double vigour, art, and nature,
Once ſtir my temper; but this virtuous
maid
Subdues me quite. Ever, till now,
When men were fools, I ſmil'd, and
wonder'd how.

Every reader will perceive, how powerful are the attractions of virtue and modeſty, as exhibited above in Angelo's conflict and reflections! How fine, moreover, is the alluſion to the violet in the ſun! As if he had ſaid, 'I am not corrupted by her, but my own heart, which excites impure deſires, under the ſame benign influences, that exalt her purity; as the carrion grows putrid by thoſe beams

* Mr. Steevens obſerves, that *evils* undoubtedly ſtands here for *foricæ*, the word being uſed in this ſenſe, by our ancient writers. Indeed, theſe places were originally ſo ill-contrived, even in royal palaces, as to deſerve the appellation of *evils* or nuiſances.

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which increaſe the fragrance of the violet.'

True Repentance.

Duke, as a Friar. Repent you, fair one, of the ſin you carry?
Juliet. I do; and bear the ſhame moſt patiently.
Duke. I'll teach you how you ſhall arraign your conſcience,
And try your penitence, if it be ſound,
Or hollowly put on.
Juliet. I'll gladly learn.
Duke. Love you the man that wrong'd you?
Juliet. Yes, as I love the woman that wrong'd him.
Duke. So then, it ſeems, your moſt offenceful act
Was mutually committed?
Juliet. Mutually.
Duke. Then was your ſin of heavier kind than his.
Juliet. I do confeſs it, and repent it, father.
Duke. 'Tis meet ſo, daughter. But repent you not,
As that the ſin hath brought you to this ſhame?
Which ſorrow is always to ourſelves, not heaven:
Shewing, we would not ſeek heaven, as we love it,
But as we ſtand in fear.
Juliet. I do repent me, as it is an evil;
And take the ſhame with joy.
Duke. There reſt *.

The duke, under the character of a friar, in confeſſing Juliet, gives an admirable leſſon on the eſſential difference between *contrition* and *attrition*; the former being that real ſorrow for our tranſgreſſions of the divine laws which ariſes from the love of God, and the ſincere deſire of pleaſing him; while the latter ſprings merely from the fear of puniſhment. At the ſame time, he pronounces a juſt but ſevere ſentence againſt a woman's failure in point of chaſtity; the education of women, their manners, and the moral conſequences of their frailty, throwing ſo many more obſtructions in their way, than the modes of the world have oppoſed to the other ſex.

A POLITICAL ANECDOTE.

A FOREIGN gentleman happened to ſit down in a coffee-houſe, in Venice, near a perſon who declaimed violently againſt the ſtate iniquiſitors, or three principal magiſtrates. The diſcourſe was addreſſed to this ſtranger, who not only declined ſaying any thing upon the ſubject, but withheld (as far as was conſiſtent with civility) his attention to the ſpeaker. The next night, on coming out of his lodgings, he was ſeized, blindfolded, and forced into a gondola, threatened with inſtant death if he ſpoke, and carried off in profound ſilence. On landing, he was led but a little way before he entered a houſe; where, on the bandage being taken off his eyes, he found himſelf in a large apartment hung with black, before a tribunal as terrible in appearance as the inquiſition. Thoſe who ſat as judges, aſked him how long he had known his companion in the coffee-houſe: he proteſted he had never ſeen him before, and gave ſuch convincing proofs of his innocence, that, after a ſhort conſultation, they ordered him to be enlarged, enjoining him, however, not only to be ſilent upon political ſubjects, as long as he remained in Venice, but not even to liſten to them in future. He was then led through a long paſſage into another chamber as diſmal as the former, at the upper end of which he ſaw a man hanging by the throat upon a hook; on coming nearer to the body, he perceived it, with horror, to be the perſon he had ſeen in the coffee-houſe. When he had gazed ſome time upon this fearful ſpectacle, he was again blindfolded, conducted in ſilence to the gondola, and releaſed at the door of his lodgings.

* Keep yourſelf in this temper.

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CONTEMPT *of* ONE'S PROFESSION RIDICULOUS.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THE following anecdote, on the authority of Voltaire, is related in the life of Congreve. When Voltaire was in England, he paid a visit to the famous Mr. Congreve, though he was utterly unacquainted with him, and with that happy violation of ceremony which is the characteristic of elevated genius, introduced himself upon the mere account of their respective literary reputations. The Englishman however, was, disconcerted, and instead of looking upon the frankness of Voltaire's behaviour, as the greatest compliment that could be paid him; he said, he should be glad to be visited by Mr. Voltaire as a private gentleman, but could not think of cultivating a friendship with any body, barely on the account of being an author. The Frenchman, disgusted at this untimely instance of affectation, turned upon his heel, and replied, with severity, that had not Mr. Congreve been somewhat more than a private gentleman, he never would have suffered the trouble of that interview.

This instance of Congreve's vanity approaches almost to idiotism, for how could he, as a rational creature, suppose even for a moment that Voltaire would have taken pains to visit a private gentleman whose name was Congreve! Or upon what principles can we account for his being ashamed of a fame, which it was the whole business of his life, and the warmest wish of his heart to acquire!

The instances, however, of men who are ashamed of their professions, even when they are far more honourable than that of a dramatic writer, are not seldom to be met with. And as men are prone to pass from one extreme into another, this is perhaps their progress from the pedantry of dress, manners, and conversation, which many years ago distinguished the different professions and trades, from each other. Very little of that pedantry remains now in real life. On the stage, we see something that reminds us of it, where the respective characters of a drama act upon their own basis, or, according to the critical phrase, where no character is out of character.

The solemn gait, the demure look, and the grave conversation, no longer point out the clergyman; nor do the pompous look, the gold-headed cane supporting the nose, and the large wig, any longer indicate the approach of the physician. It is better, indeed, that these are abolished. There is no necessity for any formalities that would restrict men to associate with, and look like, none but those of their own profession. Society has become more equally mixed, and a collision of opposite sentiments, derived from opposite views and pursuits, produces a *great whole* highly favourable to general instruction. If men of similar sentiments and professions were always to associate together, they would only increase each others prejudices, and arrest the natural and necessary progress of improvement and reformation. They would also increase the envy and jealousy which too often subsist between men of contrary professions, each thinking himself superior to the other; but which would disappear, in a great measure, if they came together as brethren pursuing the same end, though by different means.

It is not necessary, however, when men come together for the purposes of social enjoyment, that they should agree upon a certain *nonentity* of character, which might consolidate the whole into one chaotic mass. It is not necessary that they should be ashamed of their respective callings, when they appear in public company.

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If a profeſſion be lawful, there can exiſt no reaſon why they ſhould be aſhamed of it; and, if it be unlawful, they are not proper members of ſociety, and every attempt to conceal the infamy of their profeſſion will only ſerve to expoſe it the more. But the truth is, men are ſeldom anxious to conceal their profeſſion or trade, unleſs they are going about ſome action of which they have juſt cauſe to be aſhamed. In ſuch caſes, men act as at maſquerades, where a paſteboard face is an excuſe for any rudeneſs or incivility. In our univerſities, it is a wiſe proviſion, that the ſcholars muſt never appear without the full academical dreſs; and if they are diſcovered behaving improperly, or in improper company, without their gowns and caps, they are puniſhed more ſeverely than if they had them on; for it is preſumed that if a man really values his character, he will, by always appearing in it, demonſtrate that he wiſhes to avoid every thing that may injure it; whereas, if he throws off the outward ſymbols, it may be taken for granted, that he has an *intention* to do ſomething that is wrong, ſomething for which his very dreſs would reproach him.

Pride is undoubtedly one principal cauſe of men being aſhamed of their trade or profeſſion; for, by ſome unaccountable perverſion of opinion, and violation of common ſenſe, it is conceived, that the greateſt of all human characters is a *gentleman*; that is, a perſon who has no employment to mind, and who 'lives upon his fortune;' or rather, too often, upon the fortune of other people. How admirably and humorouſly has Fielding depicted the harmleſs vanity and profeſſional tenaciouſneſs of Parſon Adams! The parſon 'thought a ſchoolmaſter the greateſt character in the world, and himſelf the greateſt of all ſchoolmaſters; neither of which points he would have given up to Alexander the Great, at the head of his army.'

But to return: in order to attain the appearance of the *gentleman*, it is abſolutely neceſſary that all which beſpeaks the divine, the lawyer, the phyſician, or the mechanic, ſhould vaniſh, and a kind of neutral character be aſſumed, by which we can juſt learn that the *gentleman*, inſtead of having a determinate character, has in reality no character at all. It is owing to this abſurd pride, as inconſiſtent with true pride as it is with good ſenſe, that in moſt places of public amuſement, a ſtranger is apt to miſtake the loweſt mechanic for a fine gentleman, and to make a ſubmiſſive bow to the *gentleman*, who, perhaps, in the morning, has dreſt his hair, or meaſured him for a pair of ſhoes. I remember once to have converſed, with great familiarity, with a gentleman whom, from his appearance and *comicality*, I took to be a retainer in one of the inns of court, but who proved to be the biſhop of * * *; and, the ſame evening, I was much diſturbed with the rude and vulgar noiſe of a 'prentice boy whom I was about to have chaſtiſed, when a friend whiſpered, that 'Lord * * * was drunk, and would be very ready to apologize when ſober.'

At balls and aſſemblies, the confuſion of characters is proverbial; and, although all ranks are gathered together, yet no greater inſult can be offered, than to ſuggeſt that ſuch a gentleman is a grocer, even if we ſhould add *eminent*; or that another is a taylor, though, in the ſame breath, we were to pronounce him *opulent*. The diſcloſure of ſuch important ſecrets is not more offenſive to the parties themſelves than to their friends. I remember once to have very much offended a lady who *ſaw company*, by telling a ſtory greatly to the honour of a woollen-draper. Like Marplot in the play, I ſoon found that I had made a blunder, but did not know what it was. I could at once perceive that my ſtory was not reliſhed, although it was honourable to human nature in general, as well as to the head and heart of the party in queſtion. I learned afterward, however, that a perſon of that occupation happened at the time to be preſent.

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preſent. I now underſtood the full meaſure of my crime. My beſt revenge, had I obtained an opportunity, and I was wicked enough to wiſh it, would have been to requeſt permiſſion to make an apology to this gentleman in the preſence of the ſame company, and to aſſure him that I never would mention a ſtory reputable to his trade again. The lady ſuppoſed that I knew him, and meant to affront her, by inſinuating that ſhe kept company with tradeſmen.

Of the learned profeſſions, I am ſorry to obſerve, that of what men ought to be moſt proud, they are, in ſome inſtances, moſt aſhamed. Some young divines, probably preſſed into the ſervice, by the fooliſh ambition of their parents, think it their duty to avoid any converſation or manner which may indicate their profeſſion. *Beau Simper* is a remarkable inſtance of this. Being the younger ſon of a family of ſome note, it was thought neceſſary to qualify him for the church; that is, to ſend him to college for ſuch a period of time, as might prevent his being refuſed orders, when his father's intereſt had obtained a living for him. This was accompliſhed in due time and form, and he is now the moſt public example of a *gentleman-clergyman* that can be exhibited. Some have declared that they were acquainted with him for ſeveral months, without ever entertaining the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of his having been educated for the church; and ſtrangers almoſt always direct to *John Simper, eſq.* until they learn, by ſome accident, that he is, by virtue of his office, *Reverend*.

In order to effect this diſguiſe the more completely, his conduct, which is free from *all* diſguiſe, has a moſt gentleman-like mixture of vice and profligacy, and his language is duly qualified by a proportion of oaths and execrations. As to either the duties or principles of his profeſſion, he is perfectly ſecure from the mortification of a diſcovery on that head, no perſon having ever heard him utter a ſyllable that did not indicate a perfect ignorance, and, at the ſame time, a proper contempt for them. Should he ever obtain farther promotion in the church, he will no doubt take ſuch meaſures, as may prevent the public from being informed that he ever had any. It is his wiſh and deſire to live and die a gentleman; and, in the latter character, he is well known at all the faſhionable gambling houſes, polite aſſemblies, and watering places, in the kingdom. Is it needful to depict a character in perfect contraſt with this? There are hundreds: but it is not neceſſary, in order to heighten the picture of a *monſter*, that we ſhould deſcribe a *man*. So ſacred, ſo honourable, ſo dignified, above all other profeſſions, is that of a divine, that ſuch a character as I have now given, can never be viewed with adequate horror and contempt.

There is but one reaſon why any man ſhould be aſhamed of his profeſſion, and that it muſt be confeſſed it a very ſtrong one; namely, when he is conſcious that his profeſſion has reaſon to be aſhamed of him. I am, indeed, hopeful, that this cauſe operates more frequently than we are diſpoſed to allow. I hope that when a tradeſman is conſuming his eſtate in idle expences, and imitating the *gentleman*, he is deſirous to conceal his trade, merely becauſe he would not ſhew a bad example, and becauſe he is conſcious that ſuch irregularities are not to be reconciled with either the routine or integrity of buſineſs. May we not, likewiſe, charitably ſuppoſe, that when a divine plays the gallant, or the ſeducer, he throws aſide every appearance of his profeſſion, leſt he ſhould bring a reproach upon it. And when we find the wives of mechanics emulating the prodigality, and copying the manners of perſons of faſhion, may we not hope that they tremble for the reputation of their huſbands, and are deſirous to ſave his, and the credit of trade in general?—If ſo, much of what I have advanced in the former part of this letter, I am willing

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ing to retract, and offer an apology for my hasty misconception of the case. Even *Beau Simper*, whose character I have endeavoured to sketch, may be only a well-disposed gentleman, who wishes to screen his profession, while, at the same time, he has too much honour and candour, and too great a contempt of hypocrisy, to screen himself. Certain it is, that, as in the opinion of some persons, 'to be a rogue and to own it,' is a principle that has some claims on our respect, I hope it is not less honourable to avow, and act up to, the profession to which we belong.

False shame has made innumerable rogues. To avoid it, as far as regards our professional employments, a tolerably good rule will be, to select such a profession or trade as is in itself honourable and manly, and to pursue it with ardour, activity, and integrity. We shall then be respected by the world in two characters; and it will be found that a man may be very much of a clergyman, a lawyer, a physician, or a tradesman, and, at the same time, very much of the gentleman. The first concern is, that our profession naturally shall bring no disgrace upon us; and the second, that we wilfully reflect no scandal upon it. Some *callings*, in themselves bad, have, from a mistaken notion of honour and spirit, been supposed to give a dignity to those who followed them. But I confess, with all due deference to men of honour, that an honest cobler is with me a more estimable character than a courageous *highwayman*; and that I pay that veneration and respect to the poorest curate, who performs his duty with activity and sincerity, which I must refuse to the most honourable or right honourable *gambler* that ever existed.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

P. X.

ON RELIGION.

RELIGION, in one form or other, has been a *national* concern in almost every part of the known world. Perhaps it is not less so at present, than in any former age; but, in proportion as knowledge has been more widely diffused, new modes of thinking have been introduced, which have had their effects upon religion. In our day, many of the ablest writers on the subject seem to consider religion, not as what *amends*, but as what is to be *amended*; not as the production of supernatural wisdom, but of human reason; not as having faith for its foundation, but as the result of certain arguments and ideas. No science admits such a variety of opinions as religion. In *law*, we have that which is fixed and determined to a particular point.—In *medicine*, we trust to experience; in *agriculture*, we benefit by practice. But, in religion, according to the views of many writers, there is nothing certain beyond the morality of the ancient philosophers, and nothing 'lovely or of good report,' beyond the exercise of the social virtues.

After one set of divines and philosophers had successfully combated the infidelities of a Herbert, a Hobbes, a Tindal, a Shaftesbury, &c. another has risen, not to grace the triunph of the former, not to provoke the enemy again to the field, but to meet the friends of infidelity in an amicable manner, to yield up the fortresses taken from them; and, by a method of accommodation, new in its nature and liberal in its tendency, to engage the world in *one* system, more agreeable to the refinement of the age, and suited to be popular because suited to the propensities and wills of the people. All that, some years back, was conceived to be *essential* to religion, has been given up. The fervour of the individual is now the zeal of a party; a new set of terms have been introduced, which have all the force of argument, and single words are made use

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use of, which act like magic upon the public opinion.

The *avowed* object of many writers of the present day, is, to reduce religion to its ancient and primitive simplicity; an object confessedly of infinite importance, for many corruptions have crept into, and many abuses have been sanctioned by time. But the ideas entertained upon this subject are not easily reconciled with the information, which may be attained of the simplicity of the Christian religion in its most ancient form. As it is *yet* allowed that the best history of it, is to be found in the four gospels, we discover there a great deal more than seems at present to be consistent with what is called simplicity. We there find it to have been a religion to the heart, a religion of faith; we find things believed though they were not understood, and proposed for belief though they were not explained. But faith is totally expunged from the new system to which I allude, and reason is substituted, not in cases where its exercise is most necessary, but where it cannot with safety or profit be appealed to. 'With them,' says Dr. Campbell (Translation of the four Gospels, p. 4) 'reason is held the standard of truth; whereas, it is primarily no more than the test or touchstone of evidence, and, in a secondary sense only the standard of truth.'

To remove from religion every thing that tends to clog and impede its success, all the superfluous addition, which superstition and tyranny have made, and to take from it all that has a tendency to corrupt, to make vain and idle—these have been, and are the objects of a most laudable reformation. But to reduce religion to a simplicity not founded on its original system, a simplicity without strength and without impulse, which has no attraction, nothing to persuade and to secure; this surely, if the object of certain writers, is an object the pernicious consequences of which they either cannot or will not see. It is, however, an unquestionable fact, that this simple, inefficient, cold, and philosophic religion co-operates with other causes of infidelity to increase the number of those—not who write or who argue against religion, but who are perfectly indifferent toward it. They cherish no hopes from it, and are told, unless in a very general way, of no fears.

Religion, or what mankind in general, for the last two centuries, have understood to be religion, has suffered on the one hand, by the indolence and negligence of that part of the clergy whose excess of wealth places them above the duties of their profession, and on the other hand, by a specious philosophy that scarcely rises above speculation, and cannot be supposed to influence practice, for it seems rather to arise from it. Whoever finds the simplest duties of religion too irksome, whoever is destitute of zeal, and incapable of fervour, whoever finds a pious habit to be a continual drawback on more interesting pursuits, will always find excuses from the metaphysical systems of the present day, that will reconcile him to himself, his practice to his opinions, or his opinions to his practice. His learning will give light, but it will impart no heat; his philosophy will be luminous, but insufficient to abate the chill of misfortune, or melt the obduracy of vice.

The very word *religion* implies something binding, something coercive, a power against which we are not to rebel, and an influence which we are not to resist. It derives this power from that upon which it is founded, the consideration of the happiness of mankind. That is its sole aim and end; nothing short of that is religion, and all beyond it is superstition or insensibility. It is calculated, therefore, to remove those obstacles to happiness, which vice and folly too easily create in our natures, and that proneness to do ourselves an injury, in a mistaken pursuit after ideal pleasure. It operates on the heart and the affections.

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fections. It removes that narrowneſs of deſire, which limits happineſs to the attainment of the objects of ſenſe and paſſion only, and expands our ideas of the dignity of man, by opening to us a proſpect of felicity that is boundleſs, a perpetuity of exiſtence in purity and in peace. Its ſevereſt reſtrictions cannot, therefore, be deemed intolerable, ſince they are not commenſurate to its rewards. In a word, religion is nurſed by ſolitude, grows by thinking, and becomes a habit of the heart, as well as of the judgment. It admits no counſel from the latter, where the former is concerned. It will not accommodate itſelf to intereſt and convenience; the beſt judgment muſt approve it; but the greateſt *genius* may neither feel nor comprehend it.

But although the principle of religion ought to be univerſal, and univerſally binding, it is now gently accommodated to the undiſciplined temper of the times. A demeanour not externally bad, a temper not unſociable, an occaſional attendance in a place of public worſhip, are almoſt the whole that is required as the *duty* of a religious man.

One principle in this abridgement of duty, which ſtrongly prevails, is to *avoid hypocriſy*. Of this it is worth while to take ſome notice. With many, all that is great and good conſiſts in acting openly; and hypocriſy is the only vice univerſally arraigned, and againſt which all precepts are directed.—Phyſicians, in preſcribing for the body, adapt their medicines to the diſeaſe, which exiſts, or is ſuppoſed to exiſt, but never to one of which they diſcover no ſymptoms. Judicious and indeed natural as this proceſs may appear, it has not been adopted in adminiſtering to the 'mind diſeaſed.'—If ever there was a period when hypocriſy was ſo ſcarce as to be almoſt inviſible, it is the preſent time; the manners of no age with which we are acquainted, equal thoſe of our own age in undiſguiſed, open, and ingenuous effrontery. The common vices and debaucheries never were ſo publicly practiſed, and ſo publicly recognized. Nor can there be a greater proof of *ſpirit*, and 'open generous conduct,' than a public diſplay of vices which pervert the mind, and follies which diſgrace the man. So careful are we to avoid every appearance of hypocriſy, that we are proud to record exceſſes which we never committed, to boaſt of diſgraceful connexions which we never formed, and of profligacy which perhaps we are naturally incapable of. To reſpect public decency, to regard the duty of ſhowing a good example, and not avowedly to throw contempt on religion and virtue, make no part of the prevailing moral ſyſtem.—Why, therefore, an appearance of ſanctity ſhould be decried, and hypocriſy guarded againſt as the prevailing vice, is to me unaccountable. Does religious zeal burn ſo fiercely that it muſt be quenched? Is the general face of public manners ſo demure, ſo ſanctified, and ſo puritanical, that it becomes neceſſary to guard againſt melancholy and religious deſpair?

In truth, this advice comes half a century at leaſt too late. Where religion is a faſhion, that is, where it overſpreads a whole country, as, it is ſaid, was the caſe during Oliver Cromwell's time, there might be reaſon to think that all who 'aſſumed the virtue,' did neither feel nor practiſe it. It might then have been neceſſary to caution againſt hypocriſy as a vice, which does not perhaps deceive the world ſo much as it deceives him who practiſes it. But in the preſent ſtate of manners, it ſeems wholly unneceſſary to inſiſt upon openneſs and candour as the eſſentials of a character. It may here be obſerved that, in weighing the comparative merits of the hypocrite and the open profligate, the advantage will appear to be on the ſide of the former; he has ſome reſpect for the opinion of virtue, ſome inward conſciouſneſs not yet deadened, and ſome regard for the happineſs of ſociety. The other defies

virtue

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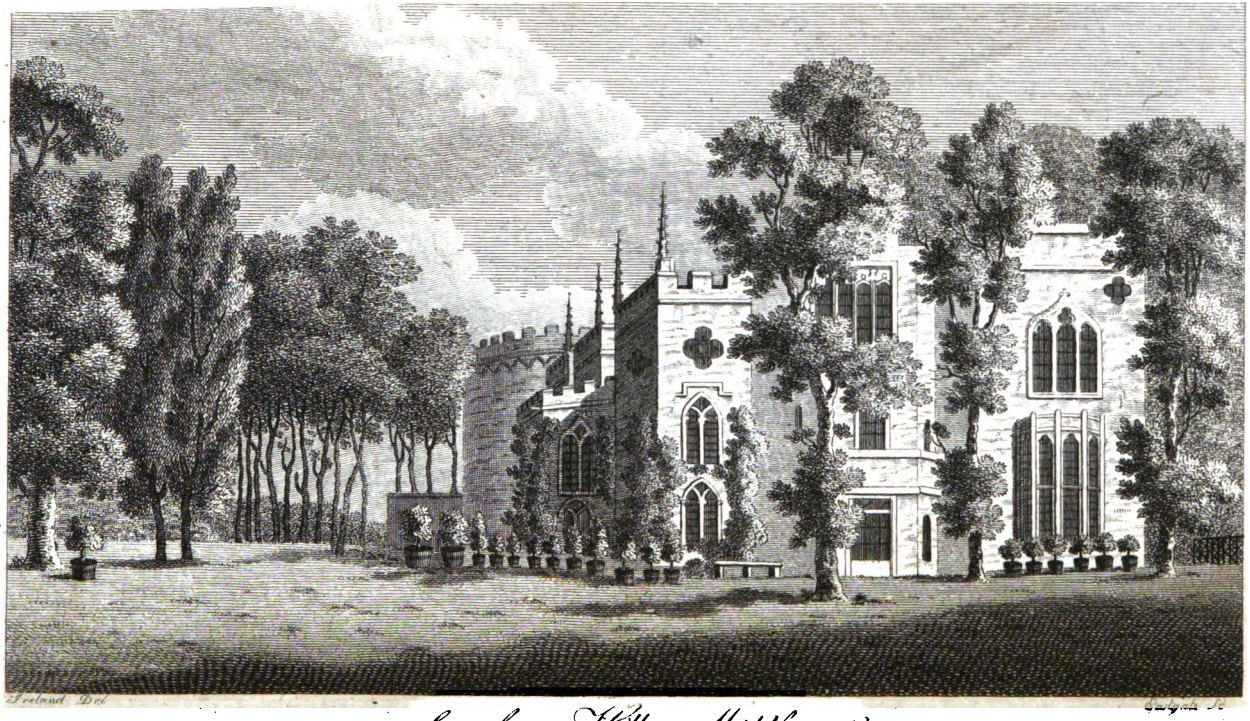

Strawberry Hill, Middlesex.

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virtue and virtuous men, and, by the force of example, contributes to the deſtruction of all around him.

The error in that religion which may be termed modern is, that it merges into a few moral duties decently performed, and an external demeanour that does not ſtrike as improper; but all this, independent of religion, is required by the laws, and is found to be conſiſtent with intereſt and convenience. It is not from ſuch a ſyſtem, which is but a ſlight improvement on the philoſophy of the heathens, that we can expect ſuperior minds meditating and practiſing ſuperior virtues. This is a plain, beaten track, flat, and without objects of grandeur or ſublimity, nothing that ſtrikes, and nothing that elevates. To walk in it is both neceſſary and convenient, and the performance, therefore, can claim little merit.

In a word, if religion, in order that it may be palatable, is thus to be reſolved into certain moral duties, and if there are only thoſe to be performed, and nothing to be *believed*, it does not ſeem that a revelation was wanted to make men wiſer or better, ſince we have found it neceſſary to borrow ſo little from that revelation. And thoſe, who by ſuch ill-timed conceſſions to the paſſions of a luxurious age, are thus rendering infidelity pleaſing by a thin covering of Chriſtianity, would certainly have attained their purpoſe more expeditiouſly and candidly, had they recommended the apoſtles recorded by Diogenes Laertius, and exchanged the epiſtles of St, Paul for thoſe of Seneca.

An Account of STRAWBERRY HILL, *at* Twickenham, *the Villa of the Earl of* Orford: *With a beautiful Perſpective View of that elegant Gothic Structure.*

STRAWBERRY HILL, the elegant villa of the earl of Orford, is not only celebrated for the beauty of its Gothic conſtruction, the fine collection of paintings, and the numerous valuable curioſities it contains, but for being the rural retreat of a perſon, who has ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his literary productions as his lordſhip did, while only the honourable Horace Walpole. It is ſeated at Twickenham, in Middleſex, on a fine aſcent from the Thames; commanding views of Twickenham, Richmond Hill and Park, Ham, Kingſton, &c. This beautiful little ſtructure, formed from ſelect parts of Gothic architecture in cathedrals, chapel-tombs, &c. was wholly built, at different times, by his lordſhip, whoſe fine taſte is diſplayed in the elegant embelliſhments of the edifice, and in the choice collection of pictures, ſculptures, antiquities, and curioſities that adorn it; many of which have been purchaſed from ſome of the firſt cabinets in Europe. The approach to the houſe, through a grove of lofty trees; the embattled wall, overgrown with ivy; the ſpiry pinnacles, and gloomy caſt of the buildings; give it the air of an ancient abbey, and fill the beholder with awful admiration; eſpecially on entering the gate, where a ſmall oratory, incloſed with iron rails, and a cloiſter behind it, appear in the fore court. On entering the houſe, you are led through a ſmall hall and paſſage, lighted with painted glaſs windows, into a large parlour, hung with the portraits of ſir Robert Walpole, his two wives and children, and other family pictures; one of which, by Reynolds, contains the portraits of the three ladies Waldegrave, daughters of the ducheſs of Glouceſter. The window has many pieces of painted glaſs, as have all the windows in every room; and the chimney-piece, chairs, table, &c. are Gothic; as are, alſo, moſt of the chimney-pieces and furniture, throughout the houſe.

The breakfaſt room contains two frames, and ſome little ebony cabi-

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nets, containing several exquisite miniatures of the Digby family, by Isaac and Peter Oliver, and others by Petitot, &c. Two other pictures here deserve attention: one represents Charles II in a garden, and his gardener on his knee, presenting the first pine-apple raised in England: the other, a charming portrait of Cowley, when young, as a shepherd, by sir Peter Lely. In this room is a closet, in which are many miniature and other pictures; particularly one, by Hogarth, of Sarah Malcolm in Newgate; and a good view, by Scott, of the Thames at Twickenham.

In a niche, on the stairs, is the curious armour, embossed with gold, of Francis I, of France. Near it is other armour, of different countries; and an ancient picture, on board, of Henry V and his family.

The library contains a select collection of books, and books of prints, among which are many volumes of English portraits, from the earliest to the present times.

The Holbein chamber is adorned with pictures, chiefly by and after Holbein; particularly, the Triumph of Riches and Poverty, by Zucchero. Part of this room is separated by a Gothic screen, behind which stands a handsome bed, the canopy of which is crowned with a plume of red and white ostrich feathers. By the side of the bed hangs the red hat of cardinal Wolsey.

The gallery, the splendour and elegance of which we will not attempt to describe, as no description can do it justice, contains many good pictures, chiefly portraits, among which are, the marriage of Henry VII and Elisabeth of York, Mabeuse; sir Francis Walsingham, Zucchero; admiral Montague earl of Sandwich, Lely; sir George Villiers, Janssen; George Villiers duke of Buckingham, Rubens; Sophia countess of Granville, Rosalba; Men at Cards, Miel; a landscape, Poussin; Anne duchess of York, Mrs. Beale; the wife of alderman Leneve, Lely; Henry Jermyn earl of St. Alban's; James second earl Waldegrave, Reynolds; the bashaw Bonneval, Liotard; Henry lord Holland, ditto; alderman Leneve, fine, Lely; John lord Sheffield, sir Anthony More; Virgin and Child, John Davis, esq; Mr. Leneve, Janssen, Margaret of Valois duchess of Savoy, sir Ant. More; Maria countess Waldegrave, Reynolds; Mr. Law, Rosalba; earl of Hertford, ditto; Frances countess of Exeter, Vandyck; sir Godfrey Kneller, by himself; Catherine Sedley countess of Dorchester, Dahl; madame de Sevigné; Girl scowering pots, Watteau; Sevonyans, the painter, by himself; Mary queen of France and Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk; Tobit burying the dead, fine, Castiglione; Catherine de Medicis and her children, Janet; Griffiere, the painter, Zoust; a portrait, Giorgione; a flower-piece, old Baptist; Anne countess of Dorset and Pembroke; Thomas duke of Norfolk, sir Anthony More; Henry Carey lord Falkland, whole length, Vansomer; Frances duchess of Richmond, ditto, Mark Garrard; Ludowic Stuart duke of Richmond, whole length; Thomas lord Howard of Bindon, ditto; several landscapes and sea-pieces, Scott. In one of the recesses, on an antique pedestal, is a noble bust of Vespasian, in black marble. In the other recess, on an antique pedestal, adorned with satyrs heads, and foliage, in relief, stands the famous eagle, of Greek workmanship, one of the finest pieces of sculpture known: it was found in the Baths of Caracalla, at Rome. On, and under the tables, are other pieces of ancient sculpture, in busts and urns. On the japan cabinets are some choice specimens of Roman earthen ware, finely painted and well preserved. In the windows, and other parts of the room, are several good bronzes.

The round room, lighted by a bow window of fine painted glass, is richly ornamented, and has a beautiful chimney-piece of marble, gilt, and inlaid with scagliola. The few pictures in this room are by great masters; viz.

Mrs.

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Mrs. Lemon, the miſtreſs of Vandyck, by himſelf; the Education of Jupiter, N. Pouſſin; Bianca Capella, Vaſari; Jacob leaving Laban, Salvator Roſa; a landſcape with rocks, Gobbo Caracci; Dorothy and Lucy Percy, counteſſes of Leiceſter and Carliſle, Vandyck; a charming landſcape, Paul Brill.

In the great bedchamber are a ſtate bed of French tapeſtry, rich in feſtoons of the moſt beautiful flowers, the curtains lined with crimſon ſilk, and the teſter adorned with plumes of oſtrich feathers; and a handſome Gothic ſtone chimney-piece, enriched with gilt ornaments. Here is, alſo, a glaſs cloſet, furniſhed with many curioſities and antiquities, and a beautiful little ebony cabinet, inlaid with poliſhed ſtones and medallions, and embelliſhed with ſeveral charming drawings by lady Diana Beauclerk. The chief pictures in this room are, Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, whole length; Henry VIII, and his children, on board; Margaret Smith, whole length, Vandyck; Catharine queen of Charles II, in a remarkable dreſs; Henry VII, a fine portrait, on board; Rehearſal of an opera, Marco Ricci; Ogleby, the poet, in his ſhirt; ſketch of the Beggar's Opera, Hogarth; Preſentation in the temple, Rembrandt; counteſs of Grammont, after Lely; ducheſs de Mazarine; Ninon l'Enclos, original; Richard I, priſoner to the archduke of Auſtria, Mieris; ducheſs de la Valiere; madame de Maintenon; Frances Jennings, ducheſs of Tyrconnel; a landſcape and cattle, G. Pouſſin; two views of Venice, Marieſki.

The cabinet. This little room is beyond conception ſplendid and enchanting. Entire windows of painted glaſs, in which are large heads of Chriſt and two apoſtles, ſurrounded with beautiful moſaics; a large ſtar of yellow-ſtained glaſs in the centre of the dome; the carpet, imitating the moſaic of the windows and the ſtar in the ceiling; and the gilt mouldings and ornaments; all conſpire to throw ſuch a golden gloom over the whole room, as to give it the ſolemn air of a Romiſh chapel; eſpecially when firſt viewed through the grated door. The pictures, bronzes, antiquities, gems, and curioſities, are too numerous to be detailed. But one thing we muſt notice; a ſmall ſilver bell, of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, covered over with lizards, graſſhoppers, and other inſects, in the higheſt relief, by Benvenuto Cellini.

In ſeveral parts of the houſe are pieces of ſculpture, and modellings in terra-cotta, by Mrs. Damer; and drawings and modellings in wax, by lady Diana Beauclerk.

The garden is laid out in the modern ſtyle; and, in the encircling wood, is a neat Gothic chapel, erected on purpoſe to contain a curious moſaic monument (ſent from Rome) the work of Peter Cavalini, who made the tomb of Edward the Confeſſor in Weſtminſter-abbey.

Adjoining the wood, is the delightful retreat of the late Mrs. Clive, the actreſs; which Mr. Walpole gave to her for her life; and in the gardens of which, ſince her death, he has placed an urn, adorned with maſks, on a pedeſtal, and the following lines, to her memory:

Ye ſmiles and jeſts, ſtill hover round;
This is Mirth's conſecrated ground:
Here liv'd the laughter-loving dame,
A matchleſs actreſs, Clive her name.
The comic Muſe with her retir'd,
And ſhed a tear when ſhe expir'd.

H. W.

The houſe is now the reſidence of miſs Mary and miſs Agnes Berry; and this account of the paintings and curioſities in Strawberry Hill (the only printed one to be met with) is taken from 'Ambulator, or a Tour twenty-five miles round London,' a ſmall volume lately publiſhed.

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HISTORY *of the Memorable Siege of* BREDA, *in the Year* 1625.

The very ſlight Defence made by the Governor of Breda, *on the late French Invaſion of* Holland, *muſt appear ſurpriſing to thoſe who recollect the memorable Siege which that City ſuſtained, in* 1625, *againſt the Spaniſh Army, commanded by the Marquis de* Spinola, *then the firſt General in the World. The Hiſtory of this Siege is the more memorable, as it is ſcarce poſſible to ſay which was the moſt worthy of Admiration—the heroic Valour of the Garriſon, for upward of ten Months, or the Humanity and Magnanimity of the Spaniſh Commander when he had achieved his important Conqueſt.*

THE citadel of Breda, which formed the reſidence of the princes of Orange, was ſurrounded by a ditch of prodigious depth filled with water, and a ſtrong wall defended by three great baſtions; and the arſenal was celebrated for its extent, and the vaſt quantities of arms and military ſtores it contained. Spinola, perfectly acquainted with the ſtrength of the place, thought he ſhould expoſe his whole army to imminent deſtruction, ſhould he attempt an aſſault before he had regularly carried on his approaches. He even reſolved upon reducing the city by famine, as the method attended with leaſt danger to his army; and accordingly began with drawing trenches round, for the ſpace of four miles, erecting forts and redoubts at certain diſtances.

On the other hand, the garriſon, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand infantry, and ſeveral troops of horſe, compoſed of Engliſh, French, and Dutch ſoldiers, took the moſt vigorous meaſures for their own defence. The Engliſh were under the command of colonel Morgan, who had frequently diſtinguiſhed his valour in the ſervice of the ſtates: the French were directed by colonel de Hauterive; and the Dutch troops were ſubject to the immediate orders of colonel Lohre, though the whole received their inſtructions from Juſtin de Naſſau, the governor. The firſt advantage was gained by Baglioni, who ſeized a large convoy of proviſions and ſtores coming up the river, converting the boats into a bridge. This loſs diſpirited the beſieged, and reduced them to a ſtated allowance of bread; and what added to their misfortunes, though they were ignorant of it, was the death of prince Maurice, from whom they were in hopes of receiving relief.

Meanwhile Spinola proſecuted the ſiege with the utmoſt diligence and vigour. On his puſhing the trenches near the baſtions, the beſieged began a terrible fire to retard his approaches, and kept it up with ſuch vehemence and obſtinacy, that Spinola was in hopes they muſt ſoon ſurrender for want of ammunition. But here he formed a falſe judgment of the prudence of Juſtin de Naſſau, who finding he could not accompliſh his purpoſe by his firing, reſolved to try the effect of water. With this view, he ſtopped up the courſe of the river Marck; and having formed a large baſon of water, opened the ſluices, ſwept away men, horſes, and houſes, in an inundation, and overflowed the whole country. The chief force of the torrent fell upon Spinola's quarters, and he exerted his utmoſt ability to remove the conſequences. He dug large pits, and cut out ditches and canals to receive the water; but theſe being filled, and the whole ground covered over, ſo as to appear one uniform maſs of water, ſerved only to entrap his cavalry. The inundation was augmented by the rains which happened to fall; a mortality among the ſoldiers and horſes enſued; and of his whole army, Spinola had ſcarce

twelve

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twelve thouſand men fit for ſervice by the month of December. With theſe inconſiderable remains, lines of vaſt extent were to be defended, the works were to be advanced, the ſallies from the garriſon repulſed, and proviſions to be conveyed into the camp, while Spinola, the ſoul of action, was confined to a ſick-bed.

In the garriſon, an epidemical diſeaſe and ſcarcity likewiſe prevailed; but the excellent regulations made, and ſtrictly obſerved, enabled the town to hold out three or four months beyond the time expected. The magiſtrates bought the corn for the bakers; obliging them to ſell the bread to the inhabitants and garriſon at a price affixed, and returning the overplus of their pay to the ſoldiers. A variety of other prudent regulations were eſtabliſhed by the magiſtrates and governor, ſuch as we do not find equalled by any inſtances recorded in hiſtory upon a ſimilar occaſion, and all evincing the ſteadineſs, ſagacity, courage, and ability, of Juſtin de Naſſau. A kind of rivalſhip appeared between him and Spinola, which ſhould beſt fulfil their ſeveral duties. The Spaniſh general cauſed himſelf to be carried about the works in a litter; he inſpected and directed every thing; and diſplayed the activity of full health at the time his life was in imminent danger from an acute malady. He ordered ſeveral breaches in the lines to be repaired. Theſe the Hollanders had made by ſap, with a view of introducing ſuccours to the beſieged. He drove piles into all the ditches and canals through which their boats could paſs. He made drains, to clear off the waters of the river Marck; and ſucceeded in a great meaſure by dint of perſeverance, vigilance, and conduct. He was now reinforced with a body of eight thouſand foot, and one thouſand five hundred horſe; many of the ſick were perfectly recovered by his extreme care; and his army was again become formidable, amounting to twenty-five thouſand infantry and eight thouſand cavalry. Nor was prince Henry idle, who now ſucceeded to the titles and dominions of his brother Maurice, and was elected governor of Holland, Zealand, Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overyſſel. He preſſed France for aſſiſtance, and was joined by a body of cavalry under the conduct of the count de Rouſſi and the marquis de Rambures. With this reinforcement, and a body of German infantry, he attacked the enemy's lines, and after an obſtinate conflict was repulſed. He advanced a ſecond time; but Spinola, who entertained a high opinion of his valour and conduct, did not chooſe to wait for him in his lines; he marched out with the greater part of his army, ſeized upon a convenient poſt, and obliged the prince a ſecond time to retire toward Boiſleduc. Henry, finding no proſpect of being able to relieve the garriſon, ſent a permiſſion to the governor to ſurrender on the beſt conditions he could obtain. This plan, which was ſigned with no name, fell into the hands of the beſiegers, and Spinola ſent it open, by a trumpet, to Juſtin de Naſſau, offering him an honourable capitulation; but that intrepid governor, ſuſpecting the letter was forged, becauſe it was anonymous, replied civilly, that a permiſſion was not an order to ſurrender; and that he ſhould better follow the prince of Orange's intention, and ſhow his reſpect for Spinola, by continuing to defend the city to the laſt extremity.

By this time the garriſon was diminiſhed by diſeaſe, fatigue, want, and hardſhip, to half the original number; but Juſtin put on ſuch a countenance, as concealed his ſituation from Spinola. He frequently ſallied out upon Baglioni's quarters, where the Italians were periſhing with cold and hunger, the whole ſubſiſtence of the beſiegers depending on the contributions raiſed in the neighbouring territories. This inconvenience produced a mutiny in the camp, that could not be appeaſed without applying violent remedies, and executing within

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within ſight of the whole army the chief ringleaders. One of the mutineers blew up Spinola's chief magazine, valued at two hundred thouſand livres. Urged more by neceſſity than compaſſion for the beſieged, Spinola ſent a meſſage to the governor, exhorting him not to force him to extremities, which might be attended with fatal conſequences to a brave garriſon; but Juſtin, with equal art and diſſimulation, anſwered, that Spinola was certainly ill ſerved by his ſpies, as he appeared wholly unacquainted with the ſtate of affairs in Breda, which was fully provided for a ſiege of ſeveral months, and defended by ſoldiers who preferred death to the neceſſity of ſurrendering. At that time the beſieged were not informed of the death of the prince of Orange. They flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſpeedy ſuccour, and were entirely ignorant of prince Henry's late diſappointment. When they wrote to the army an account of their miſerable condition, Henry returned an anſwer, written with his own hand, and ſigned with his name, appriſing them of the death of Maurice, the unſucceſsful attempts made to raiſe the ſiege and throw in ſuccours, the great inferiority of his troops in point of numbers, and the death of king James, whereby he was diſappointed of a ſtrong reinforcement; concluding, that he left the city entirely to the diſcretion of the governor and other principal officers. Juſtin was thunderſtruck with the contents of this letter. He had hitherto concealed the total want of proviſion and ammunition from the enemy, and his own garriſon, except a few officers and other perſons in whom he repoſed confidence. The colonels Hauterive and Morgan would liſten to no propoſitions, ſaying, that the honour of their ſeveral countries was concerned, and that they were reſponſible for the conduct of the Engliſh and French forces. They therefore required an expreſs order from the prince of Orange to ſurrender, notwithſtanding they pined under the united preſſure of fatigue, ſcarcity, and diſeaſe. Juſtin acquainted the prince with their reſolution, and he ſent back an order to ſurrender, threatening with capital puniſhment whoever ſhould diſobey; but he requeſted that the garriſon would firſt acquaint him by a certain number of fires, lighted up in different parts of the city, how many days they ſhould be able to hold out. Upon receipt of this order, eleven fires were kindled; but as the prince had ſent a duplicate of the order by another meſſenger, and this fell into the hands of the enemy, Spinola was now acquainted with the deſperate circumſtances of the beſieged. By this acquiſition he likewiſe diſcovered the myſtery of the eleven fires: a council of war was aſſembled to deliberate whether they ſhould ſtay the eleven days, and then oblige the garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion, or immediately offer conditions worthy of ſo brave a garriſon. The Spaniſh officers were of the former opinion; the count de Berg and Spinola ſupported the latter. At laſt the marquis, determined to purſue the dictates of his noble generoſity, and ſent ſuch terms as could not be refuſed. The count de Berg conducted the negotiation. Two ſeparate capitulations were drawn up, one for the garriſon, and the other for the city, and both the moſt honourable and advantageous that could be deviſed. They were accepted, and the garriſon marched out on the 6th of June, after having ſuſtained a ſiege for ten months, whereby they were diminiſhed two-thirds; nor was the loſs inferior on the part of the inhabitants. Spinola drew up his army to ſalute them, and, ſurrounded by his field officers, paid particular compliments to the governor, the colonels Morgan, Hauterive, and Lohre. He diſtributed money among the ſoldiers, ordered the ſick and wounded to be treated with the utmoſt tenderneſs, conveyed the reſt in the manner moſt commodious for them to Gertruydenburgh, and diſplayed all the ſentiments of a hero in the regard paid to the valour and merit of his enemies.

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MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* MARTIN LUTHER:
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THE reception which Luther met with at Worms might have been deemed an ample reward for all his labours, if vanity and the love of applauſe had been his principles of action. Greater crowds aſſembled to behold him than had appeared at the emperor's public entry; his apartments were daily filled with princes and perſons of the higheſt rank; and he was treated with all the reſpect paid to thoſe, who poſſeſs the power of directing the underſtanding and ſentiments of other men. At his appearance before the Diet, he behaved with great decency, but with equal firmneſs. He readily acknowledged an exceſs of vehemence and acrimony in his writings; but he refuſed to retract his opinions, unleſs he were convinced of their falſhood, or to conſent to their being tried by any other rule than the Word of God. Threats and entreaties having been equally ineffectual, ſome of the eccleſiaſtics propoſed to imitate the example of the council of Conſtance, and to deliver the church at once from ſuch a peſtilent hereſy, by the death of the author of it, who was now in their power. But neither the emperor, nor the principal members of the Diet, would permit this ſecond violation of public faith; and Luther was permitted to depart. Soon after, an edict was publiſhed by the Diet, depriving him, as an obſtinate and excommunicated criminal, of all his privileges as a ſubject of the empire; forbidding any prince to protect him; and requiring all to concur in apprehending him, on the expiration of his ſafe-conduct.

Excluſive of other cauſes, this rigorous decree was rendered ineffectual by a prudent precaution of the elector of Saxony. As Luther, on his return, was paſſing near Altenſtein, in Thuringia, ſome horſemen in maſks ruſhed ſuddenly out of a wood, and ſurrounding his company, carried him, after diſmiſſing all his attendants, to Wartburg, a ſtrong caſtle not far diſtant. There the elector ordered him to be accommodated with every thing agreeable, but the place of his retreat was carefully concealed, until the fury of the ſtorm againſt him began to abate, on a change in the political ſituation of Europe. In this ſolitude, where he remained nine months, and which he frequently called his Patmos, after the name of the iſland to which the apoſtle John was baniſhed, he exerted his uſual vigour and induſtry in defence of his opinions, publiſhing ſeveral treatiſes, which revived the ſpirit of his followers, who had been aſtoniſhed and diſheartened at the ſudden diſappearance of their leader.

In the mean time, his doctrines acquired the aſcendant in almoſt every city of Saxony. The Auguſtinians of Wittemberg, with the approbation of the univerſity, ventured upon the firſt ſtep toward an alteration in the eſtabliſhed forms of public worſhip, by aboliſhing the celebration of private maſſes, and by giving the cup, as well as the bread, to the laity, in adminiſtering the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper. Two events occurred, however, which ſeemed to lay inſuperable obſtacles in the way of propagating his principles in the two moſt powerful kingdoms of Europe. One was, the ſolemn decree of the univerſity of Paris, condemning his opinions. The other was the anſwer written to his book on the Babylonian captivity, by Henry VIII of England. This was entitled a Treatiſe on the Seven Sacraments: it was not deſtitute of ingenuity and acuteneſs, and was repreſented by the flattery of his courtiers to be a work of ſuch wonderful ſcience and learning, as exalted the royal author as much above other writers in merit, as he was ſuperior

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perior to them in rank. The pope ſpoke of it in ſuch terms, as if it had been dictated by inſpiration, and conferred upon its author the title of Defender of the Faith. Luther, unawed by the authority of the univerſity, or the dignity of the monarch, ſoon publiſhed his animadverſions on both, in the ſame vehement ſtyle that he would have employed in confuting his meaneſt adverſary. A controverſy between ſuch illuſtrious diſputants attracted univerſal attention; and ſo powerful was the evidence that accompanied the doctrines of the reformers, on their firſt publication, that, in ſpite of the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers combined againſt them, they daily acquired converts both in England and France.

During Luther's confinement at Wartburg, Carloſtadius, one of his diſciples, began to propagate ſome wild and dangerous opinions, chiefly among the lower people. Encouraged by his exhortations, they roſe in ſeveral villages of Saxony, broke into the churches, and deſtroyed the images. Theſe outrages were ſo repugnant to all the cautious maxims of the elector, that, if they had not been checked in time, they might have alienated from the reformers a prince, at once jealous of his own authority, and apprehenſive of giving offence to the emperor, and other patrons of the ancient opinions. Luther, perceiving the danger, immediately quitted his retreat, without waiting for Frederic's permiſſion, and returned to Wittemberg. Happily for the reformation, the veneration for his perſon and authority was ſtill ſo great, that his appearance alone ſuppreſſed that ſpirit of extravagance which had begun to ſeize his party. Carloſtadius and his followers, ſtruck dumb by his rebukes, ſubmitted at once, and declared, that they heard the voice of an angel, not of a man.

Before Luther left his retreat, he had begun to tranſlate the Bible into the German tongue. He had a competent knowledge of the original languages; a thorough acquaintance with the ſtyle and ſentiments of the ſacred writers; and, though his compoſitions in Latin were rude and barbarous, he was reckoned a great maſter of the purity of his mother tongue, and could expreſs himſelf with all the elegance of which it is capable. With the aſſiſtance of Melanchton, and ſome other of his diſciples, he finiſhed part of the New Teſtament in 1522; and the publication of it proved more fatal to the church of Rome than all his own works. It was read by perſons of every rank, with wonderful avidity and attention. They were aſtoniſhed at diſcovering, how contrary to the precepts of the Author of our Religion are the inventions of thoſe prieſts who pretended to be his vice-gerents; and having now in their hands the rule of faith, they thought themſelves qualified, by applying it, to judge of the eſtabliſhed opinions, and to pronounce whether they were conformable, or contrary, to the ſtandard. The example of Luther, in this reſpect, was imitated by the advocates for reformation in other countries of Europe.

About this time (1524) Nuremberg, Franckfort, Hamburgh, and other free cities of Germany, of the firſt rank, openly embraced the reformed religion; and the elector of Brandenburgh, the prince of Anhalt, and the dukes of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, became the avowed patrons of the new opinions.

In 1526, the grievances to which the peaſants of all Germany were ſubject, occaſioned great inſurrections in Suabia and Thuringia. The latter were headed by Thomas Muncer, one of the diſciples of Luther; a man of a fanatical ſpirit, whoſe exhortations and conduct to his followers were correſpondent to that ſpirit. During theſe commotions, Luther conducted himſelf with great prudence and moderation; like a common parent, ſolicitous for the welfare of both parties, without ſparing the faults or errors of either. On the one hand, he addreſſed a monitory diſcourſe to the

nobles,

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nobles; exhorting them to treat their dependents with greater humanity: on the other, he severely censured the seditious spirit of the peasants, advising them not to murmur at hardships inseparable from their condition, nor to seek for redress by unlawful means.

Luther's famous marriage with Catharine a Boria, a nun of a noble family, who, having thrown aside the veil, had fled from the cloister, happened this year, and was far from meeting with the same approbation. Even his most devoted followers thought this step indecent, at a time when his country was involved in so many calamities; while his enemies never mentioned it with any softer appellation than that of incestuous or profane. Luther himself was sensible of the impression it had made to his disadvantage; but being satisfied with his own conduct, he bore the censure of his friends, and the reproaches of his adversaries, with his usual fortitude. This year also the reformation lost its great friend, Frederic elector of Saxony, who was succeeded, however, by his brother John, a more avowed and zealous, though less able, patron of Luther and his adherents.

In 1530, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, the Landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, the dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, with the deputies of fourteen Imperial or free cities, entered a solemn protest against a decree of the diet of Spires, which had prohibited any farther innovations in religion, before the meeting of a general council. On this account, they were distinguished by the name of PROTESTANTS; an appellation, which has since become better known, and more honourable, by being applied indiscriminately to all the sects, of whatever denomination, which have revolted from the Roman see. The same year, was presented to the Diet at Augsburg, the celebrated creed, composed by Melancthon, and ever since called *The Confession of Augsburg*. But notwithstanding that gentle and pacific man had expressed their faith, in terms as little offensive to the Roman Catholics as truth would permit, this diet issued a decree against the Protestants still more severe than that of Worms. This produced a league of mutual defence among the princes, at Smalkande; by which they formed the Protestant states of the empire into one regular body.

Luther continued, for a series of years, by his writings and his counsels, to promote the progress of the Reformation. At length the period arrived, which was at once to terminate his glorious labours, and to save him from the destructive rage of the tempest, which was ready to burst forth in all its violence against the Protestant church. In the year 1546, having gone, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season, to his native city of Eisleben, in order to compose, by his authority, a difference among the counts of Mansfeldt, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach, which, in a few days, put an end to his life, in the sixty-third year of his age. 'As he was raised by Providence,' says Dr. Robertson *, 'to be the author of one of the greatest and most interesting revolutions recorded in history, there is not any person, perhaps, whose character has been drawn with such opposite colours. In his own age, one party, struck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they saw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be sacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only the defects and vices of a man, but the qualities of a demon. The other, warmed with the admiration and gratitude, which they thought he merited, as the restorer of light and liberty to the Christian church, ascribed to him

* History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V. Vol. III, page 309.

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perfections above the condition of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration, bordering on that which ſhould be paid only to thoſe who are guided by the immediate inſpiration of heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure, or the extravagant praiſe, of his contemporaries, that ought to regulate the opinions of the preſent age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth; undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own ſyſtem; abilities, both natural and acquired, to defend his principles; and unwearied induſtry in propagating them; are virtues which ſhine ſo conſpicuouſly in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies muſt allow him to have poſſeſſed them, in an eminent degree. To theſe may be added, with equal juſtice, ſuch purity and even auſterity of manners, as became one who aſſumed the character of a reformer; ſuch ſanctity of life as ſuited the doctrine which he delivered; and ſuch perfect diſintereſtedneſs, as affords no ſlight preſumption of his ſincerity. Superior to all ſelfiſh conſiderations, a ſtranger to the elegancies of life, and deſpiſing its pleaſures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his diſciples, remaining ſatisfied himſelf in his original ſtate of profeſſor in the univerſity, and paſtor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to theſe offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed by no inconſiderable mixture of human frailties and human paſſions. Theſe, however, were of ſuch a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but ſeem to have taken their riſe from the ſame ſource with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, roufed by great objects, or agitated by violent paſſions, broke out, on many occaſions, with an impetuoſity, which aſtoniſhes men of feebler ſpirits, or ſuch as are placed in a more tranquil ſituation. By carrying ſome praiſe-worthy diſpoſitions to exceſs, he bordered ſometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which expoſed him to cenſure. His confidence that his own opinions were well-founded, approached to arrogance; his courage, in aſſerting them, to raſhneſs; his firmneſs in adhering to them, to obſtinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adverſaries, to rage and ſcurrility. Accuſtomed himſelf to conſider every thing as ſubordinate to truth, he expected the ſame deference for it from other men; and, without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth againſt ſuch as diſappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with contempt. Regardleſs of any diſtinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chaſtiſed all his adverſaries indiſcriminately, with the ſame rough hand: neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII, nor the eminent learning and abilities of Eraſmus, ſcreened them from the ſame groſs abuſe with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

'But theſe indecencies of which Luther was guilty, muſt not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper. They ought to be charged in part on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with thoſe maxims, which, by putting conſtraint on the paſſions of individuals, have poliſhed ſociety, and rendered it agreeable, diſputes of every kind were managed with heat, and ſtrong emotions were uttered in their natural language without reſerve or delicacy. At the ſame time, the works of learned men were all compoſed in Latin; and they were not only authorized, by the example of eminent writers in that language, to uſe their antagoniſts with the moſt illiberal ſcurrility; but, in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appear leſs ſhocking than in a living language, whoſe idioms and phraſes ſeem groſs, becauſe they are familiar.

'In paſſing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by thoſe of another.

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ther. For, although virtue and vice are at all times the ſame, manners and cuſtoms vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear moſt culpable, gave no diſguſt to his contemporaries. It was even by ſome of thoſe qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accompliſhing the great work he undertook. To rouſe mankind, when ſunk in ignorance or ſuperſtition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry armed with power, required the utmoſt vehemence of zeal, as well as a temper daring to exceſs. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. A ſpirit more amiable, but leſs vigorous than Luther's, would have ſhrunk back from the dangers which he braved and ſurmounted. Toward the cloſe of Luther's life, though without any perceptible diminution of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increaſed upon him, ſo that he grew daily more peeviſh, more iraſcible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be a witneſs of his own amazing ſucceſs; to ſee a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to ſhake the foundation of the papal throne, before which the mightieſt monarchs had trembled, he diſcovered, on ſome occaſions, ſymptoms of vanity and ſelf-applauſe. He muſt have been, indeed, more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accompliſhed, he had never felt any ſentiments of this kind riſing in his breaſt.'

Some time before his death, he felt his ſtrength declining, his conſtitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of buſineſs, added to the labour of diſcharging his miniſterial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of conſtant ſtudy, beſide the compoſition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leiſure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forſake him at the approach of death; his laſt converſation with his friends was concerning the happineſs reſerved for good men in a future life, of which he ſpoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wiſhed to enter upon the enjoyment of it. The account of his death filled the Roman Catholic party with exceſſive as well as indecent joy, and damped the ſpirits of all his followers; neither party ſufficiently conſidering, that his doctrines were now ſo firmly rooted, as to be in a condition to flouriſh independent of the hand that had firſt planted them. His funeral was celebrated, by order of the elector of Saxony, with extraordinary pomp. He left ſeveral children by his wife Catharine a Boria, who ſurvived him. Toward the end of the laſt century, there were in Saxony ſome of his deſcendants in decent and honourable ſtations.

DUELLING: *An Anecdote.*

THE firſt duel in New England was fought with ſword and dagger between two ſervants. Neither of them was killed, but both were wounded. For this diſgraceful offence they were formally tried before the whole company *, and ſentenced to have their 'heads and feet tied together, and ſo to be twenty-four hours without meat or drink.' Such, however, was the painfulneſs of their ſituation, and their piteous intreaties to be releaſed, that, upon promiſe of their good behaviour in future, they were ſoon releaſed by the governor. 'Such was the origin,' ſays Mr. Morſe, 'and ſuch, I may almoſt venture to ſay, was the termination of the odious practice of duelling in New England, for there have been very few duels fought there ſince. The true method of preventing crimes is to render them diſgraceful. Upon this principle, can there be a puniſhment better calculated to exterminate this criminal practice than the above?'

* The firſt Settlers.

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METEOROLOGICAL JOURNAL, March 1793.

D.	H.	Baro.	T. out	T. in	Hyg.	C.	Wind.	Weather, &c.
1	7	29,77	43	47,5	50,5	3	SW 3	. rain and more wind
	2	29,56	46	50	53,5	5	SW 3	. little rain. fine night: ſhower of hail and
2	7	29,72	42,5	50,5	50,5	2	W 2	: cloudy [rain
	2	29,73	50	51,5	50,5	5	SW 3	. little rain. ſtormy night: leſs wind
3	7	29,65	42	51	49	1	WSW 4	
	2	29,80	47,5	51	43	3	W 4	. leſs wind. clear night
4	7	29,92	36,5	48,5	46	1	W 1	
	2	29,92	45,5	51	43	3	W 1	. clear night
5	7	29,80	35	47,5	49,5	2	W 1	hazy. wind SSE: cloudy
	2	29,78	46	49,5	49,5	5	SSE 1	. wind E. little rain at night
6	7	29,93	41,5	49	53	3	ENE 1	
	2	29,99	48	51	50,5	3	NNE 2	. clear night
7	7	30,07	36,5	48,5	50,5	0	N 1	. hazy
	2	30,09	44	50	49	3	ENE 1	. more wind. cloudy night
8	7	30,23	38	46,5	48,5	5	E 2	. fine
	2	30,23	42,5	48,5	43,5	0	E 3	. leſs wind: cloudy
9	7	30.17	37	47	49	4	NE 1	. fine
	2	30,07	42	46	46	2	E 2	
10	7	29,99	36,5	45	49	3	E 2	
	2	29,92	40,5	46	45	3	E 2	hazy. more wind: cloudy
11	7	29,76	38	43	49,5	5	E 3	
	2	29,76	39	44	48	5	ENE 3	.
12	7	29,90	34,5	42,5	45,5	4	E 2	. fine
N	2	29,92	36,5	43,5	46,5	1	E 3	. leſs wind. cloudy night: rain
13	7	29,82	46	44,5	62	5	SSW 1	. more wind: little rain
	2	29,99	52,5	49,5	57	5	SSW 3	. leſs cloudy. leſs wind
14	7	30,17	45,5	49,5	52,5	5	S 1	. fine
	2	30,17	52,5	52	46	3	SW 1	: cloudleſs eve but hazy
15	7	30,17	39	50,5	50,5	5	SW 0	. very foggy. fine
	2	30,07	50,5	51,5	45,5	1	SW 1	. thick upward
16	7	29,91	44	51,5	50	4	SW 1	. fine. more wind S and cloudy
	2	29,68	50	51,5	45	5	S 3	. leſs wind and much rain: fine
17	7	29,61	36	48,5	49	1	W 1	
	2	29,43	45,5	50	50	4	E 2	. much rain at night
18	7	29,09	46	51	53,5	5	SSE 1	. fine: cloudy
	2	29,25	49,5	52	49	4	S 1	. gentle rain. leſs cloudy night
19	7	29,72	38,5	48	49,5	4	W 1	. little rain. chiefly fine
	2	29,82	49	51	47,5	3	W 1	. ſtrong halo round the moon: cloudy
20	7	29,86	46	51	51,5	4	WSW 1	hazy
	2	29,86	52,5	54	49	4	SSW 1	hazy. little wet at night
21	7	29,86	48,5	55	51	5	SSW 1	drizzling. rain
	2	29,96	48	55	49,5	5	WSW 1	little rain. fine: cloudy
22	7	29,77	42,5	52	50	5	S 2	. much gentle rain
	2	29,63	45,5	51	51	5	S 2	gentle rain. ſhowers and fine
23	7	29.83	38	50,5	48	2	W 1	hazy
	2	29,82	46,5	51	46,5	3	SW 1	
24	7	29,90	37	48,5	49,5	0	NE 1	. cloudy. gentle rain
	2	29.91	43	49	49	5	NNE 1	much gentle rain
25	7	29,99	41,5	49	52,5	5	ENE 1	. little wet
	2	30,04	45,5	49	51,5	5	NE 2	. more wind: little ſnow and rain
26	7	29,99	39	49	51,5	6	NNE 3	ſnow and rain. fair
	2	29.95	41	46,5	53	5	NNE 2	
27	7	30,04	35,5	45	46	4	NE 2	
F	2	30,00	40,5	40,5	45	4	ENE 2	: little ſnow
28	7	29,78	34,5	44	47,5	5	NNE 1	little ſnow. fine with little ſnow at times
	2	29,76	42,5	46	42,5	3	E 2	. clear night
29	7	29,87	32	42	47,5	4	NNE 2	. leſs cloudy but hazy
	2	29,87	43,5	46,5	42	2	NE 2	hazy. Thermometer 32 at night
30	7	30,00	33	44,5	47,5	1	NE 1	hazy
	2	30,03	45,5	47	41,5	2	N 1	hazy
31	7	30,12	34	45,5	48	1	N 1	hazy [rain
	2	29,98	42,5	47	41,5	3	N 1	hazy. wind W. foggy night. cloudy: little

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OBSERVATIONS *on the* DISEASES *in* March 1793.

THE change which took place in the ſtate of the atmoſphere in the early part of this month, produced a very material alteration in the prevailing diſeaſes; the weather continued mild till the ſixth, when the wind changed to the northeaſt, it then continued either to the eaſtward or northward till the 13th (the day after the new moon) when it ſuddenly changed to the ſouth ſouthweſt, and the thermometer roſe ten degrees; it remained either to the ſouthward or weſtward till the 24th, when on its change the thermometer ſunk nine degrees, and it continued to the northward or eaſtward to the end of the month.

Theſe changes muſt naturally affect the human frame, and in conſequence of the acceſſion of cold, which commenced on the ſixth, perſons afflicted with the meaſles, which were before unuſually mild, began to ſuffer ſevere peripneumonic ſymptoms, and it conſequently proved more fatal; glandular enlargements were likewiſe frequent from the application of cold to the ſurface of the body; but the moſt prevailing diſeaſe was a ſore throat, occaſioned by ſmall apthous ulcerations, evidently ariſing from increaſed ſecretions of an acrid nature in the *primæ viæ*; it was eaſily cured by the uſe of gentle laxatives and abſorbents. The ſmallpox was much leſs frequent; but regular intermittents occurred very frequently; they were almoſt conſtantly attended with large ſecretions of acrid bile, which it was neceſſary to remove by emetics and mercurial purgatives; after which the diſeaſe readily yielded to the Peruvian bark in moderate doſes, frequently repeated.

VALOUR *and* MAGNANIMITY: *An Anecdote.*

IN 1702, Peter the Great having made ſeveral ineffectual attempts on Noteborg, a Swediſh fortreſs, now called Schluſſelburgh, ſent prince Galitzin, colonel of the guards, at the head of a ſelect corps, to take it by ſtorm. That officer having, by means of rafts, landed his ſoldiers cloſe to the fortifications, which advance almoſt to the edge of the water, they were received with ſuch cool intrepidity by the garriſon, and expoſed to ſuch a dreadful carnage, that Peter, conceiving the aſſault to be impracticable, ſent immediate orders for the Ruſſians to retire. Prince Galitzin, however, refuſed to obey: 'Tell my ſovereign,' ſaid he, 'that I am no longer his ſubject; having thrown myſelf under the protection of a Power far ſuperior to him.'—Then, turning to his troops, he animated them by his voice and example, and leading them to the attack, ſcaled the walls, and took the fortreſs. Peter was ſo ſtruck with this exploit, that, upon his next interview with Galitzin, he ſaid to him, 'Aſk what you will, except Moſcow and Catharine.' The prince, with a magnanimity, which reflects the higheſt honour upon his character, inſtantly requeſted the pardon of his ancient rival prince Repnim, who had been degraded, by Peter, from the rank of marſhal to that of a common ſoldier. He obtained his requeſt; and with it the confidence of his ſovereign, the eſteem of prince Repnim, and the applauſe of the public.—Few circumſtances can give more pleaſure to a generous mind than the contemplation of ſuch exalted traits of a great and noble ſpirit; and our pleaſure is heightened, when we behold the deſcendants of ſuch perſons enjoying all the honours, as well as virtues of their anceſtors.

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Intereſting OBSERVATIONS *on the* EMPLOYMENT *and* DUTY *of a* MIDSHIPMAN.

[From the Encyclopædia Britannica.]

A MIDSHIPMAN *is* a ſort of naval officer appointed by the captain of a ſhip of war, to ſecond the orders of the ſuperior officers, and aſſiſt in the neceſſary buſineſs of the veſſel, either aboard or aſhore.

The number of midſhipmen, like that of ſeveral other officers, is always in proportion to the ſize of the ſhip to which they belong. Thus a firſt-rate man of war has 24, and the inferior rates a ſuitable number in proportion. No perſon can be appointed lieutenant without having previouſly ſerved two years in the royal navy in this capacity, or in that of mate, beſide having been at leaſt four years in actual ſervice at ſea, either in merchant-ſhips or in the royal navy.

Midſhipman is accordingly the ſtation in which a young volunteer is trained in the ſeveral exerciſes neceſſary to attain a ſufficient knowledge of the machinery, movements, and military operations of a ſhip, to qualify him for a ſea officer.

On his firſt entrance in a ſhip of war, every midſhipman has ſeveral diſadvantageous circumſtances to encounter. Theſe are partly occaſioned by the nature of the ſea-ſervice; and partly by the miſtaken prejudices of people in general reſpecting naval diſcipline, and the genius of ſailors and their officers. No character, in their opinion, is more excellent than that of the common ſailor, whom they generally ſuppoſe to be treated with great ſeverity by his officers, drawing a compariſon between them not very advantageous to the latter. The midſhipman uſually comes aboard tinctured with theſe prejudices, eſpecially if his education has been among the higher rank of people; and if the officers happen to anſwer his opinion, he conceives an early diſguſt to the ſervice, from a very partial and incompetent view of its operations. Blinded by theſe prepoſſeſſions, he is thrown off his guard, and very ſoon ſurpriſed to find, among thoſe honeſt ſailors, a crew of abandoned miſcreants, ripe for any miſchief or villany. Perhaps, after a little obſervation, many of them will appear to him equally deſtitute of gratitude, ſhame, or juſtice, and only deterred from the commiſſion of any crimes by the terror of ſevere puniſhment. He will diſcover, that the pernicious example of a few of the vileſt in a ſhip of war are too often apt to poiſon the principles of the greateſt number, eſpecially if the reins of diſcipline are too much relaxed, ſo as to foſter that idleneſs and diſſipation, which engender ſloth, diſeaſes, and an utter profligacy of manners. If the midſhipman on many occaſions is obliged to mix with theſe, particularly in the exerciſes of extending or reducing the ſails in the tops, he ought reſolutely to guard againſt this contagion, with which the morals of his inferiors may be infected. He ſhould, however, avail himſelf of their knowledge, and acquire their expertneſs in managing and fixing the ſails and rigging, and never ſuffer himſelf to be excelled by an inferior. He will probably find a virtue in almoſt every private ſailor, which is entirely unknown to many of his officers: that virtue is emulation, which is not indeed mentioned among their qualities by the gentlemen of *terra firma*, by whom their characters are often copiouſly deſcribed with very little judgment. There is hardly a common tar who is not envious of ſuperior ſkill in his fellows, and jealous on all occaſions to be outdone in what he conſiders as a branch of his duty: nor is he more afraid of the dreadful conſequences of whiſtling in a ſtorm, than of being ſtigmatiſed with the opprobrious epithet of *lubber*. Fortified againſt this ſcandal, by a thorough knowledge of his buſineſs, the ſailor will ſometimes ſneer in private at the execu-

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execution of orders which to him appear awkward, improper, or unlike a seaman. Nay, he will perhaps be malicious enough to suppress his own judgment, and, by a punctual obedience to command, execute whatever is to be performed in a manner which he knows to be improper, in order to expose the person commanding to disgrace and ridicule. Little skilled in the method of the schools, he considers the officer who cons his lesson by rote as very ill qualified for his station, because particular situations might render it necessary for the said officer to assist at putting his own orders in practice. An ignorance in this practical knowledge will therefore necessarily be thought an unpardonable deficiency by those who are to follow his directions. Hence the midshipman who associates with these sailors in the tops, till he has acquired a competent skill in the service of extending or reducing the sails, &c. will be often entertained with a number of scurrilous jests, at the expence of his superiors. Hence also he will learn, that a timely application only to those exercises can prevent him from appearing in the same despicable point of view, which must certainly be a cruel mortification to a man of the smallest sensibility.

If the midshipman is not employed in these services, which are undoubtedly necessary to give him a clearer idea of the different parts of his occupation, a variety of other objects present themselves to his attention. Without presuming to dictate the studies which are most essential to his improvement, we could wish to recommend such as are most suitable to the bent of his inclination. Astronomy, geometry, and mechanics, which are in the first rank of science, are the materials which form the skilful pilot and the superior mariner. The theory of navigation is entirely derived from the two former, and all the machinery and movements of a ship are founded upon the latter. The action of the wind upon the sails, and the resistance of the water at the stem, naturally dictate an inquiry into the property of solids and fluids; and the state of the ship, floating on the water, seems to direct his application to the study of hydrostatics, and the effects of gravity. A proficiency in these branches of science will equally enlarge his views, with regard to the operations of naval war, as directed by the efforts of powder and the knowledge of projectiles. The most effectual method to excite his application to those studies, is, perhaps, by looking round the navy, to observe the characters of individuals. By this inquiry he will probably discover, that the officer who is eminently skilled in the sciences, will command universal respect and approbation; and that whoever is satisfied with the despicable ambition of shining the hero of an assembly, will be the object of universal contempt. The attention of the former will be engaged in those studies which are highly useful to himself in particular, and to the service in general. The employment of the latter is to acquire those superficial accomplishments that unbend the mind from every useful science, emasculate the judgment, and render the hero infinitely more dexterous at falling into his station in the dance than in the line of battle.

Unless the midshipman has an unconquerable aversion to the acquisition of those qualifications which are so essential to his improvement, he will very rarely want opportunities of making a progress therein. Every step he advances in those meritorious employments will facilitate his accession to the next in order. If the dunces, who are his officers or messmates, are rattling the dice, roaring bad verses, hissing on the flute, or scraping discord from the fiddle, his attention to more noble studies will sweeten the hours of relaxation. He should recollect, that no example from fools ought to influence his conduct, or seduce him from that laudable ambition which his honour and advantage are equally concerned to pursue.

ON

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ON WHIMS.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

BESIDE that ſtock of individual vanity, which every man uſes for home-conſumption, there ſeems to be a more general ſtock, which we are diſpoſed to preſerve and to increaſe for the benefit of the community at large, on condition, however, that we may be permitted to draw from it, to ſupply certain urgent occaſions. Thus, when I obſerve one man vaunting of his extraordinary proweſs, ſkill, or cunning, I conſider him as negotiating his own private ſtock of vanity; but when I obſerve another, or perhaps the ſelf-ſame gentleman, launching forth in high praiſes of the dignity of human nature, and the ſuperior wiſdom, refinement, and liberality of the preſent age, I immediately conclude that, in default of private ſtock, he is now drawing largely on the general bank of human vanity.

In truth, ſir, I am inclined to think that we very often draw upon this general fund, without our claims being juſt, or acknowledged. In other words, we are very willing to contribute largely to the fame and celebrity of the age in which we live, without adding much to our own wiſdom, or ever conſidering ourſelves as parts of that great whole. If this were not the caſe, ſhould we find ſo many men, reputed wiſe, who act fooliſhly, and who have all the wiſdom of the world in theory, but ſcarcely any in practice?—I have been led into theſe reflections, from conſidering the prevalence of *whims*, or thoſe caprices, often ridiculous, often fooliſh, and ſometimes offenſive and hurtful, from which very few *wiſe* men are free, and from which the world in general do not ſeem to wiſh to be free.

I obſerve, ſir, that whenever a foible, or habit of foibles, becomes general, it becomes its own excuſe. Thus when a man is cenſured for any offenſive whim, the reply almoſt always is, 'True, but you know he is a *whimſical* man.' This excuſe, however, is not one whit more valid than if I were to apologize for a man who had picked my pocket, by obſerving that he was a thief. There would be no proof here that I knew logic, or had any very diſtinct ideas of juſtice. Yet Tom Dingy, who affects the utmoſt ſlovenlineſs of apparel, is excuſed in all companies where he enters, as a man who is fond of ſuch whims. And his hopeful heir, who always dreſſes in the garb of a jockey, obtains a free pardon, on his declaring that he does it for a whim.

Skinner, the etymologiſt, derives the word *whim* from 'ſomething which turns round,' a definition probably as good as can be found, but not good enough to give us diſtinct apprehenſions on the ſubject. Indeed, the very uncertainty we are in reſpecting the definition of the word, is an indirect cenſure of the thing itſelf. It ſeems to be proper that a thing that is wholly unaccountable, ſhould paſs by a name that is wholly unintelligible.

A crowded metropolis is the true ſcene of action for men of whim. In the country, the circle is too ſmall. They might prove offenſive, and would ſoon be left to ſolitude; but the free and unconſtrained manners of a city, where a man may do what he pleaſes, and no perſon call him to an account, are favourable to the growth of whims. Hence the moſt humorous accounts of whims, have been almoſt always dated from the metropolis; and hence men who have devoted their time to whim-hunting, have conſidered London as the place for true ſport. Almoſt every coffee-houſe or public houſe has one or more gueſts, who amuſe the reſt with their whims. Will Steady has occupied the ſame box in the

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Chapter coffeehouſe for the laſt twenty years at a particular hour, and his perſon and that box are ſo connected by the aſſociation of ideas, that if I were to find them ſeparate, I ſhould firſt ſuſpect that the room had undergone an alteration.

Old Teſty of Lincoln's-inn, eſq. is another whimſical fellow. He viſits the chop-houſe preciſely at three, calls for a ſingle chop, which he devours with apparent appetite. His half pint of wine is then placed before him, which he divides into ſuch minute and equal portions that, with the aſſiſtance of a newſpaper, it laſts till five o'clock; at that hour, according to the exacteſt admeaſurement of time, he calls for the bill of fare, looks out 'ſomething nice,' and ſits down again to the ſecond courſe, if I may ſo call it. After this, he converſes with his neighbours, leiſurely drinks another half pint of wine, and preciſely at eight o'clock, takes his 'ſlow ſolemn leave.' From the beſt authority I can procure, he has not deviated from this practice for thirty years. On Sundays, indeed, he as uniformly walks to an ordinary at Highgate, and diſcuſſes the buſineſs of his dinner with certain ceremonies different from thoſe of other days, but which never alter.

Mr. Timothy Moroſe was, in my younger days, a *whim* of the firſt magnitude. He was inflexibly honeſt and upright in all his dealings. But to this he added qualities of a leſs pleaſing kind. He was never known to exchange even a word of friendſhip with any man living, nor did any man living know where he lodged. Every evening he ſupped at a coffeehouſe near the 'Change, at the hour of eight o'clock, and departed at half paſt nine preciſely; nor could any proſpects of the greateſt advantage have induced him to remain one moment longer. He would talk to any perſon who ſat next him, but if a reply was made, he was ſilent for the reſt of his time. He was never known to give above three poſitive opinions in his life. One was, that 'money was money;' the ſecond, that 'many people were d—d fools;' and the third, that 'bankrupts could not be expected to pay much.' But theſe he could dilate into long ſpeeches, which were liſtened to, becauſe every body 'knew his whim.'—At length

'One *ev'n* I miſs'd him on the 'cuſtom'd *ſeat*
——— ——— 'nor yet beſide the *fire*,
'Nor up the *room*, nor at the *bar* was he.'

He concluded his whims, with hanging himſelf at his lodgings, which were then, for the firſt time diſcovered.

It may be obſerved of whims, whether of the harmleſs or hurtful kind, that however eaſily ſhaken off at firſt, they ſoon take a deep root in the habit, and are nouriſhed with uncommon obſtinacy. They afford a proof too, how very tenacious we are apt to be of little things, and how much more relaxed and pliable our conduct is in matters of greater moment, and of real importance. It is reported of Elwes, the famous miſer, that he dined upon a hard-boiled egg, and a little ſpring-water, while riſking many thouſand pounds upon the ſwiftneſs of a horſe, or, what happens oftener, the integrity of a riding jockey. One would imagine that we were created with wonderful powers over trifles, or wonderful love for whims, while the ſuperior duties of life are left to chance or accidents. Something of this diſpoſition is viſible in men of angry diſpoſitions. Nat Teazle will break out in the moſt unmannerly paſſion, if his daughter happen to ſnuff the candle out; but when a forgery to a great amount was committed upon him, he had not paſſion enough to ſue the culprit at law. If his horſe ſtumbles, he is ſure to ſwear at him; but when his ſon fought a duel with a common gambler, he only hoped 'there had been fair play.'

It ſtrikes me, ſir, that in our moral government we might very profitably follow a direction given us with reſpect to money matters. 'Take

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care of the pence, and the pounds will take care of themſelves.' I am perſuaded, that if we would guard againſt little foibles, whims, and unevenneſs of temper in matters of trifling concern, we might be better fitted to act a becoming and manly part, when important occaſions call for the exertion of our wiſdom. 'Little things,' ſays the poet, 'are great to little man,' and nothing ſhould be retained in our characters which, by rendering us leſs agreeable to the world, may prevent our uſefulneſs as members of ſociety. I am, ſir, your humble ſervant, ANTI-WHIM.

MISCELLANIES:

BIOGRAPHICAL *and* CRITICAL; ORIGINAL *or* SCARCE.

DR. JOHNSON.

IN the lives of Boerhaave, Sydenham, &c. which Dr. Johnſon wrote in the days of his neceſſities, we find few ſymptoms, either of that ſtyle of language, or vigour of thought, which diſtinguiſh his ſubſequent and more celebrated productions. In truth, his materials were, perhaps, not of his own chooſing; or, if they were, he did not hit upon ſuch as he could make the beſt poſſible uſe of. It was not in writing the lives of phyſicians, or ſeamen, that Dr. Johnſon was qualified to write with eaſe. But in the lives of Aſcham and Savage, we find all thoſe peculiarities of diction, and ſententious digreſſion, to which he was ever afterward attached, and which form a principal characteriſtic of his writings. In detailing ſome of the private memoirs of the king of Pruſſia, he reaſons like a moraliſt and a philoſopher. He does the ſame, though with leſs effect, in detailing his battles. Ambition in kings, and corruption in ſtates, the intrigues of war, and the doctrines of cruel neceſſity, ſo frequent in the mouths of warriors, cannot be reduced to the ſtandard of eternal truth and pure morality.

Dr. Johnſon, like all men who purſue an idea, merely becauſe they are fond of it, is betrayed into ſome inconſiſtencies. He tells us, that the death of Garrick 'eclipſed the gaiety of nations, and impoveriſhed the public ſtock of harmleſs pleaſure.' In one of the papers of the Rambler, he ſays: 'It was, perhaps, ordained by Providence, to hinder us from tyrannizing over one another, that no individual ſhould be of ſuch importance, as to cauſe, by his retirement or death, any chaſm in the world.'

The Rambler muſt be confeſſed to be the greateſt and the beſt of Dr. Johnſon's works. The occaſional turgidity of the ſtyle, the frequent uſe of words derived from the Latin, and not in common uſe, appear to be ſlight objections, when we contemplate the profundity of thought, propriety of expreſſion, elegant choice of metaphor, and the other beauties which are ſcattered plentifully over theſe papers. Yet, while this merit is allowed, it muſt be confeſſed that they yield to moſt other periodical writings, in the inviting charms of familiar addreſs, and in the force and diſplay of natural humour. Johnſon in vain attempts to aſſume a character of levity, of vulgar meanneſs, or of oddity. The language, the manner, the ſtyle of Dr. Johnſon predominate. Where he ſmiles, it is the auſtere ſmile of contempt; where he would laugh, he ſeems to depart unwillingly from a gravity to which he is anxious to return.

But, in the ſerious papers, we every where diſcover the mind of a deep thinker, of one who has obſerved the manners of the world, and who has attentively marked the operations of human nature. Perhaps it may be ſaid, that even here, one ſentiment pervades the whole. If all his ſerious papers are read together, the reader will be ſenſible of a gloom ſtealing upon

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upon his mind, a diſſatisfaction with men and things, which if not relieved by the lively hopes of a cheerful mind, would ſoon ſettle in moroſe melancholy. It is to be feared, indeed, that Dr. Johnſon drew many portraits from his own mind, which, at the time of writing thoſe papers, was haraſſed by vexations, and ruffled by diſappointments. Hence, the greater part of the papers of the Rambler ſeem better calculated for the peruſal of thoſe who have already known mankind, than of thoſe who are about to enter life. There are many melancholy truths, which the old will readily acknowledge, yet would not wiſh perpetually to impreſs on the minds of the young. Among theſe, may be reckoned the inſtability of human reſolution, the contradictory operations of reaſon, the impoſſibility of permanent happineſs, and the futility of human friendſhips. Theſe are themes on which the doctor allowed his mind to dwell frequently, and it is not without conſiderable reluctance that he flies from them to gayer ſcenes, and more enlivening reflections, to the cheerful dictation of wiſdom, and the encouraging proſpects of ſucceſsful virtue. At the ſame time, it is to be allowed, that the wickedneſs of the majority, the inſtability of human happineſs, the prevalence of ingratitude, and the diſcouragements of merit, are not to be concealed even from the youngeſt; but they ſhould be taught to rite ſuperior to them by internal reſources, inſtead of brooding over them, and making them the cauſe of unhappineſs and deſpondency before they are felt.

Lilburne.

Anthony Wood ſays of John Lilburne, the famous enthuſiaſt of the laſt century, that he was, from his youth, much addicted to contention, novelties, oppoſition of government, and to violent and bitter expreſſions; that, growing up, he became for a time the idol of the factious people, being naturally a great *trouble-world*, in all the variety of governments; that he grew to be a hodge-podge of religion, the chief ringleader of the levellers, a great propoſal-maker, and a modeller of ſtate, and publiſher of ſeveral ſeditious pamphlets, and of ſo quarrelſome a diſpoſition, that it was appoſitely ſaid of him, that 'if there were none living but him, John would be againſt Lilburne, and Lilburne againſt John.'—It may be doubted whether the family of Lilburnes be yet extinct!

Zeuxis.

The famous painter, who flouriſhed about four hundred years before Chriſt, entered into a diſpute with Parrhaſius for the prize in painting. Zeuxis had painted ſome grapes ſo very naturally, that the birds uſed to come and peck them; and Parrhaſius painted a curtain ſo artfully, that Zeuxis, miſtaking it for a real curtain, which hid his rival's work, ordered it to be drawn aſide, that he might ſee Parrhaſius' painting; but, finding his miſtake, he confeſſed himſelf vanquiſhed: ſince he had only impoſed upon birds, while Parrhaſius had miſled even artiſts. Another time, he painted a boy loaded with grapes, when the birds again flew at this picture, which vexed him; for he ſaid, that if he had painted the boy as perfectly as the grapes, the birds would have been afraid of him.

Sallust.

Sallust, the Roman hiſtorian, was a profligate in practice; and Le Clerc, who wrote his life, blames him ſeverely for praiſing virtue while he practiſed vice. He thought it injurious to the cauſe of virtue to be patronized by ſuch advocates. But, on the other hand, it has been ſaid, that virtue cannot derive a greater ſanction than from the praiſes beſtowed on it by vicious men, whoſe reaſon forces them to approve what their paſſions will not ſuffer them to practiſe. Much may be ſaid *pro* and

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con on this argument. It is certain, that all authors write better than they practiſe. However, there are degrees of profligacy, ſome of which muſt unqueſtionably diſgrace the beſt writings. Dr. Johnſon, in a letter to Mrs. Thrale, uſes theſe remarkable words, which ought to be deeply impreſſed on the minds of all his enemies, if enemies he has, now that nothing remains of him but what is good: 'I have, through my whole progreſs of authorſhip, honeſtly endeavoured to teach the right, though I have not been ſufficiently diligent to practiſe it; and have offered mankind my opinion as a rule, but never profeſſed my behaviour as an example.'

FLECHIER

WAS a French biſhop, and a poet and orator of great eminence, who flouriſhed in the laſt century. According to Niceron, he pitched upon an odd method of forming a true taſte, and of acquiring a beautiful and correct way of writing; and that was, it ſeems, by reading authors who had *not* theſe qualities. Such a practice, ſo contrary to common ſenſe and experience, muſt have rendered him the worſt writer of his day, if his judgment had not been uncommonly good. This conduct, however, is rather to be noticed for its ſingularity, than recommended as an example.

SANDERSON,

THE eminent Engliſh biſhop, was choſen one of the clerks of the convocation for the dioceſe of Lincoln; and Laud, then made biſhop of London, having recommended him to Charles I, as a man excellently ſkilled in caſuiſtical learning, he was appointed chaplain to his majeſty in 1631. When he became known to the king, his majeſty put many caſes of conſcience to him, and received from him ſuch ſolutions, as gave him vaſt ſatisfaction; ſo that, at the end of his month's attendance, which was in November, the king told him, that 'he longed for next November, for he reſolved to have a more inward acquaintance with him, when the month and he returned. And indeed the king was never abſent from his ſermons, and was wont to ſay, that 'he carried his ears to hear other preachers, but his conſcience to hear Mr. Sanderſon.' So ſtrong was the ſenſe of piety in the mind of that ill-fated monarch.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS.

THE literary executors of eminent perſons, are very apt to lay hold of every ſcrap they can find in the cloſets of their deceaſed friends, and publiſh them as originals. Two learned prelates publiſhed a volume of ſermons of the late Mr. Maty; but it was ſoon diſcovered that three of thoſe ſermons had been tranſcribed from Secker, by Mr. Maty. In the year 1700, a work was publiſhed, entitled 'Reliquiæ Gethinianæ, or ſome remains of the moſt ingenious and excellent lady, Grace lady Gethin, lately deceaſed,' &c. Her biographer ſays the book is ſcarce, and he will therefore favour us with the following extract from it: 'Reading,' ſays ſhe, 'ſerves for delight, for ornament and for ability; it perfects nature, and is perfected by experience: the crafty condemn it, the ſimple admire it, and wiſe men uſe it. Some books are to be taſted or ſwallowed, and ſome few to be chewed or digeſted. Reading makes a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. He that writes little, needs a great memory: he that confers little, a preſent wit; and he that reads little, needs much cunning, to make him ſeem to know that which he does not. Hiſtory makes men wiſe, poetry witty, mathematics ſubtile, philoſophy deep, morals grave, logic and rhetoric able to contend; nay, there is no impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit ſtudy, where every defect of the mind hath its proper receipt.'—Of the juſtneſs and propriety of theſe ſentiments no man will doubt, but it is proper to obſerve, that they are

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almoſt word for word taken from lord Bacon's fiftieth eſſay, *On Studies*, Edit. 8vo. 1706.

Mandeville. Rochefoucault.

An anonymous and very ſcarce author, ſpeaking of Mandeville, the author of the 'Fable of the Bees,' ſays, "In the firſt place, I would not have denied that Mandeville had told a great many truths; but I would have ſaid, and have proved too, that he had like Rochefoucault, told a great many diſagreeable ones, and what are much leſs fit to be told than if they were not truths. I would have ſaid, that his endeavouring to ſhow that people do actions they have reaſon to be proud of, from motives, which, if rightly ſcrutinized, they would have reaſon to be aſhamed of, will never contribute to the multiplying ſuch actions; and that if actions, which are beneficial to mankind and ſociety, often proceed from the ſame principle with ſome that are detrimental, it would be more for the benefit of the world to have ſuch ſources lie concealed: as the diſcovery of theſe two ſtreams, flowing from the ſame fountain, will take away one of the chief inducements many people have for doing what is good; which is the pride and vanity of being thought to act upon better, nobler, and more laudable principles than their neighbours. If it could be proved, that Eroſtratus, who fired the temple of Epheſus, and Decius, who threw himſelf, for the ſake of his country, into the gulf that opened in Rome, acted both from the ſame motive, and were equally influenced by the vanity of being mentioned in hiſtory, and perpetuating their names to poſterity; if this, I ſay, could be demonſtrated, I would be glad to aſk the author of the 'Fable of the Bees,' whether he thinks it would promote and encourage that virtue, called the love of one's country, thus to ſhow, that the moſt renowned patriot in antiquity, and the moſt infamous incendiary, were in the ſame way of thinking, and actuated by the ſame paſſion? If it would not, the concluſion is obvious; and he muſt either allow, that it would be an improper topic for ſpeculation to examine ſuch a propoſition, and of diſſervice to any community to prove it; or he muſt deny, that the ſpirit of patriotiſm is of any uſe to that ſociety, where it is moſt in force."

Lydiat.

The celebrated Engliſh chronologer, entered into a diſagreeable conteſt with Scaliger, who could not keep his temper. Scaliger called him 'a beardleſs, beggarly, and geſt prieſt,' —very paſſionate and vulgar language, and a ſure proof that he had the worſt of the argument; according to the remark of the country fellow, who was preſent at a diſputation in the ſchools at Oxford, and being aſked, ſneeringly, by one of the ſcholars, which diſputant had the better of the argument, anſwered ſhrewdly, that 'he was not ſuch a dunce as not to ſee which of them was in a paſſion.' Indeed, nothing can aſſiſt a diſputant more than good temper, and nothing can preſerve an equable temper ſo much, as the being poſſeſſed of the ſound part of the argument. The ill temper of an antagoniſt is then our triumph.

Gonzaga.

Lucretia Gonzaga was a lady of uncommon learning, wit, and accompliſhments. All that came from her pen was ſo much eſteemed, that a collection was made even of the notes ſhe wrote to her ſervants, ſeveral of which are to be met with in the edition of her letters, publiſhed at Venice in 1552.—Dr. Johnſon, therefore, was not the firſt perſon of literary diſtinction, who fell into the hands of injudicious friends, and whoſe *monument* has been ſpoiled by their crowding it with trifling and ſuperfluous ornaments.

Valliant.

Valliant, the traveller, was infected with the ſpirit of French liberty, long

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long before it burſt forth in an exploſion, and overthrew every thing in France. Few things can tend more to expoſe falſe ideas of liberty than the following ſentences in this author's travels: 'Though I acknowledge the utility of proper highways among civilized nations, my being accuſtomed to form them myſelf in my youth at Surinam, made me always conſider them as a reſtraint which leſſens the *value of liberty*. Proud of his origin, man thinks it an indignity that people ſhould before-hand dare to number his ſteps. I have always avoided beaten tracks, and never thought myſelf completely free, but when ſurrounded by the rocks, foreſts, and deſerts of Africa.'

THALES,

Of Miletus, the celebrated philoſopher, on whom the epithet of *wiſe* was conferred, was the firſt who made diſquiſitions on nature, the firſt of aſtronomers, and the inventor of geometry among the Grecians. He denied that death was the moſt common thing in the world: 'Death,' ſaid he, 'is not the moſt common, becauſe it is not common to the *living*.' Such was the poverty of his reaſoning. Is it not remarkable, that a quibble, which would diſgrace the moſt paltry punſter of our times, ſhould proceed from him, who was the ornament of his age, and the admiration of poſterity?

[To be continued.]

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NOTWITHSTANDING the accumulated experience of ages, it continues to be a complaint, even among the enlightened nations of the world, that the moſt excellent principles are often miſrepreſented, and the moſt beneficial inſtitutions perverted. In various philoſophical ſpeculations, and in frequent diſcuſſions concerning government, certain theoretical propoſitions have been purſued to the verge of abſurdity; and ſome deductions, reduced to practice, have produced the moſt deſtructive conſequences. Yet principles, which are intrinſically juſt and excellent, can never become otherwiſe becauſe they are miſrepreſented; nor can inſtitutions, that are beneficial upon the whole, loſe their claim to our veneration and attachment, becauſe, in ſome few inſtances, they have been perverted, and muſt neceſſarily partake of that imperfection, which is inſeparable from the nobleſt contrivances of human wiſdom.

That all men are naturally equal, and that all poſſeſs certain inherent rights, are propoſitions not only unqueſtionably true, but conducive, when cheriſhed as actuating principles, to the general felicity of mankind. It does not require much acuteneſs of diſcernment, nor much depth of reflection, to be ſenſible, that whatever diverſity may exiſt among the individuals of the human race, with reſpect to genius and talents, or to rank and fortune, all men, nevertheleſs, are equal in the ſight of the Supreme Being, who will ultimately reward them, not for ſuperiority in intellect, in dignity, and in opulence, but for the wiſe and virtuous improvement which they may make of theſe advantages. The man, who conſiders the ſubject in this noble view, will perceive, that Virtue only can render him acceptable to the Deity. He will feel his native dignity and equality, when he conſiders, that Death will one day level the proudeſt diſtinctions; and that as nothing in this tranſient ſtate is more ennobling than Virtue, nothing but Virtue will ſurvive the grave:

Immortal, never-failing friend to man,
His guide to happineſs on high.

THOMSON.

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The greatest disparities in the present condition of individuals he will consider, not as *natural* inequalities, but as *adventitious* distinctions; that they produce, as such, a variety of relations, which claim the exercise of numerous duties, and place him in situations which call forth all the virtues that exalt our nature, and render life desirable.

Man, as such, has unquestionably certain rights, which no regulations of society can destroy: he has rights, with respect to life, liberty, and property, which can never be forfeited, while he continues to conform to such salutary laws as may be enacted by the common consent of the society, for the preservation and felicity of the whole. From the consideration that the rights he possesses, or, in other words, the rights of man, can be preserved by nothing but those regulations of society which provide for the happiness of all, he learns, not a proud and surly independence, which would render him inattentive to the wants of others; not that impracticable equality in situation and circumstances, which would destroy the most endearing relations of life, and render useless the most virtuous dispositions; but a sense of duty and obedience to the laws, and an affectionate attachment to the interests and felicity of that society, in which his own interest and his own felicity are so naturally and essentially involved.

In this view of the subject, who will deny, that Man, under whatever form of society he exists, is *entitled*, whether he enjoys them or not, to certain unalienable rights; and that the doctrine of equality, properly understood, is not only excellent in itself, but productive of the most beneficial effects. The man that would level all those distinctions, which must ever result from superiority of talents and exertion, as well as from superiority of birth and fortune, acts not upon the true principles of the doctrine of equality, but upon very fallacious inferences from it; and he that thinks himself entitled, by the rights of man, to pursue measures that are subversive of all law and subordination, and consequently destructive of the general felicity, forfeits all title to the rights in question, because he can claim no rights whatever that are incompatible with the general good. The fallacious inferences, therefore, from any particular principle, can never destroy the excellence of the principle itself; nor should a beneficial institution be abandoned, because it has been perverted, and the occasion, in some few instances, of partial infelicity.

Liberty will ever be an inestimable blessing, although it cannot be denied to have often degenerated into licentiousness. Subjection to law can never be the less essential to the happiness of society, because despots, in different parts of the globe, have considered mankind as their property, and usurped absolute dominion. We may as well deplore the rain that fertilizes our fields, because it has been known to produce torrents and inundations; or consider that vital principle, the air, as a curse, because its effects have been often visible in the wrecks of tempests and the ravages of hurricanes.—While an institution is perverted, the principle may be as excellent as ever, and too useful, upon the whole, to be abandoned.

Of instances in which the misrepresentation of the best principles, and the perversion of the best institutions, are evident, the Christian Religion affords not a few. Nothing can be more evident to an intelligent mind, than the doctrine of the existence of an Universal Creator; nothing more worthy of belief, nor more consolatory to mankind, than the persuasion, that he not only governs this visible creation by his over-ruling Providence, but has formed this world merely as a temporary abode, in which successive generations of men may live, for a few years, in a state of trial and probation, and, in proportion to their improvements in wisdom

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dom and virtue, be exalted, hereafter, to a ſtate of pure and permanent felicity. What a ſubject of joy and exultation then to conſider, that what to many ages was the theme of hope and conjecture only, ſhould now be a glorious certainty: that the Divine Being, by a ſpecial revelation, has announced to mankind the glad tidings of life and immortality; aſſuring thoſe, who ſincerely forſake their ſins, of his clemency and acceptance; and promiſing eternal happineſs to all that endeavour to ſeek his favour, by the noble diſpoſitions and unceaſing exertions that conſtitute a virtuous life! Here we behold religion in its moſt amiable light: hence we infer its indiſpenſable obligations. Here we perceive the nature and neceſſity of *Faith*—not a cold aſſent to a merely ſpeculative opinion, or a languid conformity to a moral precept—but a certain animating principle that raiſes and elevates our views, that fixes and ſtrengthens our conviction, that inſpires the nobleſt motives of action, and produces a conſtant endeavour to conform to the Divine Will, and to promote the welfare of our fellow-creatures, in the full aſſurance of immortal rewards—of a felicity, which 'eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive!' Hence reſult that unaffected Piety to God of which Faith is the ſole foundation; that conſiſtent virtue which is the beſt evidence of its exiſtence; and thoſe inexhauſtible conſolations which its glorious views afford; which enable its votaries to riſe ſuperior to the calamities of life, and give to its pleaſures and enjoyments the ſweeteſt reliſh.—Yet who will ſay, that this divine principle, which ſo manifeſtly tends to promote the happineſs of the individual, as well as of ſociety in general, can have no exiſtence, becauſe, in different ages and countries, we have ſeen great numbers under the dominion of enthuſiaſm or ſuperſtition; profeſſing principles, incompatible with true piety and virtue; deluded and wretched themſelves, and deluding and rendering wretched all within the influence of their doctrines and example?—But this ſubject will admit of a more particular illuſtration, which I ſhall reſerve for a future paper.

THOUGHTS *on the* IMPROPRIETY *of* POSTOBITOUS OBLIGATION

NOTHING is more natural, than that dying perſons ſhould have reſpect to thoſe whom they are about to leave; and nothing can be more wiſe and kind than that every meaſure be taken, and every expedient deviſed, to ſecure their felicity and to promote their welfare. On theſe ſubjects, provided it were not done at an earlier period, and a more proper ſeaſon, the dying may moſt fitly and uſefully employ the laſt glimmerings of the intellectual lamp, with only one exception; for, however long neglected, it is never too late to be juſt, or to be kind; nor can any time be abſolutely improper for the exerciſe of juſtice and mercy, however much more ſeaſonable, yet hitherto neglected opportunities might have been. But there are other occupations in which ſick and dying perſons are engaged, of far leſs importance, and of much inferior concern; namely, giving *injunctions*, and meditating *obligations* reſpecting thoſe who ſurvive them. In this often unfriendly buſineſs, rules and documents are laid down for future obſervance and direction, which after times, and new circumſtances, render highly improper, and not unfrequently afflictive and cruel; whereby ſurviving relatives are involved in perplexity and trouble; and ſometimes in ſtates worſe than theſe. It were wiſe, that theſe injunctions, if under preſent views, they appear adviſable and right, be iſſued, and made binding at the diſcretion of thoſe whom they concern,

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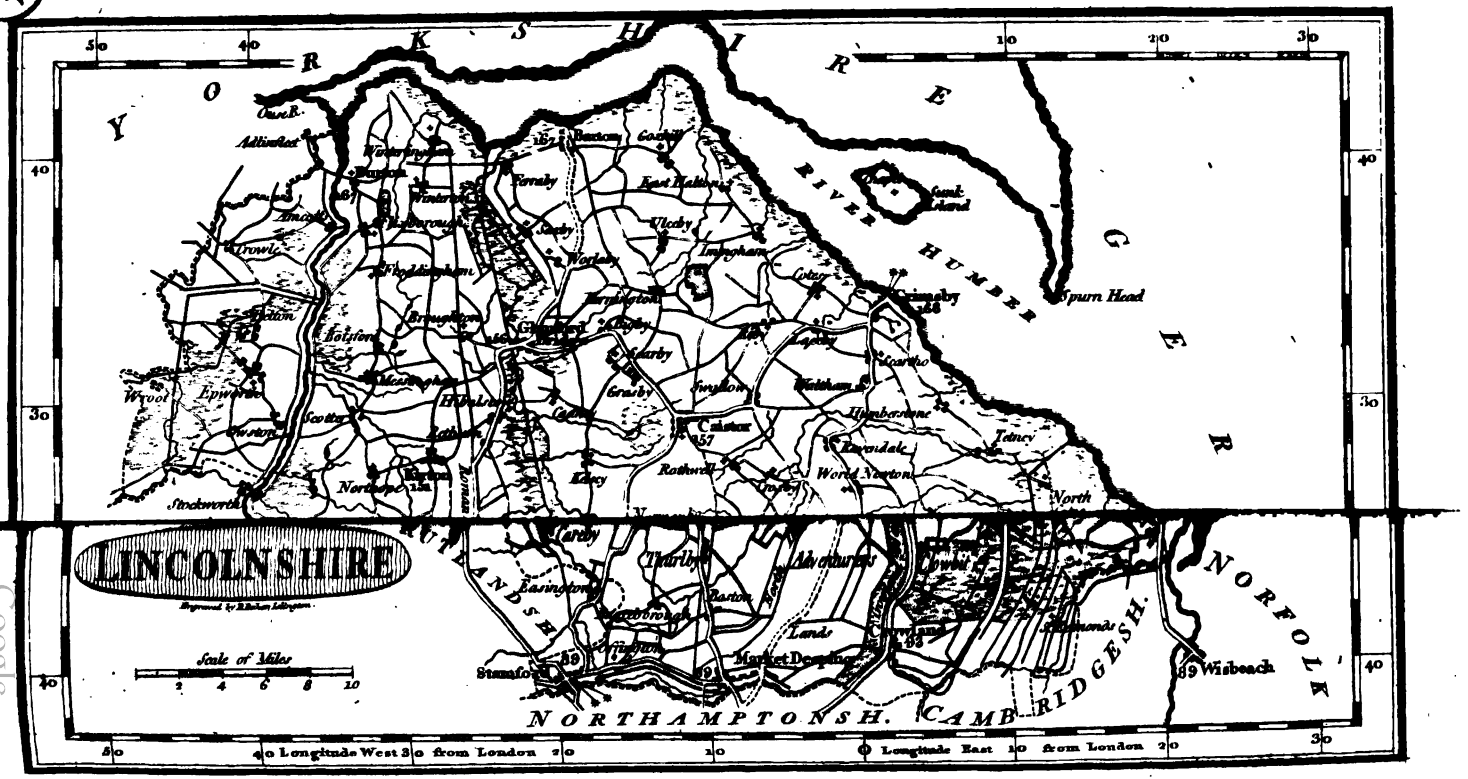
LINCOLNSHIRE
Engraved by R. Baker & Morgan
Scale of Miles
2 4 6 8 10
YORKSH.
RIVER HUMBER
GERMAN OCEAN
Spurn Head
Grimsby
Barton
Gainsb.
Lincoln
Boston
Stamford
Wisbeach
Market Deeping
Peterborough
Crowland
NORTHAMPTONSH.
CAMBRIDGESH.
NORFOLK
Longitude West from London
Longitude East from London

but as matters of indiſpenſable obligation under every poſſible variation of circumſtances. The writer of this paper, whoſe warmeſt wiſh, and daily labour, is to be uſeful, recommends it to the conſideration of perſons impowered to make ſuch arbitrary laws in families, how they impoſe on their ſucceſſors, burdens, in many inſtances, ſo heavy and ſo painful! Yet it is by no means denied, that ſome injunctions may be inforced with the moſt unlimited ſtrictneſs, as having reſpect to perſons and things, as far as human foreſight can reach, of immutable obligation; but of this ſort, the number is comparatively few. Who can, under the moſt certain appearances, and the moſt unſhaken ſtability of things, ſo liable to mutation as are human events, inſure a ſucceſſion of ſameneſs of nature, or duration of exiſtence, to any thing under the ſun? How careful, then, ſhould we be of preſcribing laws for perpetuity, who *know not what a day may bring forth?*

MORALIS.

An Account of LINCOLNSHIRE: *With a neat and accurate* MAP *of that County.*

LINCOLNSHIRE is bounded on the north by the Humber, which ſeparates it from Yorkſhire; on the eaſt by the German ocean, the arm of the ſea called the Waſh, and a ſmall part of Norfolk; on the ſouth by Cambridgeſhire and Northamptonſhire; on the ſouth-weſt by Rutlandſhire and Leiceſterſhire; on the weſt by Nottinghamſhire; and on the north-weſt by a ſmall part of Yorkſhire. It is ſeventy-ſeven miles from north to ſouth, and in the middle, where wideſt, forty-five. It is divided into three parts, namely, Holland on the ſouth-eaſt, Keſteven on the ſouth-weſt, and Lindſay on the north, which laſt diviſion is the largeſt; for it includes all that lies north of Lincoln, and the Foſſe-dyke, which Henry I cut between the Witham and the Trent. This county contains thirty hundreds, one city, thirty-one market-towns, and 630 pariſhes. It is in the dioceſe of Lincoln, and ſends twelve members to parliament; two for the county, and two each for Lincoln, Stamford, Grantham, Boſton, and Grimſby. It is well watered with rivers, the principal of which are the Trent, which waſhes the weſtern edge of the county, and falls into the Humber; the Witham, which riſing in the ſouth-weſt part of the county, runs northward, till it receives the Foſſe-dyke at Lincoln, where it turns to the ſouth-eaſt, and falls into the German ocean below Boſton; the Welland, which parts this county from Northamptonſhire, running through Holland diviſion into the German ocean. The waters likewiſe nouriſh vaſt quantities of reeds, which are annually cut, and uſed for the purpoſe of thatching.

The air of this county is various in its three grand diviſions: that of Holland (a name aptly given it from its natural reſemblance to the province of the United Netherlands ſo called, as it is partly under water, and the reſt of it moiſt and fenny) is unwholeſome, and vaſt ſwarms of inſects infeſt the inhabitants in the ſummer ſeaſon: the water, likewiſe, is ſo brackiſh, in general, as to be unfit for internal purpoſes, on which account the inhabitants are obliged to make reſervoirs of rain-water. Keſteven is more ſalubrious, it being leſs affected with the fogs from the fen country, and its ſoil more fruitful. Lindſay is generally eſteemed healthy, eſpecially on the weſtern ſide. The ſoil is in moſt places very rich, the inland part producing corn in great plenty, and the fens cole ſeed, and very rich paſtures; whence their breed of cattle is larger than that of any other county in England, except Somerſetſhire; their horſes are alſo excellent, and very large: the hunting hounds and

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hares are particularly noted for their extreme ſwiftneſs. Here are all the common fruits, and they are ſaid to have better pippins than thoſe of Kent, eſpecially ſuch as grow in the diviſion of Holland, and about Kirton, both of which ſorts are very wholeſome and delicious; yet, being grafted on their own ſtock, are much improved, and are then called rennets.

Among the fens in Holland, great numbers of geeſe are bred, which are driven up in large droves to London during the ſeaſon. Decoys for the various kinds of wild ducks are here more numerous than in any other part of England. More to the ſouthward the herons alſo reſort in great numbers, building their lofty neſts on the branches of trees in the manner of rooks.

ON WAGERS.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

I BELIEVE that the practice of laying wagers, if not confined to our own country, at leaſt had its origin here. The *rationale* of wagering, unleſs conſidered merely as a ſpecies of gambling, has ſo far exceeded my comprehenſion, that I know not any thing to attribute wagering to, unleſs vanity and avarice. The latter, it muſt be confeſſed, is motive enough, too often, to perſuade men to riſk a ſmall ſum of money, in hopes of gaining a greater, or even to hazard their lives in ſome uncommon experiment, the fortunate reſult of which appears extremely improbable.

Converſing on this ſubject, a few nights ago, with a friend, I expreſſed a wiſh that I could procure a collection of curious wagers, that they might furniſh me with ſome opportunity for conſidering the extraordinary and extravagant taſte in men to encourage ſuch trials of ſkill. My friend told me, he had a ſmall collection at my ſervice, of ſuch as took place in his younger days, 'and which,' added he, 'are moſtly recent in my memory; for I took no ſmall ſhare in the *expenſive* anxiety that occurs before the performance of ſome famous bet.'—The liſt he gave me, I have tranſcribed in part; and as he permitted me to make a free uſe of his manuſcripts, I have ſubjoined ſome reflections which he made, when age and ſerious buſineſs demonſtrated the folly of riſking money on chance-ſchemes, or on events which it is not in our power to controul either one way or other.

In this liſt will be found ſome exertions of uncommon ſkill and induſtry, which are laudable, and merit every encouragement; but the major part of the inſtances are of quite another kind, and though ſo wonderful as to excite our admiration and aſtoniſhment, and even, perhaps, to exceed our belief, yet we may ſay of them, *Cui bono?* To what purpoſe are ſuch uncommon feats, which can never be applied to the public good, and which ſeem to be, like a pack of cards, merely the inſtruments of transferring money from the pocket of the ſimple into that of the cunning? But I wave my own reflections, and ſubmit my friend's curious liſt.

* * * * * *

June 26, 1759. Jeniſon Shaftoe, eſq. ſtarted againſt time, to ride fifty miles in two hours; in the courſe of which he uſed ten horſes, and did it in two ſeconds under eleven minutes of the time preſcribed by the articles, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent.

Feb. 21, 1761. A gentleman, who had undertaken to ride one horſe one hundred miles in thirteen hours, for two hundred guineas, ſtarted from White-chapel church, rode twice to Market-end and back again (which is 100 miles) in twelve hours.

March 3, ſame year. Four Welch women walked from the foot of Weſtminſter-

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minſter-bridge to the Boot and Crown over Deptford-bridge, and back again, in an hour and three quarters, for a wager of twenty pounds. They were allowed two hours and a half. The wager was between a gardener and a farmer; the gardener laying that they would perform it.

April 16. Two horſes ſtarted at Whitechapel church, to proceed 100 miles; that is, to the fifty mile-ſtone near Colcheſter, and back again, in twelve hours. On their return, one of them died at Boreham (the 32 mile-ſtone) having performed 68 miles of the journey: the other *crawled* through Chelmsford, with a lad on his back, and died at Widford (the 27 mile-ſtone) wanting 23 miles to win the bet. Execrations, on the whole road, attended the brutal owners of the two fine animals that were thus cruelly ſacrificed.

April 18. A very extraordinary wager was laid by two gentlemen, at a coffee-houſe near Temple-bar, one of whom was to jump into ſeven feet of water with his clothes on, and to entirely undreſs himſelf in the water; which if he failed to accompliſh he was to loſe.—Not decided.

May 31. An aſs went 100 miles in twenty-one hours at Newmarket. The bet was 100l. to 10l. he did not perform it in twenty-four hours, and the owner won 40l. to 20l.

June 1. Was decided a remarkable wager of 1000 guineas, between Mr. Shaftoe and Mr. Meynel, that a man rode twenty-nine hundred miles twenty-nine days ſucceſſively, upon twenty-nine horſes; each horſe to ride a hundred miles, which was performed without much difficulty, by Mr. Woodcock.

June 18. A porter in St. James'-market, eat four pounds of beef-ſtakes with a butcher's dog, ſooneſt and beſt, for a wager, and won it by ſeveral mouthfuls.

June 22. One Paine, a blackſmith, belonging to the Dock-yard, Chatham, walked from Brompton to London-bridge, and back again (which is upward of ſixty-two miles) for a wager of three guineas. He was allowed ſixteen hours to perform it in, and came in about ſix minutes before the time expired, though he ſtopt two hours on the road for refreſhment.

July 14. Two reprobate watermen, that were waiting at Billingſgate for the coming up of a fiſh boat, laid a wager of their boats, which of them could ſwear the moſt wicked and prophane oaths; but upon one of them giving out, the other beginning to triumph, was inſtantly deprived of the uſe of his ſpeech, and alſo the uſe of his right hand and leg, in which ſituation he was taken to an hoſpital.

July 2. A ſalt officer at Droitwich, and another man, having laid a wager which could drink moſt neat rum, the ſalt officer, after he had drunk a quart, dropped down dead.

July 22. A perſon in Leeds, rode his common hackney from thence to Hull, and back again, which is 130 miles, in nineteen hours and twenty-two minutes; he was allowed twenty hours.

Dec. 17. The right hon. Thomas Conolly rode, for a wager of 500 guineas, on the Curragh of Kildare. He was allowed two hours to ride forty miles, with any ten hunters of his own. He with eaſe rode forty-two miles in an hour and forty-four minutes, on eight hunters.

Jan. 18, 1762. Mr. Johnſon, of Coventry, having laid a wager of twenty guineas, that he rode from London to Coventry, which is ninety-one miles, in ten hours, ſet out from Tyburn-road, in the morning, at five o'clock, and arrived at the White Bear, in Coventry, exactly at fifty-three minutes paſt one in the afternoon; ſo that he performed it in an hour and ſeven minutes leſs than the time. He rode without boots, and took every ſtage a freſh horſe, which no previous notice had been given to get ready.

Feb. 2. A man undertook to walk ſeven miles in an hour and five mi-

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nutes, on the Kingſland-road, for a wager of thirty guineas; and performed it in an hour, four minutes, and two ſeconds. Great bets were depending.

April 7. Mr. Longbottom, bootmaker, in Holborn, rode his own horſe on the Rumford road againſt time. He was to ride ſeventeen miles and an half in one hour, and had one minute and a quarter to ſpare when he was brought in; but as he was ſupported on each ſide the horſe, to prevent his falling, the laſt two miles, by the knowing ones, who had bets depending, it was given againſt him, as he did not perform what he undertook to do. He was put to bed at the Bird in Hand, at Stratford, and was ſuppoſed to be in a very dangerous way.

May 24. Child, the noted miller of Wandſworth, walked on Wimbledon Common, forty-four miles in ſeven hours, fifty-ſeven minutes, which he performed with eaſe in three minutes leſs than was allowed, for a conſiderable wager, and bye bets.

Auguſt 9. Mr. John Hague of Binns, near Marſden, undertook, for a conſiderable wager, to walked 100 miles in twenty-four hours, and performed the ſame in twenty-three hours and fifteen minutes.

Auguſt 26. A journeyman nailer of Cork, propoſed to ſome of his pot companions, at a houſe in Blarney-lane, a wager, that he would ſwallow an egg whole, which he attempted to do, after greaſing it with butter, but unfortunately the egg ſtuck in his throat; on which an elderly gentlewoman in the neighbourhood, of reputed ſkill, was called in, who gave him a chuck on the windpipe, which determined the matter by his ſudden death.

September 1. Two men had a trial of ſkill in jumping, in the Artillery ground, for fifty pounds each; one jumped through, his hands tied together, ten jumps ſucceſſively; while the other was allowed to take a run between each jump. The wager was won by the former, who was reckoned to do the moſt dexterous thing ever performed.

Sept. 3, and 4. A foot race was performed againſt time, by John France of Slaithwaite, in the pariſh of Huddersfield, for a conſiderable wager. He was allowed twenty-eight hours to run one hundred miles, and won by only ſix minutes.

Nov. 3. Two draymen, in Tooley-ſtreet, drank gin for a wager; he that firſt gave out, to pay for it; when, after they had drank a quart each, one was ſeized with the hiccups, and expired in two hours after.

Dec. 22. A wager of a thouſand pounds againſt fifty, laid ſometime before, by two gentlemen of note in the city, was determined and paid. The fact in queſtion was, whether the preliminaries of peace were ſigned the 2d or the 3d of November. He that betted the 1000l. opined for the 2d, and was ſo poſitive as to lay againſt 50l.; but the matter being proved againſt him, he generouſly paid. It is probable, his poſitiveneſs in this wager aroſe from his correſpondent's wrong information by twelve hours. The Plenipotentiaries did agree about all the preliminaries the 2d of November, at night, over a bottle, but did not ſign them till the next morning.

Jan. 17, 1763. A gentleman, for a wager of ten guineas, undertook to take up one hundred ſtones, at a yard diſtant from each other, on the Serpentine river in Hyde-park, by ſkaiting within the hour, which he performed in fifty-one minutes.

Feb. 9. A baker in Whitecroſs-ſtreet, for a wager of 100 guineas to ten, drew a weight of twenty pounds, by a ſingle cord, from one end of the Mall in St. James's-park, to the other (the weight being placed at one end of the Mall and he at the other) which he performed in twenty-four minutes. He was allowed half an hour to do it.

Feb. 16. A man who ſold fiſh about Chelſea, Fulham, &c. undertook to run from Hyde-park corner to the ſeven mile ſtone at Brentford, in one hour, with fifty-ſix pound weight of

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fish on his head, which he performed with ease in forty-five minutes. This was reckoned the most extraordinary affair that had been executed for many years.

About the same time, a man, who was to run a coach-wheel, eight miles within an hour, performed it in St. George's-fields, in fifty-nine minutes and a half, on a platform of wood erected a quarter of a mile in length, and about two inches from the ground. There were many bets depending, and many persons of distinction present.

April 20. A porter walked from the conduit in Cheapside, to Highgate, for a wager of five pounds, and a leg of mutton and caper sauce: he was allowed an hour, but performed it in fifty-six minutes.

April 25. On Tuesday, a young gentleman walked fifty miles for a wager. He was to walk, and walk only, from Holborn-bars to the twenty-five mile-stone at Redbourn, and back again, in twelve hours; which he performed in less than the time limited, with ease.

May 30. A person walked six times from Oxford market to Putney, and back again, (computed about sixty-three miles) in eleven hours and forty-six minutes, for a wager of thirty guineas, which was fifteen minutes less than allowed him to do it in.

June 13. A young man, for a wager of forty guineas, undertook to hop sixty-eight yards in the Artillery Ground in twenty hops, whicl he performed with surprising agility, to the admiration of the numerous spectators, having no more than twelve inches left for the last hop.

Dec. 6. A foot match was run on Moulsey-hurst, by a shepherd, against time. He was to run fifteen miles in an hour and a half, and performed it in an hour and twenty-eight minutes.

May 1764. At a foot-race, on the Deptford road, by two tanners, the winner run nine miles in an hour and four minutes.

April 26, 1765. A lad of fifteen years old, apprentice to a carman in Whitechapel, eat, at a public-house, for a wager of two guineas, seven pounds of beef-steaks, all solid meat, a quartern loaf, and drank two quarts of porter. He had two hours allowed him to finish this, his supper, but devoured the whole in less than an hour and a half.

June 26. Two mowers near Wells, in Somersetshire, cut down four acres of grass, in an hour and seventeen minutes, for a wager of twenty pounds, which they won by performing it only one minute within the time; two to one against them.

June 28. Was determined a wager between two noblemen, for 1000 guineas, that a boat should go twenty-five miles in an hour. For this purpose, a large circular trench, of one hundred feet diameter, and nine feet wide, was dug in a field behind Jenny's Whim, near Chelsea-bridge; and in the centre of the land surrounded by this trench was fixed a post, with a radius extending to the middle of the canal, so that the boat being tied to the moveable end of the radius might be moved, with great velocity, by a very slow motion in a horse fastened to some point of the radius between the boat and the centre. The wager was, however, lost, by part of the tackling giving way, though the trial had succeeded perfectly well the day before.

July 10. A lad, about seventeen years old, apprentice to Mr. Maxwell, a waterman on the Bank-side, Southwark, eat a shoulder of lamb, that weighed upward of five pounds, and two quarts of green peas, without either bread or beer, in less than fifty minutes, for a wager of half a guinea.

July 30. A young woman, near Cockermouth, walked seventy-two miles in one day, viz. from Blencoge to within two miles of Newcastle.

Aug. 17. Mr. Mullins, a watch-case-maker, in Shoreditch, near fifty years old, walked, without shoes or stockings, from Shoreditch church to St.

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St. George's church in the Borough, and back again, being about four miles, for a wager of six guineas, in the space of forty-six minutes and a half, having had fifty allowed him.

Sept. 30. Thomas Scot, a perukemaker of York, rode his own horse from that city to London, in thirty-two hours and forty minutes, being 192 miles.

Nov. 15. Walter Willey, a brewer's servant, devoured, at a public-house, in Alderſgate-ſtreet, a roasted goose, that weighed six pounds, and a quartern loaf, and drank three quarts of porter, in an hour and eighteen minutes, for a wager of two guineas. He had an hour-and a half allowed him to do it in.

About the same time, a mare started from the Fox and Hounds, in Tottenham-court-road, to draw a single horse-chaise, with a person in it, to Lincoln, in twenty hours, but performed the journey with ease, in nineteen hours and a quarter. The distance is upward of 130 miles.

May 14, 1766. George Noble, nineteen years old, apprentice to a gardener, walked, for a wager of three guineas, from the seven mile-stone, at the upper end of Wandsworth, with a basket of three hundred asparagus on his head, to the Borough-market, Southwark, which is upward of six miles, in fifty-eight minutes. He had an hour to do it.

May 19. A young man, nineteen years of age, apprentice to Mr. Turner, watch-maker in Alderſgate-ſtreet, eat a leg of pork of six pounds, and a peaſe pudding, weighing in proportion, at a public-house, in Islington, for a trifling wager, in less than three quarters of an hour; after which he drank a pint of brandy at two draughts, and went away seemingly in perfect health.

July 10. One Dobson, a lighterman, undertook, for a wager of five guineas, to swim on his back from Westminster-bridge to Putney-bridge, in an hour and three quarters, without turning himself in the water; which he performed in nineteen minutes within the time.

July 14. A match at cricket was played on Blackheath, between eleven Greenwich pensioners, who had each lost an arm, and eleven others, who had lost each a leg, which afforded much sport to a great number of spectators, and was won with ease by the former.

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'I am convinced that the rage for laying or accepting wagers, has nothing manly or useful in it. I am convinced that this practice has been generally confined to persons of very weak minds, or to those of avaricious tempers, or, in other words, the gambling *rich*, and the vulgar *poor*. The former encourage extraordinary feats of riding; the latter, not able to support the instruments of such wagers, viz. horses, content themselves with walking, eating, or drinking in an extraordinary manner. But as the general effect of all remarkable wagers, is a great waste of time and money, and as the public mind is, in such cases, considerably agitated, so as to give a fame or notoriety to that which is abstractedly of little consequence, it becomes a question, how far the public good is concerned in such affairs, or, in other words, whether they are of any real utility? To this question, I do not hesitate to say, that I never yet knew one wager, the result of which might not have been kept a profound secret between the parties, without the least injury to any human institution, or human creature, in existence.

Here is, for instance, a man, who rides a horse seventeen miles in an hour, and what then? Can either he, or the horse, repeat the experiment? Is this a proof that horses in general, or that any breed of horses can be made to ride seventeen miles an hour? Of what use, then, is a horse who can only ride one hour? The answer is, 'No matter for that; the horse, to be sure, was knocked up, but the man got a great deal of money.' And this

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this anſwer, cruel and irrational as it is, equals any excuſe that has ever been offered for the barbarities inflicted on the moſt uſeful and noble animal in exiſtence.

Here is another man, who has run fifteen miles in leſs than an hour and a half. Running and walking are ſo far worthy of encouragement as they demonſtrate a ſtate of body, preſerved in health by temperance and exerciſe; but what temperance and exerciſe will make any half dozen men of this kingdom walk half the diſtance above mentioned twice over? But in this, as in the other caſe, 'great bets,' were no doubt depending, and the victor came in for a plentiful ſhare.

As to hopping and jumping, I truſt, that if it could be proved that a man had hopped from Hyde-park corner to Kenſington, at three hops, no perſon would eſteem him a more uſeful member of ſociety, either in himſelf, or by his example, than if he had taken half an hour or more to walk the diſtance. Such gentlemen, indeed, are better able to ſupport themſelves and their families, by ſuch feats than many others; for they may gain very good engagements at Sadler's Wells, and other places, where the performers have regular ſalaries for hazarding their neck to pleaſe the ſpectators.

Wagers reſpecting eating and drinking are ſo monſtrous and beaſtly in themſelves, that it is impoſſible they ſhould be encouraged by any but thoſe who have minds as low and groveling as the parties engaged. Among ſuch *minds*, however, I beg leave to mention, that I have ſeen ſome, which were the neglected property of perſons of rank and diſtinction, who did not ſcruple to debaſe their rank, and level their diſtinction, by witneſſing two human creatures performing an act the moſt pernicious to themſelves, and the moſt inſulting to the kindneſs of their Maker, that can well be conceived.

As to thoſe perſons who think themſelves entitled to extraordinary rewards, for having performed extraordinary feats, that are not in themſelves of the ſmalleſt public utility, I would remind them of that monarch, who, when applied to, to reward a man who had climbed up the outſide of a remarkable high ſpire, ſaid, that he would grant the man a patent, entitling him, and his heirs, for ever, to the excluſive privilege of climbing up the outſide of that ſpire.

There is a ſpecies of wagers, none of which occur in my liſt, becauſe it would exceed the limits even of a volume, to enumerate ſuch as are confined to a very ſmall circle. I mean wagering on matters of converſation. This, I believe, is wholly confined to this country, and is peculiar to the common people, though it occurs ſometimes in the higher gambling ſocieties. But among the lower claſs, whoever differs in opinion from another, though about the moſt trifling circumſtance, or in the moſt reſpectful manner, muſt confirm what he ſays by a wager. This practice, as it is abſurd and irrational, muſt be expected to adhere chiefly to low and vulgar minds; and I would have all thoſe who think higher of themſelves and of their underſtanding, to reflect, that when they take to this practice, they are following a precedent which they ſhould reject, and are countenancing a cuſtom which every *gentleman* would wiſh to repreſs. The ſpirit, however, is very general; and I know not whether it was not in conſequence of being inſpired by it, that a certain jury, whoſe opinions were equal, propoſed to toſs up for a verdict.'

* * * * *

Thus far my friend's manuſcript. I ſhall probably take another opportunity to examine this ſubject more attentively; for there is a prevalence in our habits of gaming which ſeems wholly unaccountable, and which, if thoroughly conſidered and analyzed, may be found to ariſe from certain circumſtances, which it is within the power of the legiſlature to regulate. This

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This much we may aver, that wherever the ſpirit of gambling is predominant, it will never want objects; and we know that it is ſo inceſſantly in purſuit of variety, that a true-bred gambler will bet as ſoon on the violence of his mother's fever, as on the ſwiftneſs of his horſe's feet: one inſtance, at leaſt, of the power of gambling, to efface from the mind all ſentiments of compaſſion, ſympathy, and duty, and to conſider all matters, and all events, merely as ſubſervient to the purpoſes of avarice.

I am, ſir, &c.

R. S.

P S. As I was about to ſend you this letter, my newſpaper was brought, in which I read the following article.

'On Sunday, April 7, a wager was decided between his grace the duke of M——— and ſir C—— L——: it was a rowing match from London-bridge to Richmond, between two watermen in a wherry, and two in a *funny* *. They ſtarted at two in the afternoon, againſt tide, and the funny, which beat the other by ten minutes, reached Richmond in three hours and three minutes. The wager was won by ſir C——, who gave the two victors twenty guineas for their exertions.'

It is impoſſible to read ſuch an article as this, without the deſire to animadvert upon it. Yet what terms can ſufficiently expreſs our deteſtation of the wanton injury thus inflicted on public decency? What are we to expect from the common claſs of mankind, when thoſe, who, from their ſuperior education are qualified to ſhow a good example, and from their ſuperior rank enabled, in a certain degree, to enforce it, are guilty of an open inſult on the laws of God and their country—ſuch an inſult as I ſhould have expected to proceed only from the low mobs, who aſſemble at boxing matches in the fields of Iſlington! The aggravation of this profanation of the Sabbath is great, when we conſider the rank of the parties. It is greater, when we advert to the appointment of a day of ſolemn faſting and humiliation. Perhaps it is greater ſtill, when we conſider that the parties were not ignorant of their crime. So ſecretly was it conducted, that not a ſuſpicion was entertained of any ſuch thing being projected, before it actually took place. Had it been otherwiſe, and the proper officers of juſtice could have got notice, it is to be hoped the rank of the parties would have been no protection againſt the ſhame and puniſhment, due to an inſult, which, I may ſay, was thus offered to every good and thinking man in the kingdom.—I ought to apologize, Mr. Editor, for the length of this poſtſcript, but I am hopeful you will not think it far out of the way of the ſubject of my letter.

An ANECDOTE *of* GAMING.

LORD C——, with many amiable virtues, and many brilliant accompliſhments, had a moſt unfortunate propenſity to gaming; in one night he loſt three and thirty thouſand pounds to the late general Scott. Mortified at his ill-fortune, he paid the money, and wiſhed to keep the circumſtance ſecret; it was, however, whiſpered in the polite circles, and his lordſhip, to divert his chagrin, a few nights after ſlipped on a domino, and went to a maſquerade at Carliſle-houſe. He found all the company running after three Iriſh ladies, of the name of G—e, in the character of the three weird ſiſters. Theſe ladies were ſo well acquainted with every thing that was going on in the great world, that they kept the room in a continued roar by the brilliancy of their bon mots, and the terſeneſs of their applications to ſome people of rank who were preſent. They knew

* I am told that the proper name is a *double*: the ſtem and ſtern are both alike, ſo that it may be rowed either way.

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lord C——, and they knew of his loss, though he did no know them. He walked up to them, and in a solemn tone of voice, addressed them as follows:

Ye black and midnight hags,—what do ye do?
Live ye, or are ye ought that man may question?
Quickly unclasp to me the book of fate,
And tell if good or ill my steps await.
First Witch. All hail, C—e! all hail to thee!
Once annual lord of thousands thirty-three!
Second Witch. All hail, C—e! all hail to thee!
All hail; though poor thou soon shalt be!
Hecate. C—e, all hail! thy evil star
Sheds baleful influence—Oh, beware!
Beware that Thane! beware that Scott!
Or poverty shall be thy lot!
He'll drain thy youth as dry as hay—
Hither, sisters, haste away!

At the concluding word, whirling a watchman's rattle which she held in her hand, the dome echoed with the sound; the astonished peer shrunk into himself with terror,—retired,—vowed never to lose more than a hundred pound at a sitting, abided by the determination, and retrieved his fortune.

THE BRITISH MUSE.

ODE TO RAGE.

HENCE, inflaming pow'r, depart!
Ne'er shalt thou invade my heart;
Softer passions there shall reign,
Passions that infuse no pain.
When the deeply-wounded breast
Has receiv'd thee as its guest,
Joy and peace that moment flee
From the heart that harbours thee.
Gloomy horrors on thee wait,
Fell Revenge and deadly Hate;
Furies shake their hissing hair,
And their fiery torches glare;
Hence enkindled flames the breast
That admits thee as its guest;
Far all joy and pleasures flee
From the heart that harbours thee.
Where the steely falchions blaze,
(Widely flash the gleaming rays)
And the clanging trump from far
Sounds the prelude of the war;
Thou that panteſt then for blood,
Glut thyself and swill the flood:
Ev'ry throbbing heart inspire
With thy hot vindictive fire;
But inflaming passion flee
Far away, I beg, from me.
Flashing eyes that straining roll
Then bespeak the vengeful soul.
Sounds terrific, horrid cries,
Victor shouts, and groans arise.
Stalking o'er the heaps of dead,
Blood-stain'd Vengeance rears her head,
And with thee thro' all the plain,
Fiercely wakes the war amain.
Scenes that give delight to thee
May they never visit me.
Hence depart, and seek the plains,
Where infernal Discord reigns,
Or where storms receive their birth;
Thence impel the tempest forth;
Make the billows louder roar,
Fiercer blasts assail the shore;
Mid the whirlwind's rushing stream
Reign thou there, and reign supreme:
But betake thee from my breast,
There shall rule a milder guest.
Hence vindictive passion flee,
I'm enrag'd alone at thee.

Yedingham,
March 25, 1793. EUSEBIUS.

SONNET:

On hearing the Cry of a NIGHT-HAWK, in Canada, which is considered by the INDIANS as portending some disastrous Adventure.

[From the Old Manor-house, a Novel, by Mrs. Smith.]

ILL-omen'd bird! whose cries portentous float
O'er yon savannah with the mournful wind,
While as the Indian hears your piercing note,
Dark dread of future evil fills his mind—
Wherefore with early lamentations break
The dear delusive visions of repose?
Why, from so short felicity awake
Thy wounded senses to substantial woes?
O'er my sick soul thus rous'd from transient rest,
Pale Superstition sheds her influence drear;
And to my shuddering fancy would suggest,
Thou com'st to speak of every woe I fear.
But aid me, Heaven! my real ills to bear,
Nor let my spirit yield to phantoms of despair.

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The WANDERING LOVER: A Sonnet.

[From the Same.]

WHILE thus I wander, cheerleſs and unbleſt,
And find in change of place, but change of pain;
In tranquil ſleep the village labourers reſt,
And taſte repoſe that I purſue in vain.
Huſh'd is the hamlet now; and faintly gleam,
The dying embers from the caſement low
Of the thatch'd cottage; while the moon's wan beam
Lends a new luſtre to the dazzling ſnow.
O'er the cold waſte, amid the freezing night,
Scarce heeding whither, deſolate I ſtray.
For me! pale eye of evening! thy ſoft light,
Leads to no happy home; my weary way
Ends but in dark viciſſitude of care:
I only fly from doubt—to meet deſpair.

DESCRIPTION of the LAKE of URI, in Swiſſerland.

[From Deſcriptive Sketches of the Alps, by V. Wordſworth.]

LO! Fear looks ſilent down on Uri's lake,
By whoſe unpathway'd, margin ſtill and dread
Was never heard the plodding peaſant's tread.
Tower like a wall the naked rocks, or reach
Far o'er the ſecret water dark with beech,
More high, to where creation ſeems to end,
Shade above ſhade the deſert pines aſcend,
And ſtill, below, where mid the ſavage ſcene
Peeps out a little ſpeck of ſmiling green,
There with his infants man undaunted creeps,
And hangs his ſmall wood-hut upon the ſteeps.
A garden-plot the deſert air perfumes,
Mid the dark pines a little orchard blooms,
A zig-zag path from the domeſtic ſkiff
Threading the painful cragg ſurmounts the cliff.
Before thoſe hermit doors, that never know
The face of traveller paſſing to and fro,
No peaſant leans upon his pole, to tell
For whom at morning toll'd the funeral bell,
Their watch-dog ne'er his angry bark foregoes,
Touch'd by the beggar's moan of human woes,
The graſſy ſeat beneath their caſement ſhed
The pilgrim's wiſtful eye hath never ſtay'd.
There, did the iron genius not diſdain
The gentle power that haunts the myrtle plain,
There might the love-ſick maiden ſit, and chide
Th' inſuperable rocks and ſevering tide;
There watch at eve her lover's ſun-gilt ſail
Approaching, and upbraid the tardy gale;
There liſt at midnight till is heard no more,
Below, the echo of his parting oar;
There hang in fear, when growls the frozen ſtream,
To guide his dangerous tread the taper's gleam.
Mid ſtormy vapours ever driving by,
Where oſpreys, cormorants, and herons cry,
Where hardly giv'n the hopeleſs waſte to cheer,
Deny'd the bread of life the foodful ear,
Dwindles the pear on autumn's lateſt ſpray,
And apple ſickens pale in ſummer's ray,
Ev'n here Content has fix'd her ſmiling reign,
With Independence, child of high diſdain.
Exulting mid the winter of the ſkies,
Shy as the jealous chamois, Freedom flies,
And often graſps her ſword, and often eyes,
Her creſt a bough of Winter's bleakeſt pine,
Strange 'weeds' and alpine plants her helm entwine,
And wildly-pauſing oft ſhe hangs aghaſt,
While thrills the 'Spartan fife' between the blaſt.
'Tis ſtorm; and hid in miſt from hour to hour
All day the floods a deeper murmur pour,
And mournful ſounds, as of a ſpirit loſt,
Pipe wild along the hollow-bluſtering coaſt,
Till the ſun walking on his weſtern field,
Shakes from behind the clouds his flaſhing ſhield,
Triumphant on the boſom of the ſtorm,
Glances the fire-clad eagle's wheeling form;
Eaſtward, in long perſpective, glittering, ſhine
The wood-crown'd cliffs that o'er the lake recline;
Wide o'er the Alps a hundred ſtreams unfold,
At once to pillars turn'd that flame with gold;
Behind his ſail the peaſant ſhrives to ſhun
The weſt that burns like one dilated ſun.

HUMI-

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HUMILITY.

HUMILITY! thou choiceſt, lowlieſt maid,
Nurſe of each grace, with every charm array'd,
Who know'ſt o'er others faults to caſt a veil,
And turn'ſt aſide from Cenſure's ready tale;
Humility! thy gentle ſelf impart,
Come! make thy conſtant home my longing heart.
On thy fair tree do fruits celeſtial grow,
The holy walk, the heaven begun below:
O give me in this jarring world thy reſt,
Pour all thy ſweetneſs in my troubled breaſt:
Then, let Unkindneſs with her baneful eye,
And raging Calumny with aſpect ſly,
Ingratitude, that chills with ruder blaſt
Than winter winds that ſweep the dreary waſte—
Let all combin'd their hoſtile arts employ;
They have no force that ſhall diſturb my joy.

ODE TO THE MORNING.

[From Poems by G. Dyer, B. A.]

CHILD of the light, fair morning hour,
Who ſmileſt o'er yon purple hill!
I come to woo thy cheering pow'r,
Beſide this murm'ring rill.
Nor I alone,—a thouſand ſongſters riſe,
To meet thy dawning, and thy ſweets to ſhare;
While ev'ry flow'r that ſcents the honied air,
Thy milder influence feels, and ſheds its brighteſt dies.

And let me hear ſome village ſwain
Whiſtle in ruſtic glee along;
Or hear ſome true love's gentle pain
Breath'd from the milkmaid's ſong.
Wild are thoſe notes, but ſweeter far to me
Than the ſoft airs borne from Italian groves:
To which the wanton muſe and naked loves
Strike the wild lyre, and dance in gameſome glee.

And roſy health, for whom ſo long
Mid ſleepleſs nights I've ſigh'd in vain,
Shall throw her airy veſtment on,
And meet me on the plain.
Gay laughing nymph, that loves a morning ſky;
That loves to trip acroſs the ſpangled dews;
And with her finger dipt in brighteſt hues,
My faint cheek ſhall ſhe tinge, and cheer my languid eye.

Then will I taſte the morn's ſweet hour,
And, ſinging, bleſs the new-born day;
Or, wand'ring in Amanda's bow'r,
Rifle the ſweets of May:
And to my ſong Amanda ſhall attend,
And take the poſy from the ſylvan muſe;
For ſure the virtuous fair will not refuſe
The muſe's modeſt gifts, her tribute to a friend.

CHOOSE FOR YOURSELF.

[From the Reveries of Solitude.]

WHATE'ER philoſophers may chatter;
Who know but little of the matter;
The greateſt comforts of our life,
Are a good horſe—and a good wife:
One for domeſtic conſolation,
And one for health and recreation.
Be cautious then, but not too nice;
Nor liſten to each fool's advice:
Nor guided by the public voice,
But your own reaſon, make your choice.
My horſe was old and broken-winded,
Yet this myſelf I hardly minded;
But by my neighbours I was told,
That when a horſe grows ſtiff and old,
If urg'd to ſpeed—'tis ten to one
He trips and throws his rider down.
I liſten'd then to their advice,
And bought a colt—at no ſmall price;
A ſtately ſteed, that on the road
Would proudly prance beneath his load.
But this Bucephalus, again,
Put my young family in pain;
Who cordially expreſs'd their fears,
That I, a man advanc'd in years,
Regardleſs of my own dear neck,
Should undertake a colt to break.
You are too wiſe, dear ſir, I know
To hazard thus your life for ſhow;
Riſk then no ſubject for remorſe,
But part with this unruly horſe!
I next a pony would have bought,
An uſeful ſcrub: but here 'twas thought
(Such is my ſon's and daughter's pride)
It was too mean for me to ride.
Dear ſir! ſaid they, it is not fit
For you to mount this paltry tit:
It were as well almoſt, alas!
To ride, like Balaam, on an aſs.

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Again, to various ſyſtems yielding,
I bought a ſtrong, ſtout, ſtumping gelding:
Aſſur'd he'd neither trip nor ſtart;
Would carry me—or draw a cart.
But vain were all my irkſome labours,
This clumſy beaſt quite ſhock'd my neighbours;
Who ſtill would have me, as before,
At buying, try my hand once more.
One offer'd me a pretty mare,
Juſt bought, he ſaid, at Briſtol fair;
And then my landlord at the Bell
Had a young galloway to ſell:
He'd travel fifty miles a-day—
'But try him, ſir, before you pay.'
He would not willingly have ſold him,
But ſomebody, he ſaid, had told him,
How much, forſooth, I was diſtreſs'd!
And earneſtly the matter preſs'd:
So, willing to do me a favour,
He wiſh'd, he ſaid, that I might have her.
'Well, landlord, you're an honeſt man,
I'll pleaſe my neighbours if I can;
I'm not a judge, you know, myſelf,
I'll truſt to you—here take the pelf—'
The purchaſe made, I now grew wiſe—
Man John, ſaid I, how are his eyes?
Oh! ſir, not blind, you need not fear it,
I mean not yet—though very near it.
Thus then on every ſide put to't
I vow'd at laſt, I'd walk on foot:
For 'tis in vain, alas! I find,
To think of pleaſing all mankind.
'Tis thus in chooſing of a horſe;
In chooſing of a wife—'tis worſe.
Handſome or homely; young or old;
Chaſte or unchaſte; a wit; a ſcold;
Howe'er ſhe proves, how vain you labour
To pleaſe each prying, buſy neighbour!
Then pleaſe yourſelf; or elſe for life
Give up that uſeful thing—a wife.

PROCEEDINGS *of the Third* SESSION *of the Seventeenth Parliament of* Great Britain, *continued from page* 227.

ON Monday, March 18, in the houſe of commons, Mr. Elliot, the chairman of the Stockbridge election committee, ſtated, that a number of the electors had leagued in a club for the corrupt ſale of their votes; that they had debated upon and calculated the quantum of money they were to receive; but, in their eagerneſs to render the payment ſecure, they had produced the evidence on which the committee had reported to the houſe the notorious and corrupt bribery that had taken place in the ſaid election. The reſolutions of the committee were then read; the firſt of which declared the fact of notorious and corrupt bribery; and the ſecond, that the ſaid corruption and bribery required the ſerious conſideration of parliament. Theſe reſolutions were adopted as reſolutions of the houſe; and then Mr. Elliot moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent bribery and corruption in future elections for members to ſerve in parliament for the Borough of Stockbridge, which was ordered; and Mr. Bragge gave notice that he would move for leave to bring in a bill to diſqualify the electors for Stockbridge who had been guilty of bribery and corruption.

The next day, Mr. Elliot brought in his bill, which was to extend the right of election for the ſaid borough to the freeholders in its neighbourhood. This went through the uſual form; after which Mr. Saliſbury preſented a liſt of ſixty-three electors of Stockbridge, whom it was propoſed to diſqualify by another bill; but the conſideration of this, on the motion of Mr. Powys, was poſtponed.

On Thurſday, March 21, a motion for the ſecond reading of the bill againſt traiterous correſpondence was oppoſed by Mr. Curwen, who ſaid, that no ground had been ſtated to warrant ſo novel and extraordinary a bill. He reprobated the clauſe which prohibited the return of Engliſhmen to this country from France, without a paſſport, as unjuſt and oppreſſive. He condemned the prohibition of buying the lands or funds of France as prepoſterous and unneceſſary; and the prohibition of inſurance as impolitic. In ſupport of this opinion, he quoted the opinion of the late lord Mansfield, which was, that this country gained a conſiderable ſum by inſurance, and that by inſurance intelligence was frequently gained of the operations of the enemy.

Mr. North conſidered the meaſures propoſed by the bill to be called for by the exigencies of the time; that the clauſes were juſtified by precedents, and were ſtrictly analogous to the laws of nations, and conſonant to all national policy. He expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that any oppoſition could be made to ſuch a bill, which went alone to cut off the reſources of an enemy. The clauſe which prohibited inveſtments in French lands or French funds, he deemed extremely politic, and he

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he asked, how it could be said truly that we were determined to support the war, unless we prevented that money going out of the kingdom to pay the armies and navy of our enemies, which ought to be preserved for the payment of our own navy and army, in a war declared against us, and against the constitution under which we had so long happily lived.

Major Maitland reserved his objections till the bill was committed.

The bill was then read a second time, and a motion made that it should be committed for the next day. This was opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, lord John Russel, and Mr. Whitbread, jun. as too precipitate a proceeding on a bill of such importance. It was also opposed by Mr. Martin, who, at the same time, expressed his hearty approbation of the bill, and a wish that those gentlemen who had opposed going into the war, but who had professed that, when in the war, they would vigorously support it, to remember their promises, and not continually to throw difficulties in the way of administration. The motion was supported by Mr. Pitt, the attorney-general, Mr. Grenville, and Mr. alderman Anderson. The latter was for the passing of the bill with all possible expedition, as essentially beneficial to the country. He observed, upon the insurance clause, that he knew premiums were received in the city upon French property; he thought such insurance to be rather a losing than a gaining concern; for he expected, from the vigilance of administration, and the exertions of our ships, that the greater part, if not the whole of the French commerce, would speedily fall into our hands.

On a division, the numbers were:

For the commitment - -	127
Against it - -	37
Majority -	90

The next day, the order of the day being read, the solicitor-general moved, that the consideration of the preamble should be postponed till the different clauses had been gone through. After some observations from Mr. Fox (who expressed his detestation of the bill, as in the highest degree despotic in its principle) and from the chancellor of the exchequer (who recommended moderation in the discussion) Mr. Grey rose, and said, that the preamble stated unfairly and falsely the object of the bill. He had promised to support the war, in consequence of which he had already concurred in voting the necessary supplies; but he never could conceive himself pledged to support ministers in measures, which appeared unnecessary and mischievous.

The attorney-general defended the preamble, and stated that he had followed the example of lord Somers, and some of the greatest men that ever were in this country, who had given preambles of the same kind to bills of a similar nature. In every act of this sort, it became indispensably necessary that it should admit of a more general interpretation than could perhaps be wished, if the evil could be otherwise sufficiently guarded against. For instance, in the present case, it might be true, that some persons going from this country to France, or returning, might have no improper intention whatever, yet, as other persons might probably go there, or return, for purposes hostile to this country, it became necessary, in order to guard effectually against these, to make a general regulation, prohibiting all persons from going to France, or returning, except under such regulations as may be consistent with the safety of the state.

Mr. H. Browne vindicated the preamble, and said, that compared to that of the present time, the danger at the time of the revolution was trifling. It was undoubtedly important to fix the government in the person of our glorious deliverer from popery and arbitrary power; but the question now is, whether we shall have a king at all?—Mr. Browne was proceeding, when

Mr. Bouverie called him to order, as having deviated from the question.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that on the footing on which the postponing of the preamble had been opposed, he conceived the hon. gentleman had been completely in order.

Mr. H. Browne went on to state the danger arising from the principles and objects of France in the present war; and its evident intention to interfere in the internal polity of this country.

Mr. Sheridan agreed that the hon. gentleman had been perfectly in order; but it had been said, that his hon. friend had been disorderly in his opposition to postponing the preamble, which he could not admit. It might be true, that in many cases it was usual and proper to postpone the preamble; but, in this case, where the assumptions in the preamble afford the only justification of the enact-

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ments of the bill, to desire gentlemen to postpone the preamble, without requiring any proof of these assumptions, was desiring them to agree to all the enactments of such a new and alarming nature, without requiring the smallest evidence that there is any ground of necessity for them.

Mr. Anstruther asked if, when gentlemen objected to the preamble, as containing an absolute falsehood, they meant to dispute that it was expedient to prevent the corresponding with, or giving aid to, his majesty's enemies? For nothing is asserted in the preamble, except that it is expedient to prevent these.

Mr. Powys said, that it was the uniform practice to postpone the preamble of bills till the different clauses were discussed.

Mr. Fox was against postponing the preamble, and insisted, that before acceding to a proposition so new and alarming, it should at least be justified by a clear proof of an urgent necessity. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Anstruther) had quibbled on this preamble, and had been obliged to state it unfairly, in order to support his deduction; he had asked, whether it can be denied that it is *expedient to prevent* corresponding with his majesty's enemies, &c. but the words of the preamble are, that it is expedient *more effectually* to prevent such correspondence, &c. and he would ask, on the other hand, whether, without any knowledge of the insufficiency of the existing laws, or of any dangerous and extraordinary urgency, it would be right to go on to the enacting of such dreadful provisions as some of those which compose this bill? Gentlemen talk of what had been done at the revolution: let them follow the example of those who acted at that time, by shewing evidence of the necessity of the present measure. Upon the principles now asserted, if a handful of men, however insignificant, should happen to entertain opinions subversive of the constitution, this alone would be held sufficient to justify investing government with the most arbitrary powers, though there existed, in fact, no real danger. An hon. gentleman (Mr. Browne) had said, that, if he were a Jacobite, he would not take the part even of his favourite monarch, if imposed on him by the power of France; but, for his part, if the constitution which he so much venerated was to be destroyed, he did not care whether its overthrow came from France, or originated at home. He would support ministers in carrying on the war, but he would not agree to undermine the constitution; and he could not concur in proceeding a step farther in the bill, without evidence of some urgent necessity.

Lord Beauchamp said, that this was a war different from any former wars; for, in these, both countries had always respected the established constitution of each other.

Mr. Burke said, that if we looked to the period of the revolution, when the constitution had just been purified, we should find, with the bill of rights, and several acts for securing our liberties, an act to enable his majesty to take up any persons whom he suspected of disaffection. In all laws of civil polity, it was founded on the nature of things, that some portion of the liberty of individuals must be sacrificed, in order to secure general liberty and good order. In this country, five acts restraining liberty had all passed under the administration of whigs: but neither whigs nor tories, according to the true sense of these terms, were direct enemies to the constitution; for they were both attached to the government by king, lords, and commons; only, in a doubtful question between prerogative and privilege, the whigs would incline to the aristocratic and democratic party, while the tories would lean to the crown: both were ever ready to join against any foreign enemy; and this must always be the case with every honest Englishman. With respect to the present bill, the truth was, that the rigour of the law had relaxed in practice; and can it then be improper, at such a time as the present, to give fair warning how the law, in its rigour, actually stands? As sleep, though a total suspension of all the faculties of man, is absolutely necessary, in the animal economy, for recruiting vigour and activity; just so it is with free countries, especially in times of convulsion, they must suspend a portion of their liberties, in order to preserve and invigorate the whole fabric of their general liberty, and of their constitution. We have now a foreign enemy, who have attempted to form a domestic faction in favour of their views, and have in part succeeded. [Here there was a loud cry of no, no, no.] Mr. Burke repeated what he had said, and asked, whether, in such a situation, we should not provide against the danger by such a bill as this, for fear of giving up a part of our liberties?—As well might it be said, that he imprisoned himself, were he to put bolts and bars on his doors, in order to guard against housebreakers. It

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was no doubt true, that any fortreſs is nearly allied to a priſon, and the queſtion muſt altogether depend upon the danger of attack from an enemy: if a man, without any ſuch danger, locks himſelf up in a fortreſs like Louis XI, he muſt be looked upon as a madman. Mr. Burke next deſcanted on the preſent object of the French in making war; and ſaid, that when Dumourier, at the head of his barbarians, over-run Flanders, his conduct was a model of their ſyſtem and object in war, and ſhewed that it was not ſo much againſt the power as againſt the government of the countries with which they were at war. In the late caſe of Holland, which came ſtill nearer to us, the ſame Dumourier, before he began his attack, had actually, by a declaration, depoſed the ſtadtholder, and overturned the whole eſtabliſhed government of that republic. They have declared the war to be general, and we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that their object, with reſpect to this country, is at all different. In ſuch a ſituation, he conceived the regulations of the bill to be highly neceſſary; indeed, ſo far as it explains preciſely what is already treaſon, it is a kind law; and it only follows the directions of the act of Edw. III, ſo far as it declares what is treaſon, in caſes that may be doubtful. But it alſo enacts certain new poſitive regulations; and here it adopts a principle, which is eſſential for effecting the purpoſe of its enactment, and upon which the whole ſyſtem of all police laws muſt be founded, viz. the making a ſubſtantive crime what is, in itſelf, no crime, for the purpoſe of leading to the prevention of actual crimes. Thus a veſſel of a certain burden and conſtruction, found laden with particular articles, and in certain ſituations, is liable to ſeizure for the purpoſe of preventing ſmuggling; and though maſquerading is, in itſelf, no crime, a particular puniſhment is inflicted on perſons appearing with black faces. A right hon. gentleman (Mr. Fox) had ſaid, that if the conſtitution is to be overthrown, he would think it a matter of little conſideration whether he ſhould be obliged to ſurrender it to miniſters or to foreigners; for his part, he did not like to ſtate a caſe, on the ſuppoſition that he was to ſurrender them at all; but, if he were to be ſubdued, he confeſſed, that, placed in the ſituation of Brutus, he would rather have given up to Cæſar—or, as Cæſar to Brutus, than have ſubmitted to the yoke of the great monarch of Perſia. But God forbid that he ſhould ſurrender, or weaken, any part of the conſtitution of his country! The French, though ſtill retaining ſome degree of their outward politeneſs, had abandoned every feeling of ſenſibility; and the houſes of private individuals were entered, as by houſe-breakers, under the ſpecious title of *viſites domiciliares*. He inſtanced alſo the tribunal revolutionaire, and ſaid that no tyrannies could equal what are now practiſed in that country.—He had been himſelf denounced, and proſcribed there; in proof of which he read, from a newſpaper, a paragraph ſtating, that the time was not yet come for bringing before that tribunal 'the Oreſtes of the Britiſh parliament, the furious Mr. Burke;' it alſo mentioned Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville, and ſaid, that they would all be preſently 'on their knees before the ſtatue of liberty, to expiate their crimes with their lives.' Mr. Burke reverted to the bill, and ſaid, it did not occur to him to be a meaſure of that kind, which a general engagement to ſupport the war would pledge gentlemen to ſupport; but, for his part, he voted not upon general ſupport, but as ſupporting rationally and politically, in this particular inſtance, that kind of war in which we are engaged; and he obſerved, that although he thought it neceſſary to give to miniſters ſuch diſcretion as was propoſed to be entruſted to them by the bill, yet he conceived that they would be reſponſible for any groſs abuſe of that diſcretionary power.

Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that the right hon. gentleman had made a very eloquent ſpeech, and, as uſual alſo, applied his wit, his mirth, and humour, upon ſubjects which did not perhaps call for either —wars, treaſons, murders, and maſſacres. He ſhould not follow him upon all he had ſaid, becauſe that would be entering into the diſcuſſion of points ariſing out of the clauſes of the bill, which ought to be reſerved for diſcuſſion in the committee. He had begun with ſaying he was always deſirous of appealing to the houſe, on the ſenſe of what he called the good times of the conſtitution. Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he ſhould be glad to join in that appeal if he did not ſee that this was done by gentlemen, who only referred to thoſe times, for the purpoſe of quoting the degree of confidence which was then thought to be neceſſarily repoſed in the officers of government; and thus the better to prepare the people, at this time, to the ſame confidence, when the ſame danger did not exiſt, and conſequently where there could

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not be the ſame reaſon for ſuch confidence and power. Here the right hon. gentleman's deception began. He ſaid, that immediately after the Bill of Rights, came a power by which the king was enabled to order any perſon to be taken up, on ſuſpicion only of being an enemy to the ſtate. Having advanced thus far, he came to a concluſion directly, that what was done on that occaſion ſhould certainly be done on this; for, ſaid he, would you not do now what the wiſdom of your anceſtors prompted them to do under ſimilar circumſtances? The anſwer was ſhort. The circumſtances are *not* ſimilar. We were, at the time alluded to, at the era of a revolution. Was that the caſe now with this country? Did the right hon. gentleman, or they who pretended to agree with him, mean to ſay, that we are now in an equal degree of danger? If this were anſwered in the affirmative, then there might be an end entirely to every barrier, which the ſubject ever had againſt oppreſſion; for if we were now in a ſtate as alarming as at that period, the argument would go to the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act, and to place the whole kingdom under martial law.—But it ſeemed that the preſent time was to be conſidered ſimilar to that of the revolution to a certain degree. To what degree?—If two or three factious perſons could be named in this country, was that to be conſidered as ſimilar, in ſuch a degree, to the time of the revolution, as to render it neceſſary to introduce the ſame meaſure of precaution as at that period?—But who were theſe factious perſons? Upon this, the right hon. gentleman had come to ſomething like a pledge that he would name certain perſons of that deſcription at ſome future day—[A prodigious cry of hear! hear! hear!] 'I now challenge him to name thoſe perſons when he pleaſes,' ſaid Mr. Sheridan, 'for I muſt repeat to that right hon. gentleman, that I expect to hear his liſt of names and his proofs; but then let me tell him what ſort of proof I ſhall require of him.' He meant not to be ſatisfied with his reiterating his charges vaguely, or even of his naming any particular men, and calling them traitors, becauſe we all knew the facility with which that could be done. Nor did he mean to ſay he ſhould be contented with hearing general aſſertions of our danger. He ſhould expect of the right hon. gentleman the names of the conſpirators, what they were, what meaſures they had taken to manifeſt their intentions, and conſequently to juſtify him in loading them with the appellation of traitors. He ſhould expect alſo of all the ſupporters of the bill, ſome proof of the neceſſity of it. If they failed in this, then he muſt declare them the calumniators of the people of this country. At the time of the revolution, ſomething like evidence was given of the neceſſity of the meaſures which parliament adopted. A plot had been formed againſt the king's life, and the king himſelf came to parliament and informed them of the diſcovery of the plot, in a ſpeech which he delivered from the throne; that a plan was laid for the ſudden invaſion of the kingdom; that ſome of the conſpirators were in cuſtody; and that care would be taken to diſcover the others. But were there any circumſtances like theſe at preſent? And how ſtood facts with reſpect to ſedition in this country? Why, one editor of a newſpaper had been frightened by miniſters, and had run away; an attorney was under proſecution on a charge for which he had given bail; and a bill-ſticker was in gaol! Theſe were the mighty proofs of the whole country being in a ſtate of inſurrection! But to come nearer to the right hon. gentleman's doctrine, and the conſiſtency of his conduct: he had maintained the right of the legiſlature to alter the ſucceſſion, and to ſupport the principle of puniſhing thoſe who aſſerted a contrary doctrine; and yet, if the right hon. gentleman were to be judged by his firſt pamphlet on the French revolution, he would be the firſt to incur that penalty.—The true way of defining treaſon, was by the intention of the party, and the overt act was the only evidence of the intention. As to the obſervations of the right hon. gentleman on the neceſſity of rights remaining in a ſtate of inaction for a long time, that they might acquire new vigour, and the ſimile of ſleep to the body natural being the ſame as inactivity for a time to the body politic, there was no doubt of its being beautiful enough, and applicable too, for the miniſter had often ſung a ſort of lullaby to the conſtitution. But as ſleep was the ſiſter of death, and yet relieved the human body from the wearineſs of labour, ſurely there was no juſtice in comparing it to the affairs of human life, and the benefit of civil rights; for although a human being might ſleep to recover his health, there was no neceſſity for rights in ſociety to be ſuſpended in order to be preſerved. The only objection he had to the figure was, that it had no truth for its foundation, for there was

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none of the wearineſs which required reſt to any of the rights of the people of this country. The right hon. gentleman had ſaid, that a fortreſs was in ſome degree like a priſon. But it could only be ſo in caſe of a ſiege; and, therefore, truth was again not attended to in the figure, and upon this occaſion he could not help coming to ſome facts well known to the public. This he did to ſhew, that there was not any ground for alarm in this country, and when he had done ſo, he truſted he ſhould have anſwered the right hon. gentleman on his obſervation of a fortreſs, evidently deſigned to prepare the people for ſlavery, by comparing the iſland to a beſieged fortreſs. He muſt aſk then, whether there was any real cauſe for alarm, when the duke of Richmond converted the Tower into a fortreſs, and gave it all the appearance of a place preparing to hold out againſt an attack? Was there any information of deſigns being formed for taking it?—Were there any well grounded apprehenſions of danger to happen to it? If there were, then the precaution of the noble duke was right. If not, this was part of the ſyſtem adopted by miniſters for a well underſtood purpoſe; and they raiſed an alarm which they themſelves did not believe. The right hon. gentleman ſaid, it was not neceſſary in all caſes, to prove the exiſtence of the crime, before he produced the remedy. Here again he was wrong in principle; for it was the eſſence of juſtice never to inforce a hardſhip without a proof of its neceſſity. As to his obſervation upon a law, which prohibits a certain number of people going together with blacked faces, inſtanced as a proof that the law prohibits a thing perfectly innocent in itſelf, for the ſake of preventing an evil that might poſſibly attend it, he was alſo wrong, for this very act was not paſſed without proof of there being a number of perſons, who frequently had diſguiſed themſelves in that manner, for miſchievous purpoſes, and this was enacted to prevent farther miſchief. However, he was far from ſaying that a man ſhould never make uſe of any art in ſupport of his virtuous intentions. If any perſon carried a concealed dagger for the purpoſe of aſſaſſination, he was amenable to the law; but if he brought it with him concealed, and made uſe of it only for the purpoſe of heightening the effect of an oratorical attitude in the delivery of a ſublime ſpeech, he was not. Again, the right hon. gentleman had alluded to the act of parliament which prohibited ſhips of a certain ſize from being employed in certain parts of commerce, in which the revenue was intereſted: an act, which was harſh enough, and ſuch as he did not approve of, but yet it was not paſſed before there had been proof laid before parliament of the evils exiſting which this act was propoſed to remedy. Thus far he had followed the right hon. gentleman on his own ground, that laws were made againſt things in themſelves entirely innocent for the purpoſe of preventing miſchief. The truth was certainly ſo. But then the right hon. gentleman forgot to add a few words, a little eſſential to the ſenſe of the maxim—'after ſome proof was given of the neceſſity of ſuch a law.' The whole of this had been totally neglected by the right hon. gentleman, and all the advocates for the preſent bill. He ſaid, that, as to the deſtruction of the conſtitution, he had no apprehenſion of it, and that he had no thought of giving it up; and then he launched out, as uſual, into bitter invectives againſt the *new* affairs of France. Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he had no objections to our avoiding to imitate the French, and to act for ourſelves in every thing. He wiſhed that French principles, *old* as well as *new*, ſhould be avoided; but if, in reſiſting the new, we inclined to imitate the old ſyſtem of government in France, we ſhould have no reaſon to congratulate each other upon our prudence. The old ſyſtem of that country united all things that were hateful to a lover of liberty. It was kept up by the moſt abominable mode that was ever known in any part of Europe—by military inſolence, inſtead of civil law—by extraordinary truſt and confidence in the king's miniſters, inſtead of watchfulneſs and jealouſy—by tame acquieſcence in all his meaſures, inſtead of reſiſting or examining any part of them. He wiſhed, therefore, that, as we rejected the new ſyſtem of politics in France, we ſhould take care not to fall into any imitation of the old one. As to what the right hon. gentleman had ſaid, that were he Brutus he ſhould rather yield to Cæſar, or were he Cæſar he ſhould rather yield to Brutus, than to the great monarch of Perſia, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that the ſituation of this country was not ſo bad as to make it neceſſary to imagine, that there was danger to be apprehended from any diſputes between individuals to any number, much leſs between any two individuals. But there might be danger in placing ſuch confidence in any one, as to be blind to the

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tendency of his measures, and suffering him to proceed without opposing them. For when Hannibal penetrated Italy, and arrived at the gates of Rome, after all that devastation, Rome recovered. After Rome was sacked by the Gauls, Rome recovered. But after Cæsar had the dominion, it never recovered. Nor should he think this country safe, if any man in it, whatever his station might be, should be suffered to proceed proudly and arrogantly, as if he were above the law; and should afterward, by raising a false alarm among the people, by saying that the constitution was in danger, that there were traitors in the country, ultimately obtain his object—the placing himself in his situation with an establishment of despotic power. The next point to be considered was, that of the charges against the right hon. gentleman, Mr. Burke, in the national convention.—That right hon. gentleman had taken upon himself, on that occasion, to make use of the *visites domiciliares* as practised in France, as a proof of their violation of the principles of justice. It was certainly harsh enough; but he might see in this metropolis the *visites domiciliares* thriving wonderfully under the auspices of Mr. Reeves, and the society of which he was so worthy a president; as also under Mr. Luke Ideson and sir Joseph Banks. These gentlemen, by themselves and agents, particularly the latter, had entered into a great number of houses, and had called upon the occupiers of them to give in a particular description of their inmates, the sex, the age, the stature, the colour, the complexion.—In short, sir Joseph had examined into these circumstances, with all the curiosity of a naturalist; and he must say, that unless we abandoned this practice, we should complain with an ill grace of the *visites domiciliares*. As to the danger to which the right hon. gentleman said he was exposed, 'Unless he has more apprehension of it than I have for him,' said Mr. Sheridan, 'he will be pretty easy under that consideration. But, indeed, if he had not said that he quoted from the *Moniteur*, I should have thought he was speaking from his own mind, as the whole of the matter is perfectly like the substance of his own speeches upon the affairs of France.' As to the observation of the noble lord (Beauchamp) that in all other wars between this country and France, the two countries had respectively paid attention to the constitution of each other, he wished to know whether the noble lord thought the fact so, when that power wanted to force us to accept a pretender to the throne?

Some other gentlemen having spoke, the question was put and carried against the postponement of the preamble; and the preamble being read, Mr. Grey moved an amendment, that after the word 'Whereas,' these words be inserted—'Doubts and inconveniencies having arisen on the construction of the 25th of Edw. III. And whereas it is expedient to obviate the same in future. And whereas it is expedient to prevent assistance being given to his majesty's enemies, during the present war, be it enacted'

Mr. Fox supported this motion upon the ground of the necessity of making a distinction between what was declaratory, and that which was enacting.

The attorney general and solicitor general spoke against the amendment, which was negatived, and the preamble was agreed to.

On the first clause, the attorney general remarked, that he meant to settle the time of the commencement of the act by a particular clause.

Mr. Sheridan asked, whether or not by the words, 'within any of the dominions of his majesty, or being a subject of his majesty,' it was meant that the act should apply to his majesty's Irish subjects; and also, whether or not, by the words 'occupied by any force employed, or to be employed by France, or in alliance with France,' it was meant to extend the penalties of the bill to supplying with the enumerated articles any port in the dominions of any state that might be over-run by, or drawn into an alliance with France, and what, in this case, was to be the definition or construction of *force*.

The attorney general said, that the construction of the words would extend to places occupied by any force employed, or to be employed, by or in conjunction with France.

Mr. Fox said, that what that force meant ought to be defined.

Mr. Jenkinson thought it did not go so far as the attorney general understood it to go, but that it ought to be made to do so.

After some conversation, the chancellor of the exchequer said, that it would be better to omit it in this part of the bill, and explain it by a particular proviso.

Major Maitland asked, if British subjects, now possessing lands in France, were

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to be prohibited from disposing of the produce of those lands, such as hay, wheat, &c. in France.

The attorney general said, he had not thought of that before, but that British subjects, so circumstanced, might be relieved by a particular proviso.

Major Maitland then asked, if Frenchmen resident within his majesty's dominions were to be guilty of treason, by selling in France the produce of their French lands; and if the partner of a Danish or Swedish house, being in his majesty's dominions for commercial purposes, was to be held guilty of treason, because the other partners in Denmark or Sweden sold any of the articles enumerated to the French.

The attorney general thought that Frenchmen resident in his majesty's dominions might reasonably be obliged to obtain a licence for disposing of the produce of their lands in France, and that the partner of a foreign house would not incur the penalties of the bill by any act of his partners abroad, to which his privity and consent could not be proved.

Major Maitland said, his majesty's ministers had obtained by the alien bill a power of sending all suspected Frenchmen or other foreigners out of his majesty's dominions. It was their own fault if they suffered any such to remain. To what purpose then did they now ask for a controul over the property not within his majesty's dominions, of those whom they permitted to reside within his majesty's dominions?

The attorney general said, that on recollection of the powers given by the alien bill, this part of the clause might be given up.

It was asked, whether paying money for debts, or even necessaries in France, or any of the countries occupied by the French arms, would not bring a British subject within the penalties of the bill.

The attorney general did not think that paying for necessaries would; but a proviso might be made to guard against doubt.

Mr. Fox said, that by the bill it would be extremely doubtful, how far any British subject could pay debts already due to Frenchmen resident in France. He knew that, without the bill, the exportation of bullion or coin was prohibited; but that was a law hitherto little enforced. The principal question yet remained unanswered, viz. How far did the bill extend to his majesty's Irish subjects?

The attorney general said, the bill could not extend beyond the jurisdiction of the British parliament; but the Irish parliament would probably pass a law to the same effect.

Mr. Fox said, that was what the committee could not possibly know by anticipation; and it was their duty to make their own acts independent of what any other legislative body might do. Was an Irishman, who had no other connexion with Great Britain but that of being a subject of the same king, to be bound by an act of the British legislature? or might he, either from Ireland, or any other place, supply the French with all those articles which no law of his own country forbade him to do? Was it to be held that, after disobeying this law, an Irishman was perfectly innocent in Ireland, but if he ventured to set foot in England he might be tried and executed for treason? If the second question were answered in the affirmative, then would come a distinction not always very easy to be made, viz. whether a man was an Irishman or a Briton.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, these were difficulties indeed, but not peculiar to the bill. They arose out of the circumstances of there being two independent legislatures, one for England and another for Ireland. He meant in no respect to derogate from the independence of the Irish parliament, when he trusted that it would obviate these difficulties by passing a similar bill. He then went into an hypothetical discussion to shew that without any infringement of the independence of Great Britain or Ireland, the legislative acts of the one country, might, in certain cases, such as the present bill, be reciprocally binding on the subjects of the other.

Mr. Fox said, that this mutual legislation between two countries, was the strangest doctrine he had ever heard in the whole history of legislation. According to this, if the Irish parliament should pass a law granting a bounty on the exportation of any of the articles enumerated in this bill, which no man could deny that it was competent to do, an Irishman coming to Great Britain might be tried and executed for doing that for which he had received a bounty in Ireland. That the difficulties were not peculiar, but applicable to all such bills as these was true; and, on this very account, he advised the legislature of Great Britain to get rid of all these difficulties, by not attempting to legislate beyond its proper jurisdiction.

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A debate took place, supported by the master of the rolls, Mr. Anstruther, the attorney and the solicitor general, in which Mr. Fox supported his point with such variety and force of argument, that it was admitted to be a case of so much weight and difficulty, as to require more mature consideration, and it was proposed to postpone it, and go on with the rest of the bill.

Mr. Sheridan said, that on one thing the committee was unanimous, viz. the desire of understanding the bill as they went on. Farther time had been desired to consider it, and it now appeared that it was as little understood by those who refused that farther time as by those who called for it. They had got into as many difficulties as they had proceeded lines: the learned gentlemen who moved and seconded the bill, seemed as little prepared to remove those difficulties, as to agree with each other in their explanations, or their learned friends with either of them. This was peculiarly unfortunate in a bill that was to make the law of treason more clear. The chancellor of the exchequer's solution of the difficulty by mutual legislation, was somewhat like the Cambridge gentleman's answer to the question, whether the earth went round the sun, or the sun round the earth—'that sometimes the earth went round the sun, and sometimes the sun round the earth.' It would be a mighty pleasant sort of reciprocity, when we had made a new law of treason, and hanged half a dozen of Irishmen upon it, to say to the Irish parliament,—'Don't be offended; do you enact two or three new treasons, and hang as many Englishmen when you catch them.' If the committee thought proper to go on, he should contend for clearing up all the difficulties as they proceeded, because subsequent provisos were very readily promised, and as readily forgotten.

The chairman reported progress, and leave was given to sit again on Monday.

On Monday, March 25, on a motion of the attorney general, the farther consideration of the Treasonable Correspondence Bill was postponed till the next day; and, on a motion of Mr. Sheridan, a committee was appointed to take into consideration the petitions from the royal burghs of Scotland.

In the house of lords, on Tuesday, March 26, Lord Rawdon's bill on the subject of Debtors and Creditors was read a second time; previously to which his lordship entered into a short summary of the principal objects of the bill, which he stated to be, 1. To prevent persons from being lightly or capriciously arrested; 2. To prevent their being maliciously and unjustly detained; 3. To prevent dishonest debtors from squandering in prison those funds which ought to be applied for the satisfying of their creditors; 4. To prevent persons from being dragged to prison in a state of sickness; and, lastly, to prevent British subjects from being imprisoned for an indefinite time, without any inquiry as to the justice of their detention. —The bill was ordered to be committed.

The same day, in the house of commons, in a committee of the whole house on the Traiterous Correspondence Bill, the solicitor general observed, that in order to obviate every objection, several alterations had been made, which would be proposed as amendments; but these, with whatever other amendments might be suggested, he thought it would be best to pass without going into any length of discussion, in order that the whole might be printed, and recommitted on a future night for a final consideration.

Mr. Fox coincided in this opinion. He was happy to perceive that gentlemen opposite to him had so forcibly felt several of his objections, as to make the alterations of themselves.

When the solicitor general proposed that the operation of the bill should commence on the 20th of April, great opposition ensued, and an amendment was made, proposing the 10th of May, which was negatived.

The clause which prohibits the selling, delivering, &c. certain articles, or *agreeing to sell*, &c. the same, was strongly objected to by Mr. Fox and Mr. Erskine; and the latter declared he would move as an amendment to expunge the words *agreeing to sell*. The attorney general, in justifying the bill, observed that an act had been passed in the reign of William and Mary to avoid the precise evils which the act before them was intended to prevent. By that act it was declared high treason to send a variety of articles therein specified to France.—In answer to this, Mr. Erskine read a passage from Blackstone's Commentaries, in which that great man expresses his decided disapprobation of extending the law of treason. Coining, which was made high treason even by the 25th of Edw. I. was condemned by Blackstone, as not comprehended within the essence or principle of *proditio* or treason. Of that law

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W. Hodges R.A. pinx.

A View of Calcutta, ta

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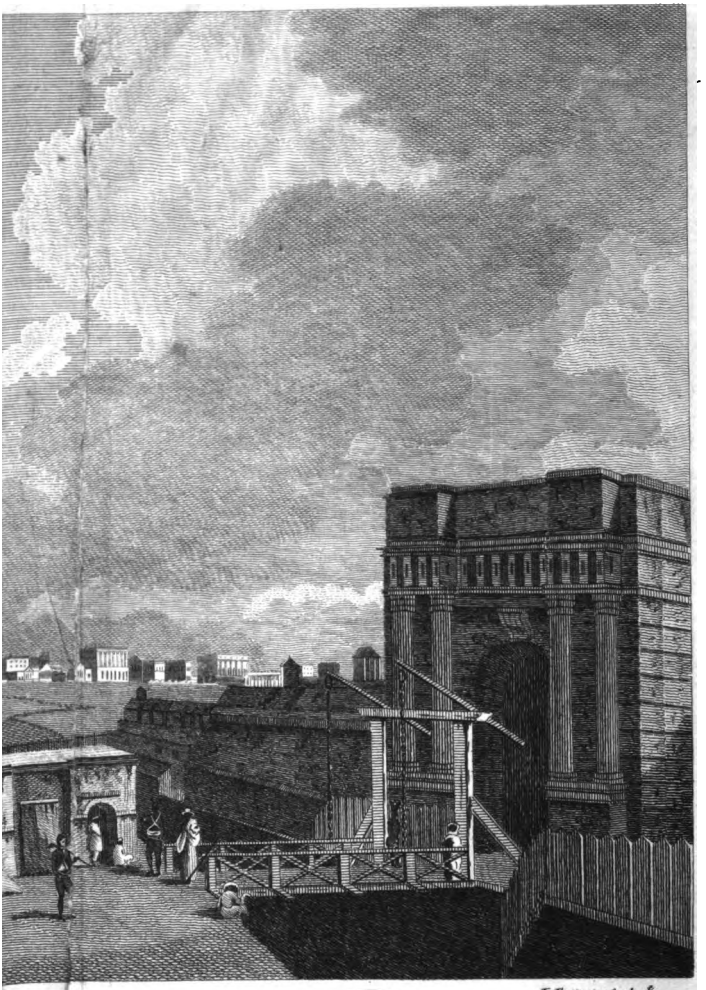

J. Eastgate, sculp.

n from Fort William.

Londn. May 4. 1793.

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yers were so perfectly persuaded, as to be obliged to have recourse to ingenuity to reconcile it to the principle, by saying that the coiner by the act usurps a part of the royal prerogative. With respect to the act of William and Mary, the circumstances of those times and these were widely different. During that reign were two rivals, James and William; while the nation was so equally divided in attachment between them, that no man would deny, that if James had not deserted the realm, his posterity would now have been seated on the throne of Great Britain. The abdicated prince had a great party in England; he was protected by Louis XIV, the most powerful monarch Europe ever saw; while the interests and adherents of William were kept together by the extraordinary ability that distinguished his character.—The palace of St. Germain vied in splendour with that of Great Britain; and in the number of noblemen, gentlemen, and others, that followed the fortunes of the exiled king, and endeavoured, by the aid of France, to effect a counter-revolution, British subjects were daily, for the purpose of plotting against the established government of their country, passing and repassing. In such a situation of affairs, the act of William was necessary: but could the learned gentleman slander his countrymen by asserting that any such dangers existed at present, to induce him to extend treasons to a greater length than the legislators immediately after the revolution, who certainly had as great respect for liberty as any of the present day, and knew as well how to prepare a bill; yet, notwithstanding the real dangers surrounding them, had not made a simple agreement liable to the penalties of death?

The debate now became exceeding desultory; and, on a division, Mr. Erskine's amendment was negatived by ayes 44, noes 131; majority for ministry 87.

[To be continued.]

THE THEATRE.

ON Wednesday, April 3, a new Comedy, called FALSE COLOURS, was performed for the first time at the King's theatre, Haymarket.

This comedy is ascribed to Mr. Morris, the author of The Adventurers, played at Drury-lane. The characters are as follows:

Sir Paul Panic, Mr. King; lord Visage, Mr. Suett; sir Harry Cecil, Mr. Wroughton; Montague, Mr. Barrymore; Tony, Mr. Wewitzer; Subtle, Mr. R. Palmer; Grotesque, Mr. Bannister, jun.—Lady Panic, Miss Pope; Harriet, Mrs. Goodall; Lucy, Miss Heard; Constance Evelyn, Miss Farren.

Sir Harry Cecil, a man of strong feelings, and sick of the flattery which has been heaped on him since his accession to a fortune and title by the death of his brother, wishes to find a woman who can love him without a view to these considerations. For this purpose, being on a visit to sir Paul Panic's, where his introduction is by letter, he persuades captain Montague, a new friend, to exchange names with him. They are introduced, each in his assumed character, at Panic-hall, to a group of originals. Sir Paul is nervous and hypochondriac. Lady Panic is a would-be authoress, at the head of a dilettanti theatre. Her aid de camp is Grotesque, a caricaturist; and lord Visage is a professor of the system of Lavater, who reads countenances, and from chins and noses infers even the minutiæ of character!

The characters thus grouped are drawn with skill, and opposed with admirable pleasantry. The false baronet first makes love to Harriet, the niece of sir Paul, from whom he obtains a promise of marriage; but veering to Constance, the richer ward, he wishes to transfer his friend to the niece. The affections of Constance fix, however, on the pretended captain, even while he is involved in a thousand disgraces, in consequence of the name which he has assumed. The character and duplicity of the real Montague are at length developed, and sir Harry is at the same time restored to his rank, and blessed with the hand of his discriminating Constance.

This comedy is marked with strong observation. The livelier parts are comic in the true sense of that word: they are keenly pleasant, rather than broadly humorous. The theories of Lavater, just in their first principles, but ridiculous in their extremes, form a new subject on the stage.

The comedy was well supported in all its parts, but particularly by King and Bannister, Miss Pope and Miss Farren. It was given out for the next evening with repeated approbation.

On

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On Thurſday, April 4, a new Comic Opera, called The ARMOURER, was repreſented for the firſt time at Covent-garden theatre, reported to be from the pen of Mr. Cumberland. Its plot is founded on the ſimple incident of ſir Theodore de Courcy, a baron in the time of Edward the Black Prince, being ſent into exile, and leaving his daughter under the care of an Armourer, for whoſe child ſhe in conſequence paſſes.

Ben Bluſter, a vaſſal ſet on by the duke of Somerſet, attempts to carry her off by force, but in a conflict with the Armourer and his men, is knocked down and ſuppoſed to be killed; in conſequence of which the Armourer is carried to priſon, whence he is at laſt releaſed on the re-appearance of Bluſter, who diſcovers the conſpiracy, and expreſſes his repentance: which circumſtance, with the union of Fitz-Allan and Roſamond, the daughter of De Courcy, whoſe affections are previouſly gained by her lover under the aſſumed name of Carol, concludes the piece.

The epiſodical parts conſiſt of a friar, a taylor and his wife, a cowardly ſuitor of Roſamond's, and a town-clerk, who afford ſome amuſement in their ſeveral capacities; but the opera, though above the uſual run in point of language, is not altogether very lively or entertaining. The ſongs are poetical and pleaſing. The muſic is a ſelection from Shield's compoſitions, and contains ſome pretty airs.

On Thurſday, April 18, a new Comedy, called HOW TO GROW RICH, was performed for the firſt time at the ſame theatre. It is the production of Mr. Reynolds, author of The Dramatiſt, Notoriety, &c. He has given a light comedy, which manifeſts more of the ſubſtance of the drama, than any of his former fables. It was received throughout with the loudeſt applauſe. The characters were thus repreſented:

Pavé, Mr. Lewis; Small-trade, Mr. Quick; Walford, Mr. Pope; ſir Thomas Roundhead, Mr. Munden; ſir Charles Dazzle, Mr. Farren; Simkin, Mr. Blanchard; Latitat, Mr. Fawcett; Nab, Mr. Cubit.—Roſa, Mrs. Davis; Miſs Dazzle, Miſs Chapman; lady Henrietta, Mrs. Pope.

The outline of the fable is briefly this: ſir Charles Dazzle and his ſiſter move in the higher ſphere of life, not in conſequence of any real fortune, but by keeping a Pharo-table, fleecing their viſitors, and taking every advantage of their foibles as circumſtances and occaſion offer. Miſs Dazzle ſolicits Small-trade, a country banker, to join their firm, and take a third of their table, as a ſure means of getting ſpeedily rich. He liſtens to her propoſal, and dreſſes himſelf out in a gaudy ſuit, to make a figure with among the company who frequent the pharo bank. While there, Pavé and Walford (the former of whom has been a hanger-on upon ſir Charles Dazzle, and lived upon his promiſes for five years) call at ſir Charles', the one to reſcue lady Henrietta from the danger ſhe runs of being plundered, and the other by chance. Pavé ſees Small-trade, and informs him that a little country banker is intended to be made a pigeon, and to be well plucked. Small-trade, who had been eager to ſign articles of partnerſhip, and angry with his nephew Walford for not bringing them ſooner, and for remonſtrating with him on the probable ruinous conſequences of his engaging in ſo infamous a partnerſhip, on hearing Pavé's declaration, takes alarm, and inſtead of ſigning the articles, tears them in pieces, and gets out of the houſe as faſt as poſſible. Walford wiſhes to ſave lady Henrietta, but cannot effect his purpoſe. She plays at cards with ſir Charles, who ſtrips her of 1500l. and having a latent deſign to get her in his power, commiſſions Latitat, his attorney, to arreſt her. Latitat, accompanied by Nab, a bailiff, waits upon lady Henrietta, and takes her into cuſtody. Juſt as they are about to convey her to Nab's houſe, Walford enters and diſcharges the debt and coſts, informing her that he was accommodated with the ſum wanted by her uncle ſir Thomas Roundhead, who was extremely deſirous of ſeeing her and reſtoring her to his affection. Sir Thomas being a magiſtrate, is diſcovered on the ſeat of juſtice, and diſmiſſes all who are brought before him, except Simkin, a miller's ſon, who had been caught in the act of killing a hare. His worſhip commits Simkin to the county jail for poaching on his manor, which he conſiders as an unpardonable and moſt heinous offence. No ſooner has he determined on Simkin's fate, than Roſa, the daughter of the miniſter of the pariſh, and god-daughter of ſir Thomas, enters with her fowling piece and plenty of game which ſhe had ſhot. The old knight vexed at the ſlaughter of hares and partridges, which Roſa had made, bids her return to her father's, and no longer conſider herſelf as his adopted ward and intended heir. Lady Henrietta then

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then returns to her uncle sir Thomas', and the old man insists on her marrying sir Charles Dazzle, whom he means to bring in as member for the borough in which he resides.—Lady Henrietta is shocked at the proposal, being convinced that sir Charles is her inveterate enemy, and determines at any rate to avert so dreaded a destiny. Pavé hearing accidentally that the minister is in the vicinage, misconceives the information, and imagines that the minister of the country, instead of the minister of the parish, is at hand; he feeds his hopes therefore of accidentally winning his favour, and soon meeting with Rosa Medium, and learning that she is the minister's daughter, makes up to her, and rejoices to find that the tender of his hand is not slighted. Under the influence of this equivoque, he gives himself airs of importance, treats sir Thomas Roundhead with great familiarity, passes upon him for the minister's intended son-in-law, and through the aid of lady Henrietta, obtains an agreement for an annuity of a thousand a year, on his marriage with Rosa, and the greatest part of sir Thomas' fortune at his death. While matters are in this train, Latitat, who is the returning officer of the borough, prepares for the election, being directed by sir Thomas to return sir Charles Dazzle, whom the knight wished to unite with lady Henrietta; but accidentally meeting with Pavé, of whom, in the assumed character of a peer, he had borrowed 1000l. is obliged to accommodate with the latter by consenting to return him member. This event takes place, Walford is rewarded for his virtue and honour with the hand of lady Henrietta, and Pavé, after nobly returning the engagement for the annuity to sir Thomas, is married to Rosa.

CONTINENTAL ADVICES.

Hague, March 25.

Lieutenant Western, of his majesty's frigate the Syren, who was unfortunately killed on the 21st, by a shot from the enemy's entrenched battery at the Noord Post, was buried yesterday in the church of Dordrecht, with military honours, and with every solemnity that could mark regard to the memory of a young officer, who had shewn on all occasions an active and steady courage, and an ardent desire to distinguish himself. His royal highness the duke of York was present, with the officers and troops under his command. The funeral was also attended by the officers and crews of the English gun-boats.—*Lond. Gaz.*

Hague, March 26. Accounts have been received here from the prince of Saxe Cobourg, dated Breibeck near Louvain, the 23d instant, stating, that on the preceding day he had attacked the French, who were advantageously posted between Tirlemont and Louvain; that the engagement was long and obstinate; but that the French were beat, and driven beyond Louvain, and were then posted behind the Dyle, between Louvain and Brussels.—*Ib.*

Hague, March 28. A letter was this morning received express from captain Bentinck, dated yesterday, at Bois-le-Duc, containing intelligence from Antwerp and Maestricht that the advanced guard of the Austrian army entered Brussels, on the 24th at noon; that the French army was posted at Halle; that the country, from Bois-le-Duc to Lier, was clear of the enemy; and that the French force still at Breda, amounted to 4000, and that at Gertruydenberg to 2500 men.

Accounts are also received that Diest was taken on the 20th, in an attack by colonel Mylius; that a considerable magazine was left by the French at Louvain; and that, in the affair of the 22d, the Austrians had 1000 men killed and wounded, and the French had 4000 killed.—*Lond. Gaz.*

Hague, March 30. Intelligence has been received here, that the citadel of Namur is taken by the Austrians, and that a considerable body of the Austrian troops has been detached from that place to join the prince of Saxe Cobourg's army.—*Ib.*

Ostend, March 30. The French troops left this town for Dunkirk, about three o'clock this afternoon, and at four, one of his Britannic majesty's cutters entered the port. Most of the prizes had sailed before the cutter arrived; the others, which were to have sailed this day, are stopped. Three English brigs are still here, under the care of the British consul.—*Ib.*

Hague, April 2. On the 30th ultimo, in the evening, prince Frederick of Orange obtained an advantage over the French, near Gertruydenburgh, in an action which lasted near three hours. The loss of the Dutch

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Dutch was, a captain of grenadiers and six ſoldiers killed, and ſeveral wounded; 150 French were taken, with a lieutenant-colonel, a captain and lieutenant, ſeveral horſes, and a piece of cannon. Yeſterday, the hereditary prince was with his corps at Haigie, about half a league from Breda. All hoſtilities were ſuſpended both there and at Gertruydenburgh. The articles of capitulation, both for Breda and Gertruydenburgh, are now ſuppoſed to be finally ſettled: in the mean time thoſe places continue to be blockaded by two corps of troops, under the hereditary prince of Orange and his brother prince Frederick.

Accounts are received here that the French have evacuated Antwerp and Mons; and that the army, under the command of general Dumourier, has retreated toward Valenciennes and Liſle.—*Lond. Gaz.*

Hague, April 4. Intelligence has been received from general Clairfayt, dated at Tournay, the 2d inſtant, adviſing, that general Dumourier had that morning ſent to him as priſoners, Monſ. Bournonville, Monſ. Camus, and other commiſſioners, who had been authorized by the national convention to apprehend him, and conduct him to their bar; and that, in a letter which he at the ſame time wrote to general Clairfayt, he declared his intention to march the next morning with his army for Paris.—*Ib.*

Bergen-op-Zoom, April 4. Intelligence has been received, from the prince of Saxe Cobourg's head-quarters at Mons, that an armiſtice had been agreed upon between his ſerene highneſs and general Dumourier, the latter having previouſly conſented to evacuate the Auſtrian Netherlands and Dutch Brabant: that general Dumourier ſet out on the 3d inſtant, on his march to Paris: that his ſerene highneſs had put his troops into very cloſe cantonments, keeping them in immediate readineſs to act: that the king of Pruſſia had croſſed the Rhine at Buchera, attacked the French at Bingen, Creutznach, and Altheim, took general Neuwinger, fifty officers, 200 non-commiſſioned officers and privates, fifteen cannon and a military cheſt, and had formed the blockade of Mentz: that general Wurmſer, with a Pruſſian corps, was immediately to paſs the Rhine at Manheim, and act on the left of the king: that Worms and Oppenheim were evacuated, and that the enemy had retreated from thoſe places toward Landau. Theſe operations happened between the 27th of March, and the 1ſt of April.—*Ib.*

Coblentz, April 1. A detachment from the French army, of about 2000 men, has been defeated by prince Louis of Pruſſia, at a village behind his Pruſſian majeſty's head-quarters. In this action above 900 men and 45 officers (of whom four were field officers) were taken priſoners: the Pruſſians alſo took five pieces of cannon and two pair of colours.

The Pruſſians have reached the banks of the Rhine near Oppenheim, and cut off all communication between France and Mentz, which is hemmed in on every ſide. On the night of the 31ſt ultimo, his Pruſſian majeſty eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Gunterſblum: his advanced poſts were, on the one hand, beyond Oppenheim, and, on the other, at Worms. The prince royal (who commands the reſerve) is at Ingelheim, between which and the head-quarters a great body of the army is cantoned, with its front toward Menzt. The cavalry occupy chiefly the villages between Oppenheim and Altzey, fronting toward France. On their right is the corps of Auſtrians, which prince Hohenloe has left under the command of general Kalcreuther. The bridge of pontoons is removed from Bacarach to Bingen.—*Lond. Gaz.*

Antwerp, April 8. Intelligence has been received here, that general Dumourier has quitted his army and retired to Mons, where he now is. He was accompanied by about 1000 horſe, and from 1 to 2000 infantry. After his departure the French army is ſaid to have broken to pieces: many went home, and others threw themſelves into the neighbouring garriſons of Liſle, Valenciennes, Condé, Maubeuge, &c. The ſtrong and important poſt of Maulde being left nearly open, a detachment of the prince de Cobourg's army took poſſeſſion of it yeſterday, and formed the blockade of Condé. The armiſtice has been declared to be at an end.—*Ib.*

Pruſſian head-quarters at Gunterſblum, March 31. The corps under the prince of Hohenloe paſſed the Rhine near Bingen the 29th of March, and advanced to Arnſheim. The flying corps under colonel Szekely purſued the enemy, who were retreating from Kreutznach to Worms, as far as Alzey; without having been able to annoy them or overtake them. We went with the grand army from Bingen, in the direction of Arnſheim and Odernheim, to Alzheim. By this movement we cut off a part of Cuſtine's army, who retreated to Worms, in a way that reſembled flight more than a retreat. Many

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Many prisoners were made by the way.

On the 30th, we took the garrison of Alzheim prisoners, consisting of a captain and sixty horse, of whom not one escaped.

The French garrisons of Gensheim, Eich, and Hamm, consisting of two battalions of infantry, and four cannon, united their forces, with a view to occupy the chaussée leading to Worms. Wolffrath's hussars attacked them, took a cannon, and some prisoners. The enemy then retreated behind the Old Rhine, near Eich; toward evening they shewed themselves upon the chaussée near Rhine Turcheim. Lieutenant-general prince of Wurtemberg got before them with his regiment of cavalry, and prince Louis, the king's son, charged them with three squadrons of the dragoons of Anspach and Bareith with such vigour, that, assisted by the riding artillery under captain Meyler, he forced them to lay down their arms. —There were three cannon taken, with six colours, the military chest, and 1200 prisoners, among whom were 40 officers.

The king appointed his son to the rank of colonel, and expressed his marked approbation of the prince of Wurtemberg. The prince of Hohenloe, colonel Szekely, and general Kohler pursued the enemy's rear guard, which was posted near Homberg, attacked, routed it, and took a great number of prisoners.

Toward night, when we were in quarters at Alzheim, the enemy appeared toward Mentz: they were the garrisons of Oppenheim and Nierstein, which had been cut off. The prince of Hohenloe went to meet them, with the battalion of Martini and his own regiment: they stood the fire of the artillery, but retreated when they found themselves within musquet-shot.

On the 31st, the army united; one part facing toward Worms, and the other toward Mentz. Our posts extend to Nierstein on the Mentz side, and to Osthofen on the Worms side. The enemy has set fire to his magazines at Worms and Neuhausen. At Bingen, Kreutznach, Alzey, and Nierstein we have taken four magazines. In the expedition we have made near 2000 prisoners. We have lost hardly 100 killed and wounded.

April 1. Colonel Szekely has just reported that he is marching toward Frankendal, to save, if possible, the magazine. The enemy has evacuated Worms. Our advanced parties were yesterday at Oggerstein.—*Lond Gaz.*

Aranjuez, March 1. Orders have been issued for all the French, not *domiciliés* in Spain for a limited time, to leave Madrid within forty-eight hours, and the kingdom in twenty days.—*Ib.*

AFFAIRS OF FRANCE,

Continued from Page 230.

THE national convention had scarcely organized their dreadful revolutionary tribunal, when accounts were brought of insurrections in various quarters against the existing government. In the sitting of Monday, March 18, it was announced, that the communication between Nantz and Rennes was intercepted by a number of insurgents; that a plan was in agitation at Paris to destroy the convention, and renew a monarchical government; that in the department of the Straits of Calais, the counter-revolutionists did every thing they could to impede the recruiting; that, in two districts, the commissioners sent by the department, had been insulted by the aristocrats, and their lives threatened; that the departments of Vendee and the Two Sevres were in the possession of the insurgents, who had also seized on the district of Cholet, and set fire to it; that the forces sent to quell these counter-revolutionists had been repulsed with loss; and that the aristocrats are provided with artillery. At the same time, a letter was read from the national commissioners at Orleans, informing the convention, that Leonard Bourden, one of their colleagues, had been nearly murdered by the aristocrats, who told him to go and join Le Pelletier. The municipality, they added, instead of punishing, countenanced the atrocious act; and the administrators of the department only represented it to the assembly as a slight quarrel.—On the other hand, the convention was informed, that the rebels at Amiens had been repulsed with the loss of 500 men. To counterbalance this again, it was announced, that the counter-revolutionists were in force in the departments of Ille and Villaine, to the number of 800; that they were possessed of about ten leagues of the country, had cut off several communications, and had driven the troops of the line, the national guards, and the

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gens d'armes, as far as Chateau Briaud; that they had murdered a mayor, his ſon, and a conſtitutional rector. They ſaid it was time the cap of liberty ſhould be thrown down. The convention ordered a proper force to be ſent againſt them.

Barrere moved, that the republic ſhould be declared in a ſtate of revolution, and that whoever propoſed an Agrarian law, (a propoſition which had miſled the people) ſhould be puniſhed with death. The latter the aſſembly decreed unanimouſly.

A decree was iſſued, ordering the counter-revolutioniſts in cuſtody at Rennes, Lamballe, &c. to be brought to Paris; and the city of Orleans was declared in a ſtate of rebellion.

On Tueſday, March 19, more diſaſtrous news was announced from the department of Mayenne and Loire, dated Angers the 17th inſt. The ſucceſs of the rebels had been ſuch as required the moſt vigorous meaſures. All that part ſeparated on the ſouth by the Loire was in their power. The patriots of Saint Florent had been murdered by them; they had pillaged the public treaſures of the diſtrict, and carried off the records.—Chemilly had ſuffered in the ſame manner. On the 16th there had been an engagement, when the patriots were vanquiſhed. Saumur was threatened. The magiſtrates had aſſembled the ſcattered forces, to offer a reſolute front to the counter-revolutioniſts. Couriers were gone to the neighbouring departments to demand aſſiſtance. All communication with the Lower Loire was interrupted. The plunderers were maſters of Ancenis. They all wore the white cockade. They demanded a king, and the recal of the emigrants. The preſident of the department terminated his letter by informing the convention, that the domeſtics of the ci-devant nobles, and ſome prieſts, having kindled firſt of all the fire of diſcord, 200 of them had been made priſoners; and he demanded the eſtabliſhment of a revolutionary tribunal, to do juſtice to the traitors upon the very ſpot.

When this letter was finiſhed, a deputy from Mayenne and Loire ſaid, he was informed that Saumur was actually beſieged: it might hold out for ſome time, being ſituated between the confluence of the Cher and the Loire, if it received ſpeedy ſuccours. Different propoſitions were then made:—one to break every correſpondence with ſuch countries with which they were at war, to drive from the republic all ſtrangers, except thoſe who had been ſettled before the 14th of July 1789.—This was referred to the diplomatic committee.

At this period, the national convention ſeemed not to be under any appearance of a reverſe of fortune in the Netherlands. On the contrary, the commiſſioners to the Belgic army wrote from Bruſſels, on the 18th (the very day that general Dumourier received a ſignal defeat. *See Continental Advices.*) that they had divided the department of Jemappe into three diſtricts, and that they muſt add Tournay to them to form a fourth.—But accounts of the moſt diſaſtrous events now poured in upon them. The particulars of theſe events, which produced the entire evacuation of the Netherlands, and of all the viſionary ideas of republican aggrandizement, will be found in our Continental Advices: In this article we ſhall ſpeak only of the effects which they produced in France.

On Thurſday, March 21, it was announced, that the inſurgents in the department of the Lower Loire, had attacked general Marcé on the 18th, with 1300 men, and ſeven pieces of cannon, and had been repulſed with the loſs of 100 men: the general having received a reinforcement of 1000 men, was preparing to purſue them on the 19th.

The next day, on receiving the account of general Dumourier's defeat on the 18th, in which it appeared that the left wing, under general Miranda, had fled, the convention decreed, that the executive council ſhould enquire into the cauſes of the defeat of that wing.

On Saturday, March 23, the convention was informed that Bourdeaux had ſent two battalions of 800 men each, to aid in quelling the inſurrections; deputies extraordinary from the departments of Vendee and the Two Sevres brought intelligence, that general Marcé had been defeated by the inſurgents on Tueſday near Chantonay, and obliged to abandon the place with his wounded and artillery; and that the commiſſioners had ſuſpended Marcé, and given the command to Boullard, lieutenant-colonel of infantry. The miniſter at war then ſtated, that he was forming an army of reſerve at Orleans on account of the inſurrections; and it was decreed that general Marcé be tried by a court-martial at Rochelle.

On Sunday, March 24, the commiſſioners with the Belgic army ſtated, that they had ſuſpended general Miranda, and the colonel of the 73d regiment of infantry; and it was decreed that the general and

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and the colonel be brought prisoners to the bar. A letter from Nantz, stated that city to be in the middle of a civil war, and that the insurgents, within a circumference of three leagues, were not overrated at 40,000.

On Monday, March 25, it was announced, that the road from Nantz to Angers was open, that the national guards had destroyed the entrenchments made by the insurgents; that a great number of the leaders of the latter were apprehended; that more than 1000 of them were killed, and as many in prison; and the commissioners at Rennes wrote, that the insurgents had been beaten and dispersed in various actions, and that the prisons were full of them.

The minister at war announced the retreat of Dumourier to the French frontier, of which he said it would be *improper* to publish the detail. This was received with murmurs.

On Tuesday, March 26, a letter from the commissioners at Rennes, dated March 23, stated, that five departments were covered with insurgents, and called for additional forces. The executive council gave an account of the progress of the revolt, by which it appeared, that although the insurgents had been beaten in various places, they had prevailed on the peasants in the neighbourhood of Brest to join them.

On Thursday, March 28, a letter from the directory of the department of Eure and Loire announced that the rebels had been beaten near Saumur and Angers, and 1200 of them taken prisoners.

A letter from the commissioners to the Belgic army, dated Lisle, March 27, stated, that, although their mission was at an end, in consequence of the total evacuation of Belgium, they thought their presence with the army necessary, and should wait for farther orders.

On Friday, March 29, a letter from the commissioners at Angers, dated Mar. 25, said, the troops were marching from different points against the rebels, of whom they hoped the republic would soon be purged, as their means did not equal their frenzy. Santerre announced, that Paris was quiet, and he hoped would continue so; and Lamarque, from the committee of general safety, reported, that numberless pamphlets were circulated exhorting the people to set the son of the late king on the throne, dissolve the convention, recal the priests, and re-establish tythes. On this, the convention decreed, that whoever shall be convicted of composing or printing writings for the restoration of monarchy in France, or the dissolution of the national representation, shall be punished with death: the venders and distributors of such writings to be punished with three months imprisonment, if they discover the authors; if not, with two years in the galleys.

On Saturday, March 30, the commissioners to the department of the Upper Loire wrote, that the insurgents had been dispersed, and several of their leaders taken.

M. Camus then appeared, and said: 'The committee of general defence has charged me to propose to you measures of safety, resolved upon this night, in presence of a great number of deputies, and after a long deliberation.

'Dispatches, arrived yesterday from the army, inform us, that the most odious plots are in agitation for the destruction of the republic. We do not yet know the whole, but we shall soon be in possession of it. I propose,

1. To order general Dumourier to the bar.

2. That the minister at war shall instantly set out to examine the state of the army of the north.

3. That four commissioners, members of the convention, shall repair to the said army, with powers to suspend and arrest all generals and military officers whom they shall suspect, and bring them to the bar.'

This decree was passed almost unanimously; and Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal, were appointed commissioners.

On Sunday, March 31, it was announced, that the whole province of Brittany was in arms; that the rebels were encamped all along the left bank of the Loire, from Ingrande to Maure; that they had erected batteries, and, to the number of 3000, had entrenched themselves with 36 pounders. They had been attacked by the national guards with great vigour; and in this battle 200 of the rebels were slain, and 300 made prisoners; the latter were all of them massacred in cold blood by the patriots. Notwithstanding this, the counter-revolutionists assembled in force, and made 85 patriots prisoners. Speedy succours, says the letter, are absolutely necessary, for the country is in imminent danger, and the rebels cry out, 'Vive les Anglais.' They have very experienced leaders. Melinet demanded, that the marine minister should send all the maritime

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force he could collect, to cruize on the coasts. The marine minister wrote word, that the city of Painbœuf has been saved from the invasion of the rebels, through the valour of a captain of artillery, and some sailors belonging to two French frigates. On hearing this news, the convention ordered that the marine minister should send some men of war and frigates to oppose the designs of the English.

On Monday, April 1, the minister of the marine gave an account of the measures which had been taken for the defence of the coasts of the insurgent departments. There were at that moment cruizing on the coasts of the departments of Vendee, and the Lower Loire, eight frigates from 36 to 50 guns, with eight smaller vessels.

A letter from general Dumourier to the war minister, dated March 28, describes the army as in a state of the greatest disorder, and not having provisions for more than ten days: he says, that the pretended succours of men from the departments of the North consist only of old men and children, who, so far from being useful, serve only to increase the confusion, and consume the provisions. He declares, that if order and discipline be not restored; that if 50 authorities, each more absurd than the other, continue to direct all political and military operations, France is lost; he affirms, that it is impossible for him to stop the progress of the enemy, who, without amusing themselves with sieges, may, with an army of 20,000 cavalry, lay waste and reduce to ashes all that part of the country which is in the neighbourhood of Paris. Dumourier concludes this melancholy representation of the state of affairs, with bestowing eulogiums on the clemency and moderation of the Austrians, who were entitled to the more praise, as from the example of cruelty and outrage which the French had exhibited, a very different conduct on their part might have been expected. I, says he, have always affirmed, and I repeat, that a republic can only be founded on virtue, and that freedom can be maintained only by order and wisdom.'

A letter was read from the administrators of Maine and Loire, stating, that there was every reason to hope that the insurgents would soon be dispersed, and that those of them who had been taken had been tried by martial law, and immediately executed. To this letter was added a copy of the examination of one of the insurgents, named Cartino, from which it appeared that the insurgents assumed the title of the Christian Army, and that their signal for rallying was 'Vive le Roi, la Reine, l'Aristocratie!' It was stated also, that they had declared for a king—that they at first amounted only to fifty—that they had afterward increased to 12,000, and that they had 25 pieces of cannon.

On Tuesday, April 2, Tailleser demanded, that the committee of general defence should examine if, at the present moment, the convention might not enlarge its powers, and charge itself with the execution of its decrees. Another member, enumerating the suspicions raised against the executive council, cited several charges against Bournonville.—The discussion was closed by a decree, that each minister should present, within twenty-four hours, the situation of the republic, as far as his particular department was concerned.

The commissioners at Rochelle announced, that the people of Nantz, assisted by their neighbours, had made a successful and dreadful sortie against the revolters—1100 of them were killed upon the spot, and an equal number made prisoners.

The popular society of Toulon denounced general Paoli as a supporter of despotism, who, in concert with the administrators of the department, had inflicted every kind of hardship upon the patriots, at the same time favouring the emigrants and the refractory priests. They demanded that his head should fall under the avenging sword of the law.

Lasource said, 'When the inhabitants of Corsica combated for their liberty, general Paoli, who was at their head, appeared to support their cause, that he might obtain a throne which he had long regarded as his own: his object was to be declared king.—I demand his dismission.'

Marat accused him of being an intriguer, aspiring to the sovereignty of his island, and devoted to the English. He moved, that he should be put in a state of accusation.—After some debate, the convention decreed, that the procureur general syndic of the department of Corsica, and general Paoli, should be ordered to the bar, to give an account of their conduct.

On Thursday, April 4, the convention received advice of the treason of Dumourier, who had arrested and sent prisoners to the Austrians, M. Bournonville, the war minister, and the four commissioners of the national convention, who had been sent to arrest him. In consequence of this, the next day it was proposed, that the superior officers

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officers who might be taken ſhould be brought to Paris, to anſwer with their heads for the lives of the war miniſter and the commiſſioners delivered by Dumourier into the hands of the enemy. A decree was accordingly iſſued for that purpoſe; but the execution of it, on the motion of Mallarine, ſuſpended, till the report of the committee of national ſafety.

A letter was read from the commiſſioners of the department of Ille, ſtating, that all the poſts on the banks of the Villaine, occupied by the inſurgents, had been taken, and the paſſage re-eſtabliſhed.

On Saturday, April 6, a letter was read from the commiſſioners of the Northern army, dated Valenciennes, the 4th of April, informing the convention that the army of Dumourier were by degrees deſerting him. They ſaid that they had conferred the command of the army on general Dampriere, and concluded by announcing that they had juſt learnt general Dumourier had emigrated. They had arreſted his ſecretary.

On Sunday, April 7, after a warm debate, it was decreed that a committee of public ſafety ſhould be choſen, to conſiſt of nine members, with powers almoſt unlimited; but on this account they are to continue for one month only.

Letters were read from the commiſſioners at Valenciennes, acquainting the convention, that the camp at Maulde was diſbanding; and that Dumourier, Valence, Egalité, the two Thouvenots, and ſeveral other officers, with the commiſſary general Soliva, and moſt of the huſſars of Berchiny, had gone over to the Auſtrians. They added, that the army of the Ardennes, conſiſting of 20 battalions, with their artillery, &c. joined the army of Valenciennes, which conſiſted before of above 30,000 men.

Marat moved that the wives and children of the emigrants ſhould be taken into cuſtody, to anſwer for the lives of Bournonville and the other commiſſioners in the hands of the Auſtrians; the convention, however, on the motion of Foufrede, decreed that all the members of the Bourbon family ſhould be kept as hoſtages for their ſafety.

On Monday, April 8, Philippe Egalité ſent a letter to the convention, to know whether, as a repreſentative of the people, he was included in the decree againſt the family of the Bourbons. The convention unanimouſly decreed in the affirmative.

His ſeparated wife, herefofore the ducheſs of Orleans, requeſted, and obtained permiſſion, to be confined in her apartment.

A member aſſerted, that ſeveral perſons were aſſembling to prevent the execution of the decree which orders all the Bourbons to be arreſted. He added, that the people wiſhed to retain theſe hoſtages at Paris; and to diſappoint their manœuvres, he moved, that the committee of public ſafety ſhould be ordered to point out the place to which they ſhould be tranſported. This was decreed.

The ſtate of the northern frontiers was deſcribed to the convention, in a letter from the commiſſioners Carnot and Le Sage, who repreſented the zeal and celerity employed in providing the moſt efficacious means of defence. They added, that Dumourier was abandoned by his army. Upon his flight from St. Amand, ſeveral battalions had fired on him, had ſhot his horſe under him, and had arreſted the progreſs of his aid-de-camp, who was unhorſed. All the heavy artillery, &c. had been ſafely conveyed to Valenciennes.

The next day, it was decreed, that the individuals of the Bourbon family ſhould be confined in the city of Marſeilles.

A letter from the executive council, dated April 8, ſtated, that the city of Nantz was not yet free from diſturbance. The inſurgents were in conſiderable force on the left bank of the Loire. Being driven from the departments of Vendee and the Two Sevres, they had collected at Machecourt their proviſions, ammunition, and a formidable train of artillery; but gen. Labourdonnaye, who was at Nantz, only waited for a reinforcement of troops to attack them on all ſides.

Petitioners from the ſection of Bon-conſeil accuſed Gaudet, Verginaud, Genſonnet, &c. as accomplices with Dumourier, and requeſted they might be puniſhed. A violent tumult enſued, and ſeveral members moved, that the petitioners ſhould be driven from the hall, and ſent to the Abbaye. Others, among whom was Marat, inſiſted, on the contrary, that they ſhould be admitted to the honours of the ſitting, which was granted; but they were obliged to ſign their denunciation, and the convention paſſed to the order of the day, as a law exiſts for puniſhing calumniators, ſhould they fail in making out their charge.

On Wedneſday, April 10, it was decreed, that the commiſſioners ſent to the armies ſhould be veſted with unlimited powers.

The following letter, dated April 7, was received from the commiſſioners at Valen-

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Valenciennes: 'The whole army have deserted the standards of the traitor, and have come to range themselves under the standards of the republic, at the camp near Valenciennes, at Lisle, and at Douay. He has been followed only by his officers, the greater part of the hussars of Berchiny, and the 3d regiment of dragoons; but the latter begin to open their eyes, and desert in large bodies from Tournay. The soldiers have remained faithfully attached to their country; and there is no doubt but Dumourier would have been punished by his army had he not made a precipitate flight. The treasure, after being taken and retaken, is arrived at Valenciennes. It consists only of one million. Dumourier took care to place the large military chest in the enemy's country, before he attempted his grand project. Another part of the treasure has arrived at Douay, with some cavalry and infantry, who form in that place a numerous garrison.'

The commissioners in the department of Somme, when they received intelligence of Dumourier's treachery, had passed a decree, in which they declare, that every person who should approve his conduct should be declared a traitor, and worthy of death.—Albitte moved, that this decree should be approved by the convention.—Decreed.

Letters from generals Neuilly and D'Harville were read, declaring their resolution to continue faithful to the republic, and to obey the orders of the convention.

[To be continued.]

STATE PAPERS.

General DUMOURIER to the French Nation.

SINCE the commencement of the revolution, I have devoted myself to the maintenance of the liberty and honour of the nation.

The services I rendered in the year 1792, are the most memorable. Minister of foreign affairs during three months, I elevated and sustained the dignity of the French name throughout all Europe. I was calumniated by an odious cabal, by whom I was charged with having plundered six millions of livres destined for secret services. I have proved, that of this sum I did not expend half a million.

Having quitted the career of politics toward the close of the month of June, I commanded a small army in the department of the north. This department I was ordered to quit with my troops at the very time the Austrians entered in force that part of the republic. I disobeyed the order, saved the department, and an attempt was made to come on me by surprise, for the purpose of conveying me to the citadel of Mentz, where I was condemned by a council of war to suffer death.

On the 28th of August, I took upon me, in Champagne, the command of an army of twenty thousand men, weak, and without either discipline or organization. I arrested the progress of eighty thousand Prussians and Hessians, and forced them to retreat after they had sacrificed one half of their army. I was then the Saviour of France; and then it was that the most wicked of men, the opprobrium of Frenchmen—in a word, Marat, began to calumniate me without any mercy. With a part of the victorious army of Champagne, and some other troops, I entered, on the 9th of November, the Belgic provinces, where I gained the for-ever-memorable battle of Jemappe; and, after a succession of advantages, entered Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle toward the close of that month. From that moment my destruction was resolved on; and I have been accused of aspiring, now, to the title of duke of Brabant, now to the stadtholdership, and again to the dictatorship. To retard and crush my successes, the minister Pache, supported by the criminal faction to whom all our evils are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than fifteen thousand men were in the hospitals, more than twenty-five thousand deserted through misery and disgust, and upward of ten thousand horses died of hunger!

I transmitted to the national convention very strenuous remonstrances, which I followed up by repairing in person to Paris, to engage the legislators to apply a remedy to the evil: they did not even condescend to read the four memorials I delivered in. During the twenty-six hours I spent at Paris, I incessantly heard bands of pretended federates demand my head; and calumnies of every description, as well as menaces and insults, followed me even into the country to which I retired.

Having

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Having delivered in my reſignation, I was retained in the ſervice of my country, becauſe it was propoſed to me to negotiate the ſuſpenſion of the war againſt England and Holland, which I had conceived as indiſpenſable to the ſafety of the Netherlands. While I negotiated, and that ſucceſsfully, the national convention itſelf haſtened to declare war, without making any preparations, and without either power or means for its ſupport.

I was not even adviſed of this declaration, and learned it through the medium of the gazettes only. I haſtened to form a ſmall army of new troops, who had never fought; and with theſe troops, whom confidence rendered invincible, I made myſelf maſter of three ſtrong places, and was ready to penetrate into the middle of Holland, when I learned the diſaſter of Aix-la-Chapelle, the raiſing of the ſiege of Maeſtricht, and the ſad retreat of the army. By this army I was loudly ſummoned—I abandoned my conqueſts to fly to its ſuccour; and confidered that we could be extricated from our difficulties by a ſpeedy ſucceſs only. I led my companions in arms to the enemy. On the 16th of March, I had a conſiderable advantage at Tirlemont. On the 18th, I brought the enemy to a general action; and the centre and right wing, under my charge, were victorious. The left wing, after having attacked imprudently, fled. On the 19th, we retreated honourably with the brave men that were left together; for a part of the army diſbanded. On the 21ſt and 22d, we fought with the ſame courage; and to our firmneſs was owing the preſervation of the remains of an army which breathes ſolely for true liberty, for the reign of the laws, and for the extinction of anarchy.

It was then that the Marats, the Robeſpieres, and the criminal ſects of Jacobins of Paris, plotted the fall of the generals, and more eſpecially mine. Theſe villains, bribed with the gold of foreign powers, to complete the diſorganization of the armies, cauſed almoſt all the generals to be arreſted. They keep them in the jails of Paris to *Septemberize* them; for thus it is that theſe monſters have coined a word, to hand down to poſterity the remembrance of the horrid maſſacres of the firſt ſix days of September.

While I was employed in recompoſing the army, in which employment I laboured night and day, on the 1ſt of April, (yeſterday) four commiſſioners of the national convention reached me, with a decree purporting that I ſhould be brought to the bar of the convention itſelf. The war miniſter, Bournonville, (my pupil) was weak enough to accompany them to ſucceed me in my command. The perſons who were in the ſuite of theſe perfidious emiſſaries, informed me themſelves, that different groups of aſſaſſins, either fugitive from or driven out of my army, were diſperſed on the road to kill me before I could reach Paris. I ſpent ſeveral hours in endeavouring to convince the commiſſioners of the imprudence of this arreſt. Nothing could ſhake their pride; and I therefore arreſted the whole of them, to ſerve me as hoſtages againſt the crimes of Paris. I inſtantly arranged with the imperialiſts a ſuſpenſion of arms, and marched toward the capital, to extinguiſh, as ſpeedily as poſſible, the lighted embers of a civil war.

My dear countrymen! it is expedient that a true and brave man remove from you the veil which covers all our crimes and misfortunes. In 1789, we made great efforts to obtain liberty, equality, and the ſovereignty of the people. Our principles were conſecrated in the declaration of the rights of man; and there have reſulted from the labours of our legiſlators, 1ſt, the declaration which ſays that France is and ſhall remain a monarchy—2dly, a conſtitution to which we ſwore fealty in 1789, 90, and 91.

This conſtitution might, and indeed muſt have been imperfect; but it ought and might have been believed, that with time and experience its errors would be rectified, and that the neceſſary ſtrife between the legiſlative and executive powers would eſtabliſh a wiſe equilibrium, which would prevent either of theſe powers from ſeizing the whole of the authority, and of attaining deſpotiſm. If the deſpotiſm of a ſingle individual is dangerous to liberty, how much more odious muſt be that of ſeven hundred men, many of whom are void of principles, without morals, and who have been able to reach that ſupremacy by cabals or crimes alone!

Licentiouſneſs and exceſs ſoon rendered it impoſſible to ſupport the yoke of a conſtitution that gave laws. The tribunes influenced the aſſembly of repreſentatives, and were themſelves awed by the dangerous club of the Jacobins of Paris. The ſtrife between the two powers became at length a deadly combat. Then was the equilibrium deſtroyed; France ceaſed to have a king; and the victory of the 10th of Auguſt, was ſoiled by the atrocious crimes of the firſt days of September.

All the departments, but more eſpeci-

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ally

ally the city of Paris, were delivered up to pillage, to denunciations, proſcriptions, and maſſacres. No Frenchman, the aſſaſſins and their accomplices excepted, had either his life or his property in ſecurity! The conſternation of ſlavery was augmented by the clamorous orgies of villains; bands of pretended federates ran through and laid waſte the departments; and of the ſeven hundred individuals who compoſed this deſpotic and anarchical body, four or five hundred groaned and decreed, and decreed and groaned, expoſed to the exterminating ſwords of the Marats and Robeſpieres. It is thus that the unfortunate Louis XVI periſhed, without a judicial trial, and without a tribunal: and it is thus that the decree of the 19th of November, has provoked all nations, by holding out to them our aid, provided they will conſent to diſorganize themſelves. It is thus that the unjuſt and impolitic decree of the 15th of December has alienated from us the hearts of the Belgians, has driven us from the Netherlands, and would have brought about the maſſacre of our whole army by this nation, provoked at our outrages and our crimes, if I had not ſaved that very army by my proclamations. It is thus that a decree eſtabliſhed the bloody tribunal which places the lives of the citizens at the mercy of a ſmall number of iniquitous judges, without recourſe or appeal to any other tribunal. It is thus that during the laſt month all the decrees have been marked by the ſtamp of inſatiable avarice, by the blindeſt pride, and more eſpecially by the deſire of maintaining power, by calling to the moſt important poſts of the ſtate no other than daring, incapable, and criminal men; by driving away or murdering men enlightened and of a high character; and by ſupporting a phantom of a republic, which their errors in adminiſtration and in policy, as well as their crimes, had rendered impracticable. The ſeven hundred individuals deſpiſe, deteſt, calumniate, and revile each other; and have already, and that frequently, thought of poniarding each other. At this moment their blind ambition has impelled them to coaleſce afreſh; and bold criminality allies itſelf to feeble virtue, to preſerve a power as unjuſt as it is unſteady. In the mean time, their committees devour every thing; that of the national treaſury abſorbing the public funds, without being able to render any account of the expenditure.

What has this convention done to maintain the war it has provoked againſt all the powers of Europe?

It has diſorganized the armies inſtead of reinforcing and recruiting the troops of the line and the ancient battalions of national volunteers, which would have formed a reſpectable army. Inſtead of recompenſing theſe brave warriors by promotion and praiſes, theſe legiſlators have left the battalions incomplete, naked, diſarmed, and diſcontented. In the ſame way they have treated the excellent cavalry; and the brave French artillery is in the ſame manner exhauſted, abandoned, and in want of every neceſſary. They notwithſtanding create new corps compoſed of the ſatellites of the ſecond of September, and command them by men who have never ſerved, and who are in no other way to be dreaded, unleſs by the armies they ſurcharge and diſorganize.

The convention ſacrifices every thing to theſe ſatellites of tyranny, to theſe cowardly head-loppers. The choice of officers, and that of adminiſtrators, are in every particular the ſame: we ſee throughout the tyranny which flatters the wicked, becauſe the wicked can alone ſupport tyranny:—And, in its pride and its ignorance, this convention orders the conqueſt and diſorganization of the whole univerſe: it ſays to one of its generals, go and take Rome—and to another, ſally forth and take Spain—to the end that deſpoiling commiſſioners, ſimilar to thoſe horrid Roman proconſuls againſt whom Cicero declaimed, may be ſent thither. In the worſt ſeaſon of the year it ſends the only fleet it poſſeſſes into the Mediterranean, to ſplit and founder on the rocks of Sardinia, while it expoſes the fleets of Breſt to the fury of the ſtorms, by ſending them in queſt of an Engliſh fleet that has not yet left its port.

In the mean time, a civil war ſpreads through all the departments. Some of the inſurgents are excited by fanaticiſm, the neceſſary effect of perſecution; others, by an indignation at the tragical and fruitleſs end of Louis XVI, and others, finally, by the natural principle of reſiſting perſecution.

Arms are every where taken up; murders every where committed; and every where are pecuniary ſupplies and proviſions intercepted. The Engliſh foment theſe troubles; and will, by their ſuccours, ſupply fuel to them at their pleaſure. Soon will every one of our corſairs diſappear on the ocean; ſoon will the ſouthern department ceaſe to receive ſupplies of corn from Italy and Africa; and already have thoſe from the north and from America been intercepted by the ſquadrons of the enemies. Famine will annex itſelf to all our other ſcourges;

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ſcourges; and the ferocity of our canibals will but increaſe with our calamities.

Frenchmen! we have a rallying point which can ſtifle the monſter of anarchy: it is the conſtitution we ſwore to maintain in 1789, 90, and 91; it is the work of a free people; and we ſhall remain free, and ſhall recover our glory, by returning our conſtitution.

Let us diſplay our virtues, more eſpecially that of mildneſs; too much blood has already been ſpilled. If the monſters by whom we have been diſorganized chuſe to fly, let us leave them to meet their puniſhment elſewhere, if they do not find it in their own corrupted hearts; but if they wiſh to ſupport anarchy by new crimes, then ſhall the army puniſh them.

In the generoſity of the enemies we have ſo grievouſly outraged, I have found the ſecurity of external peace. Not only do they treat humanely and attentively our wounded, ſick, and priſoners, who fall into their hands—and all this in ſpite of the calumnies ſpread by our agitators to render us ferocious—but they engage to ſuſpend their march, not to paſs our frontiers, and to leave to our brave army the termination of all our internal diſſentions.

Let the ſacred torch of the love of our country awaken in us our virtue and our courage! At the bare name of the conſtitution civil war will ceaſe, or can no longer exiſt unleſs againſt certain malevolent men who will no longer be ſupported by foreign powers. Theſe have no hatred to any others among us except our factious criminals, and deſire nothing more fervently than to reſtore their eſteem and friendſhip to a nation whoſe errors and anarchy diſturb and trouble all Europe. Peace will be the fruit of this reſolution; and the troops of the line, as well as the brave national volunteers, who, for the ſpace of a year, have offered themſelves as willing ſacrifices to liberty, and who abhor anarchy, will repoſe in the boſom of their families, after having accompliſhed this noble work.

As to myſelf, I have already made an oath, and I repeat it to the whole nation, and in the preſence of all Europe, that immediately after having effected the ſafety of my country by the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution, of peace and good order, I ſhall abandon every public function, and I ſhall ſeek in ſolitude the enjoyment of the happineſs of my fellow-citizens.

DUMOURIER,
The General in Chief of the French Army.

Baths of St. Amand, April 2, 1793.

The Mareſchal Prince of SAXE COBOURG, General in Chief of the Armies of his Majeſty the Emperor, and of the Empire, to the FRENCH.

THE General in chief, Dumourier, has communicated to me his declaration to the French nation. In it I find the ſentiments and principles of a virtuous man, who truly loves his country, and who wiſhes to put an end to the calamities and anarchy by which it is deſolated, by procuring for it the happineſs of a conſtitution and a wiſe and permanent government. I know this alſo to be the unanimous wiſh of all the ſovereigns whom ſome factious perſons have armed againſt France, and particularly that of his majeſty the emperor and his Pruſſian majeſty.

Filled at this moment with eſteem for the bulk of ſo great and generous a nation, by whom the immutable principles of honour and juſtice were held ſacred, until, by the repetition of outrages, diſorders, and impoſtures, that part of it has been eſtranged and corrupted, which, under the maſk of humanity and of patriotiſm, ſpeaks of nothing but aſſaſſination and poniards:

Knowing alſo that this is the wiſh of all virtuous people in France:

Profoundly penetrated with theſe great truths, and deſiring nothing but the proſperity and glory of a country torn by ſo many convulſions and misfortunes:

I declare by the preſent proclamation, that I will ſupport, by all the force in my power, the generous and beneficent intentions of the general in chief, Dumourier, and his brave army.

I declare beſides, that, having lately fought us on ſeveral occaſions as a valiant, intrepid, and generous enemy, I will join a part of my troops, ſhould general Dumourier deſire it, or even all my army, to that of France, to co-operate, as friends and companions in arms, worthy of reciprocal eſteem, ſo as to reſtore to France her conſtitutional king, the conſtitution ſhe has choſen, and, as a neceſſary conſequence, the means of perfecting it, if the nation ſhould find it imperfect; thus to reſtore to France, as well as to the reſt of Europe, peace, confidence, tranquillity and happineſs. I therefore declare on my word of honour, that I will not enter the territory of France to make conqueſts, but ſimply and purely for the purpoſes abovementioned.

I further declare upon my word of honour, that ſhould the military operations require one or more fortreſſes to be given up to my troops, I will keep them merely as a ſacred truſt; and I engage in the moſt

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expreſs and poſitive terms, to reſtore them, as ſoon as the government which ſhall be eſtabliſhed in France, or the brave general, with whom I am about to make a common cauſe, ſhall demand ſuch a conceſſion. I alſo declare, that I will give the moſt ſtrict orders, and will take the moſt vigorous and effectual meaſures, that my troops ſhall not commit the leaſt diſorder; not allowing the ſmalleſt exaction or violence, and reſpecting every where on the territory of France, perſons and property. Any one belonging to my army who ſhall diſobey my orders to this effect, ſhall be immediately puniſhed with the moſt ignominious death.

Given at the head-quarters at Mons the 5th of April 1793.

THE PRINCE DE COBOURG.

HISTORICAL CHRONICLE.

MARCH 28.

THE Carteret packet boat, captain Hammond, returned to Dover, without having been permitted to land the mail. The following is an extract from the captain's journal: 'At ten A. M. ſailed from Dover with two French mails, wind at E. tide flowing, with moderate weather. At two and a half P. M. arrived in Calais road; ſame time received from a ſmall boat a verbal meſſage from the mayor and municipality of Calais to return immediately for England, nor would they receive the mails, or any paſſengers whatever.'

APRIL 1.

Mr. Pointer, of Eſſex, has juſt recovered ſeventy acres of land from the ſea, at the aſcertained expence of 344l. 2s. His mode of conſolidating his ſea-wall was, to roll it daily, for eight or nine months, with a roller nine-and-twenty hundred weight of draw, by ſix horſes.

APRIL 9.

This day came on the election of governor and deputy-governor of the Bank of England for the year enſuing, when Godfrey Thornton, eſq. was choſen governor, and Daniel Giles, eſq. deputy-governor.

APRIL 10.

This day came on the election of twenty-four directors, when the following gentlemen were choſen:

S. Beachcroft,	Joſeph Nutt,
T. Boddington,	Edward Payne,
S. Boſanquet,	John Pearſe,
Peter Cazalet,	George Peters,
Hicknell Coney,	John Puget,
Edward Darell,	Thomas Raikes,
Thomas Dea,	James Reed,
Beeſton Long,	Edward Simeon,
William Manning,	P. I. Theluſſon,
Jub Matthew,	Sam. Thornton,
William Melliſh,	Mark Weyland,
Richard Neave,	J. Whitmore, eſqrs.

And this day a general court was held at the India-houſe, for the election of ſix directors of the company, when Simon Fraſer, Charles Mills, Thomas Parry, Abram Robarts, David Scott, and George Tatem, eſqrs. were choſen without oppoſition.

APRIL 11.

This day a court of directors was held at the India-houſe, when, after the new directors had been ſworn in, William Devaynes and Thomas Cheap, eſqrs. were unanimouſly appointed chairman and deputy-chairman. The court adjourned at three o'clock to Wedneſday next.

A Liſt of the Eaſt India Directors for the Year 1793.

William Benſley,	Charles Mills,
Jacob Boſanquet,	Thomas Parry,
Jn. Smith Burges,	Thomas Pattle,
Thomas Cheap,	Abram Roberts,
Lionel Darrell,	John Roberts,
W. Devaynes, eſqrs.	David Scott,
Hon. W. Elphinſtone	Nat. Smith,
Walter Ewer,	George Tatem,
Thomas Fitzhugh,	Robert Thornton,
Simon Fraſer,	John Townſon,
John Hunter, eſqrs.	John Travers,
Sir Step. Luſhington, bart.	Ste. Williams, eſqrs.

APRIL 16.

Yeſterday the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was paſſed upon nine convicts, for the ſeveral offences whereof they ſtand capitally convicted; 35 were ſentenced to be tranſported beyond the ſeas for the term of ſeven years; ſix to be impriſoned in Newgate, 14 in Clerkenwell Bridewell, and ſix to be publicly whipped, and 29 diſcharged by proclamation.

Sophia Langford, Sarah Townſend, John Sharp, and Joſeph Spencer, convicts under ſentence of death, but whoſe execution had been reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure, were pardoned on condition of their being tranſported to the eaſtern coaſt of New South Wales for the term of their natural lives.

The

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The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey are adjourned until Wedneſday the 27th of May next.

APRIL 17.

In a letter received by lord Grenville from lord St. Helen's, dated Madrid the latter end of laſt month, the very melancholy intelligence is detailed of a diſaſter which had befallen lieutenant Hergeſt of the navy, and Mr. Gooch the aſtronomer; both of whom, it was ſtated, had been cruelly ſacrificed by the inhabitants of Woakou, one of the Sandwich iſlands. Lieut. Hergeſt left England nearly two years ago, with the command of the Dædalus, a naval ſtoreſhip, deſtined firſt to New South Wales, and thence to the South ſeas, with a ſupply of proviſions for captain Vancouver, of the Diſcovery ſloop, who is engaged in farther exploring that part of the globe. The gentlemen in queſtion were on ſhore in a tent, which had been pitched for aſtronomical purpoſes, when the barbarous natives ſurpriſed them.

APRIL 19.

Mr. Phillips, printer of the Leiceſter Herald, has been convicted at the aſſizes there on an indictment for ſelling the Second Part of Paine's Rights of Man. His ſentence is 18 months cloſe impriſonment.

APRIL 20.

On Tueſday laſt the delegates of the Roman Catholics of Ireland met at the Taylors Hall, Dublin, and appointed a committee to prepare an addreſs to his majeſty, and his excellency the earl of Weſtmoreland, lord lieutenant of Ireland, expreſſive of their gratitude for the Roman Catholic bill paſſing into a law; and which addreſſes were accordingly brought forward the next day.

In the court of king's bench in Dublin on Wedneſday laſt, the following Roman Catholic gentlemen were ſeverally ſworn on the county of Dublin grand jury, and qualified as to landed property, viz. Francis Cruiſe, John Keogh, Andrew Savage, Edward Byrne, Michael Keogh, Barry Lawleſs, John Ball, Nicholas Le Fevre, and Chriſtopher Taylor, eſqrs.

Yeſterday, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the remains of the celebrated pedeſtrian, Foſter Powell, were brought for interment, agreeable to his own requeſt, to St. Paul's church-yard. The funeral was characteriſtically a *walking* one, from New-inn, through Fleet ſtreet, and up Ludgate-hill. The followers were twenty on foot, in black gowns, and after them came three mourning coaches. The attendants were all men of reſpectability. The ceremony was conducted with much decency. A very great concourſe of people attended. He was buried nearly under the only tree in the church-yard. Powell's age, as inſcribed upon his coffin, was fifty-nine.

APRIL 23.

Whitehall, April 22. The ratifications of the convention, ſigned the 12th of February laſt, between his majeſty and the Catholic king, for the final adjuſtment of the Nootka claims, were this day exchanged at Whitehall, between ſir Ralph Woodford, baronet, commiſſary and plenipotentiary, on the part of his majeſty, and don Manuel De las Heras, his Catholic majeſty's commiſſary and plenipotentiary, *Lond. Gaz.*

APRIL 24.

This morning, by ſix o'clock, eight troops of cavalry proceeded by the New Road through Iſlington, Old-ſtreet, &c. toward Blackwall. The place of rendezvous at Mr. Perry's dock. A platform was erected to facilitate the embarkation of the horſes, which were thus conveyed on board the tranſports without being ſlung. The prince of Wales, the duke of Glouceſter, prince William of Glouceſter, and ſeveral general officers, were preſent. The concourſe of people that attended was immenſe; the ſoldiers were all in high ſpirits, and the embarkation was completed by eleven o'clock.

Dublin, April 10. Yeſterday morning the members of the Roman Catholic committee waited on lord Clonmell, at his houſe in Harcourt-ſtreet, to expreſs their readineſs of teſtifying their allegiance to our gracious ſovereign and happy conſtitution, by taking the oath of allegiance preſcribed by the laſt Roman Catholic bill, and to intreat his lordſhip would be pleaſed to appoint an early day for receiving the ſame in the court of King's-bench. His lordſhip received them in the politeſt manner, and declared, that as he had always believed the Roman Catholics of Ireland to be loyal ſubjects, ſo he had, in every public ſtation he had filled through life, been their zealous advocate. He declared he was particularly happy, on the preſent occaſion, in receiving their declarations of loyalty and attachment to his majeſty and the conſtitution, as ſo auſpicious toward themſelves, and would moſt cheerfully meet their wiſhes by appointing an early hour this morning, in order that it may precede every other buſineſs. All the Roman Catholic delegates in town will take the oaths at the ſame time.

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BIRTHS.

LADY Willoughby de Eresby, a daughter.

Marchioness of Tweedale, a son.

Lady Arden, a son.

MARRIAGES.

CHarles Greville, esq. to lady Charlotte Cavendish Bentinck.

Hon. colonel St. John, to the hon. miss Craven, sister of lord Craven.

Earl of Ancram, to lady Henrietta Hobart.

Rev. Mr. Hanham, eldest son of the Revd. sir James Hanham, bart. to miss Pike, daughter of the late lieutenant Pike of the royal navy.

Sir William Wake, bart. to miss Gambier, daughter of the late admiral Gambier.

Sir William Young, bart. to miss Barbara Talbot.

DEATHS.

ARnoldus James Skelton, esq. brother-in-law to marquis Cornwallis.

Right hon. lady Herbert.

Lady Asheton, relict of the late sir Ralph Asheton, bart.

Sir James Esdale, knt. alderman of London.

Hon. George Bennett, brother to the late earl of Tankerville.

Lord William Manners, brother to the duke of Rutland.

PROMOTIONS.

EDward Martin Atkins, esq. of Kingston Lisle, Sheriff of Berks.

Duke of York—General in the army.

Colonel sir James Murray—Adjutant-general of the forces abroad under the duke of York.

BANKRUPTS. From the GAZETTE.

MARCH 30.

CHarles Claggett, of Greek-street, Soho, musical instrument-maker.

Thomas Wright and John Bellamy, of the Poultry, silversmiths.

Jacob Krohn, of New-court, Throgmorton-street, merchant.

Matthew Chatley, of Tokenhouse-yard, factor.

David Jardine, of Plymouth, linen-draper.

Robert Moggeridge the younger, of Cranbourn-street, Leicester-fields, milliner.

William Hewin, of Newman-street, St. Mary-le-bone, horse-dealer.

George Mills, and Daniel Mercer, of Birmingham, and William Swan, of Devizes, factors.

Charles Caldwell, and Thomas Smith, of Liverpool, and John Forbes, and Daniel Gregory, of London, bankers and partners, (carring on trade at Liverpool, under the firm of Charles Caldwell and company.)

William Shotter Rickword, of New Sarum, brandy-merchant.

Robert Barrett, of the Poultry, linen-draper.

Thomas Saxby, of Berwick-street, Soho, taylor.

Gascoyne Graham, of Compton-street, Soho, haberdasher.

Joseph Avard, of Bristol, watchmaker, (copartner with John Hall, of Bristol, watchmaker, carrying on trade under the firm of Joseph Avard, and company.)

APRIL 2.

John Goldsworth, of Tottenham-court-road, musical-instrument-maker.

Machell Stace, of the Haymarket, Westminster, bookseller.

William Barrett, of Macclesfield, in Cheshire, carpenter.

William Lloyd, of Liverpool, merchant.

John Doyle, Patrick Fitzhenry, George Packer M'Carthy, and Robert Walter Vaughan, of Bristol, merchants and copartners, (carrying on trade at Bristol and at Newfoundland under the firm of Doyle, Fitzhenry, M'Carthy, and company.)

Gill Slater, of Liverpool, merchant.

John Ward, of Woollastone, in Gloucestershire, paper-maker.

Thomas Lake, and William Charles Lake, of Liverpool, merchants.

Obadiah Griffiths, of Chepstow Grange, in Monmouthshire, miller.

Samuel Dutton, Joseph Hopley, and Melchiore Cathcart Williamson, of Liverpool, merchants and copartners.

Edward Haskew, of Worcester, timber-merchant.

John Singleton, of Dringhouses, in Yorkshire, victualler.

APRIL 6.

Edward Bowyer, of Bristol, drover.

William Hale, of Monmouth, timber-merchant.

Edward Wilkinson, and William Dudley, of Charing-cross, vintners.

Robert Preston, of Liverpool, merchant.

James Cross, of Bath, Zachary Bayly the elder, of Lyncombe and Widcombe, Somer-

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Somerſetſhire, Zachary Bayly the younger, of Bath, Nathaniel Bayly, of the ſame city, Robert Gutch, of Wells, and Thomas Croſs, of Clifton, Glouceſterſhire, bankers, carrying on trade both at Bath and at Wells.

Thomas Parker, of Sheffield, in Yorkſhire, merchant.

Hugh Atherſtone, of Brewhouſe-yard, in Nottinghamſhire, dyer.

Thomas Bennett, of Bedworth, in Warwickſhire, mercer.

William Hervey, of the Speech-houſe, in the Foreſt of Dean, in Glouceſterſhire, merchant.

William Hunt, of Nottingham-ſtreet, St. Mary-le-bone, ſmith's ironmonger.

Marie Noel Mayer, of Dover-ſtreet, Piccadilly, mantua-maker.

Mary White, of Old Brentford, linen-draper.

Samuel Sandys, of Briſtol, lace-manufacturer.

John Simmons, of Birmingham, braſs-founder.

George Whitlock, of New-court, in Crutched-friars, timber-merchant.

James Hanmer, of Fleet-ſtreet, mercer.

APRIL 9.

Richard Wheeler, of Fleet-ſtreet, upholſterer.

Nathaniel Hall, of Gerard-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, linen-draper.

Thomas Lawrence, of St. George, Middleſex, victualler.

Iſaac Loyall, of Oakley-ſtreet, Lambeth, dealer in tobacco.

James Maſey, and Philip Maſey, of Briſtol, hoopers.

Thomas Bolton, of Blackburn, in Lancaſhire, cotton-manufacturer.

Joſeph Boughton, of Little Dean, in Glouceſterſhire, merchant.

William Avery, of Redditch, in Worceſterſhire, needle-maker.

James Rogers, of Briſtol, merchant.

William Wilſon, of Dartmouth, in Devonſhire, currier.

John Hoyle, of Waſher-lane, Halifax, in Yorkſhire, dyer.

Francis Trench, of Liverpool, merchant.

John Hooley, of Mancheſter, carrier.

Thamas Keene, of Briſtol, ſugar-baker.

Thomas Ball, of Iſlington, muſic-ſeller.

APRIL 13.

Robert Wilberfoſs and John Taylor, of the Minories, linen-drapers.

James Maddock, of Wapping High-ſtreet, money-ſcrivener.

John Dalby the elder, of Leiceſter, hoſier.

William Edwards, of London-ſtreet, St. Pancras, builder.

William Henry Johnſon, of Fleet-ſtreet, hatter.

John Shingleton, of Mouſeford, Berks, dealer in hogs.

Robert Brown, of Lower Sloane-ſtreet, ſtonemaſon.

Matthew Michell, of John-ſtreet, in the Adelphi, broker.

Richard Walker, of Liverpool, grocer.

John Michael Wagner, of Briſtol, merchant.

William Wood, of Norton-mill, Durham, miller.

Lawrence Savory, of Shillingford, in Oxfordſhire, ſhopkeeper.

William Dickinſon, of Old Bond-ſtreet, printſeller.

George Browne and Henry Browne, of Liverpool, merchants.

Arnold Meyer, and Henry Wilckens, of Liverpool, merchants.

John Stott, of Rochdale, in Lancaſhire, ſhopkeeper.

Thomas Brain, of Lawrence-hill, in Glouceſterſhire, builder.

Robert Thomſon, of Oxford-ſtreet, dealer in wines.

Havilland Le Meſurier, and John Abraham du Buiſſon, of London, merchants.

APRIL 16.

Samuel Bradbury, of Baſinghall-ſtreet, broker.

James Rogers, Richard Blake, and John Purnell, of Briſtol, inſurance-brokers.

John Lacy, and Charles Lacy, of Northampton, bankers.

Thomas Hall, and Thomas Ruſſell, the younger, of Wedneſbury, in Staffordſhire, iron-founders.

William Thomas, and Henry Heſketh, of Cheſter, bankers.

John Barnes, of Honiton, in Devonſhire, innholder.

Thomas Harris, and John Price, of Briſtol, merchants.

Joſeph Jackſon, of Liverpool, merchant.

John Grimſhaw, of Staverton, in Northamptonſhire, horſe-dealer.

Matthew Dawſon, of York, innholder.

Thomas Rawlings, of Briſtol, carpenter.

John Shute, of Liverpool, broker.

Edward Litton, of Liverpool, linen-draper.

John

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John Levaſſeur, of Air-ſtreet, Piccadilly, merchant.

Robert Bays, of Cannon-ſtreet, and Thomas Bays, of Downham, Iſle of Ely, ſaleſmen.

Thomas O'Ryan, of Briſtol, merchant.

Thomas O'Ryan, and Joſeph Mandeville, of Briſtol, merchants.

Henry Hodgſon, of Liverpool, bookſeller.

Thomas Slack, of Mancheſter, grocer.

William Webb, of Albemarle-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare, money-ſcrivener.

John Warren, of Tower-ſtreet, ſugar-broker.

APRIL 20.

John Thompſon, of Milk-ſtreet, glover.

George Agett, and John Agett, of Liverpool, brewers.

Richard Runcorn, of Mancheſter, watch-maker.

Suſanna Salmon, of the Curtain-road, Shoreditch, brewer.

John Power, of Birmingham, mercer.

Joſeph Hill, of Worceſter, mercer.

George Thomas Holgate, of Peaſmarſh, in Suſſex, farmer.

Michael Garlan, of Kenilworth, in Warwickſhire, and Henry Wood, of the ſame place, horſe-dealers.

William Greene, of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, merchant.

David Boyn, of Wincheſter-ſtreet, merchant.

Job Moore, of Birmingham, buckle-maker.

James Curry, of the Strand, hoſier.

William Adey, of Water-ſtreet, in the Strand, ſtable-keeper.

James Catton, of Dean-ſtreet, Soho, painter.

John Clifford, of Cranbrook, in Kent, ſhopkeeper.

George Goodacre, of Oxford-ſtreet, draper.

John Palmer, of Seaton, in Rutland-ſhire, dealer in cattle.

William Bottomley, of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondſey, carpenter.

William Wilſon, of Cannon-ſtreet, hardwareman.

John Whittle, of Weymouth-ſtreet, Portland-place, tea-dealer.

John Charles Demay, and John Carter Page, of Green-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields, jewellers.

Ann Harriſon Linnecar, of Wakefield, in Yorkſhire, merchant.

Henry Willis, of Huxham, in Devonſhire, paper-maker.

Henry vondhem Buſch, and Arnold Brockman, of Liverpool, merchants.

Edward Cobby, Brighthelmſton, linen-draper.

William Woodcock, of St. Martin's-lane, plumber.

John Haſtings, of Pulborough, in Suſſex, ſhopkeeper.

APRIL 23.

John Lane, Thomas Fraſer, and Thomas Boylſton, of Nicholas-lane, merchants.

Thomas Boylſton, of London, merchant.

William Biſhop, of Drury-lane, cheeſemonger.

William Field, of Cuper's-bridge, Lambeth, proviſion-factor.

Henry Heſketh, of Cheſter, wine-merchant.

James Robinſon, of Snow-hill, tea-dealer.

Edward Witts, of Bownham-houſe, Rodborough, in Gloucesterſhire, woolſtapler.

Benjamin Lane, of Freeman's-court, Cornhill, inſurer.

Thomas Bradſhaw, of Coventry-ſtreet, print-ſeller.

Roger Screech, of Finſbury-place, Moorfields, horſe-dealer.

Daniel M'Cart, of the Strand, wine-merchant.

Henry Grubb, of Paddington, builder.

John Lowe, of Birmingham, ſtationer.

Reuben Joynour, of Briſtol, merchant.

Samuel Racey, of Bath, carpenter.

George Price, of Liverpool, porter-dealer.

Stephen Serani, of Pall-mall, wine-merchant.

John Sivrac, of Liverpool, merchant.

Richard Johnſon, of Saxilby, in Lincolnſhire, grocer.

William Thomas, of Cheſter, merchant.

Edward Bowen, of Ludlow, in Salop, grocer.

William Barrett, of Rochdale, in Lancaſhire, ſhopkeeper.

Richard Anderton, of Edgbaſton-ſtreet, Birmingham, cutler.

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An Account of CALCUTTA, *in* Bengal, *the Capital of the Britiſh Dominions in the* Eaſt Indies: *With a beautiful View of that City taken from* Fort William.

The Work from which we have ſelected the following Article is entitled 'Travels in India, *during the Years* 1780, 1781, 1782, *and* 1783, *by* William Hodges, *R. A.—We announce it to our Readers with Pleaſure, as a very elegant Acquiſition to the Geography of the Eaſt; which affords, at the ſame Time, in many other Reſpects, ample Gratification to the Scholar and the Man of Taſte. It is enriched with Engravings by ſome of the beſt Maſters, from Drawings taken on the Spot by the Author himſelf.*

THE appearance of the country on the entrance of the Ganges, or Houghly river (this being only a branch of the Great Ganges) is rather unpromiſing; a few buſhes at the water's edge, forming a dark line, juſt marking the diſtinction between ſky and water, are the only objects to be ſeen. As the ſhip approaches Calcutta the river narrows; that which is called the Garden Reach, preſents a view of handſome buildings, on a flat ſurrounded by gardens: theſe are villás belonging to the opulent inhabitants of Calcutta. The veſſel has no ſooner gained one other reach of the river than the whole city of Calcutta burſts upon the eye. This capital of the Britiſh dominions in the eaſt is marked by a conſiderable fortreſs, on the ſouth ſide of the river, which is allowed to be, in ſtrength and correctneſs of deſign, ſuperior to any in India. On the fore ground of the picture is the water-gate of the fort, which reflects great honour on the talents of the engineer—the ingenious colonel Polier. The glacis and eſplanade are ſeen in perſpective, bounded by a range of beautiful and regular buildings; and a conſiderable reach of the river, with veſſels of various claſſes and ſizes, from the largeſt Indiamen to the ſmalleſt boat of the country, cloſes the ſcene. A plate, repreſenting this view, from a picture taken on the ſpot, and admirably engraved by Mr. Byrne, an artiſt whoſe reputation is not to be raiſed by any eulogium in this place, is annexed *.

A European lands here in the midſt of a great city, without paſſing the outer draw-bridges of a fort; here are no centinels with the keen eye of ſuſpicion, no ſtoppage of baggage. The hoſpitality which a ſtranger experiences from the inhabitants, and particularly from thoſe to whom he is recommended, correſponds exactly with the freedom of his admiſſion into the city; and the kindneſs which I experienced on this occaſion from my much lamented friend Henry Davies, eſq. late advocate-general of Bengal, can never be forgotten.

The city of Calcutta extends from the weſtern point of Fort William, along the banks of the river, almoſt to the village of Coſſipoor: that is about four and a half Engliſh miles. The breadth in many parts is inconſiderable. The ſtreets are broad; the line of buildings, ſurrounding two ſides of the eſplanade of the fort, is magnificent; and it adds greatly to the ſuperb appearance, that the houſes are detached from each other, and inſulated in a great ſpace. The buildings are all on a large ſcale, from the neceſſity of having a free circulation of air, in a climate the heat of which is extreme. The general approach to the houſes is by a flight of ſteps, with great projecting porticoes, or ſurrounded by colonades or arcades, which give them the appearance of

* The Plate annexed is a Copy of this, by permiſſion of the Author.

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Grecian temples; and indeed every houſe may be conſidered as a temple dedicated to hoſpitality.

Calcutta, from a ſmall and inconſiderable fort, which yet remains (and in which is the famous black-hole, ſo fatal to many of our countrymen in 1756 *) and a few warehouſes, was ſoon raiſed to a great and opulent city, when the government of the kingdom of Bengal fell into the hands of the Engliſh. For its magnificence, however, it is indebted ſolely to the liberal ſpirit and excellent taſte of the late governor-general; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the firſt houſe was raiſed by Mr. Haſtings, which deſerves the name of a piece of architecture: in fact, it is even in a purer ſtyle than any that has been built ſince, although it is on a ſmaller ſcale than many others.

The mixture of European and Aſiatic manners, which may be obſerved in Calcutta, is curious:—coaches, phaetons, ſingle horſe chaiſes, with the pallankeens and hackeries of the natives—the paſſing ceremonies of the Hindoos—The different appearances of the fakirs—form a ſight perhaps more novel and extraordinary than any city in the world can preſent to a ſtranger. Some views in the city of Calcutta, publiſhed by Mr. Daniel, are highly to be commended for their accuracy.

A Deſcription of MADRAS, *or* FORT ST. GEORGE, *and its Environs.*

[From the SAME.]

THE whole extent of the coaſt of Coromandel is an even, low, ſandy country; and about Madras the land riſes ſo little and ſo gradually from the ſea, that the ſpectator is ſcarcely able to mark the diſtinction, till he is aſſiſted by the appearance of the different objects which preſent themſelves upon the ſhore.

The Engliſh town, riſing from within Fort St. George, has from the ſea a rich and beautiful appearance; the houſes being covered with a ſtucco called chunam, which in itſelf is nearly as compact as the fineſt marble, and, as it bears as high a poliſh, is equally ſplendid with that elegant material. The ſtile of the buildings is in general handſome. They conſiſt of long colonades, with open porticoes, and

* When the fort of Calcutta was cloſely beſieged by Suraja Dowlah, Mr. Drake, the governor, and many others, with ſeveral ladies of the ſettlement, eſcaped to the Engliſh ſhips then lying off the town, and which ſhips fell down as low as Fulta, one third of the diſtance to the mouth of the river, where they remained for ſeven months in the greateſt diſtreſs, both for proviſions and every other article of neceſſaries. Mr. Gregory, a gentleman ſince well known in the political world, and particularly for his knowledge in India affairs, and many years a director of the Eaſt India company in London, ventured in a very heavy gale of wind, in a country boat, to paſs Calcutta, and proceeded to Chandenagore, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the French governor, who received him with all the perſonal politeneſs that is the mark of that nation, but without offering any thing to remove the diſtreſs of the Engliſh at Fulta. From the French Mr. Gregory proceeded to the Dutch ſettlement at Chinſurah, where he was received with unaffected good manners and friendlineſs. After relating the diſtreſſes his countrymen laboured under, the Dutch governor prepared for their relief; and his lady went round the ſettlement and procured linen and other articles, for the accommodation and comfort of the ladies; and, in the courſe of two days, the governor diſpatched a ſloop, under the care of Mr. Van Staten, their commander in chief, to the Engliſh, loaded with ſeveral articles of proviſions, many cheſts of wine, and twenty leaguers of arrack, for the uſe of the people. At the ſame time this humanity was ſhewn to the people on board the ſhips, the governor's houſe was ſo filled with the diſtreſſed that had eſcaped from Calcutta, that he and his family were obliged to ſleep on board a budgerow in the river. The name of the Dutch governor, Mr. Adrian Biſdam, muſt ever be remembered by the Engliſh with reſpect.

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flat roofs, and offer to the eye an appearance similar to what we may conceive of a Grecian city in the age of Alexander. The clear, blue, cloudless sky, the polished white buildings, the bright sandy beach, and the dark green sea, present a combination totally new to the eye of an Englishman, just arrived from London, who, accustomed to the sight of rolling masses of clouds floating in a damp atmosphere, cannot but contemplate the difference with delight: and the eye being thus gratified, the mind soon assumes a gay and tranquil habit, analogous to the pleasing objects with which it is surrounded.

Some time before the ship arrives at her anchoring ground, she is hailed by the boats of the country filled with people of business, who come in crowds on board. This is the moment in which an European feels the great distinction between Asia and his own country. The rustling of fine linen, and the general hum of unusual conversation, presents to his mind for a moment the idea of an assembly of females. When he ascends upon the deck, he is struck with the long muslin dresses *, and black faces † adorned with very large gold earrings and white turbans. The first salutation he receives from these strangers is by bending their bodies very low, touching the deck with the back of the hand, and the forehead three times.

The natives first seen in India by an European voyager, are Hindoos, the original inhabitants of the Peninsula. In this part of India they are delicately framed, their hands ‡ in particular are more like those of tender females; and do not appear to be, what is considered a proper proportion to the rest of the person, which is usually above the middle size. Correspondent to this delicacy of appearance are their manners, mild, tranquil, and sedulously attentive: in this last respect they are indeed remarkable, as they never interrupt any person who is speaking, but wait patiently till he has concluded; and then answer with the most perfect respect and composure.

From the ship a stranger is conveyed on shore in a boat of the country, called a Massoolah boat: a work of curious construction, and well calculated to elude the violent shocks of the surf, that breaks here with great violence: they are formed without a keel, flat-bottomed, with the sides raised high, and sewed together with the fibres of the cocoa-nut tree, and caulked with the same material: they are remarkably light, and are managed with great dexterity by the natives: they are usually attended by two kattamarans (rafts), paddled by one man each, the intention of which is, that, should the boat be overset by the violence of the surf, the persons in it may be preserved. The boat is driven, as the sailors say, high and dry; and the passengers are landed on a fine, sandy beach: and immediately enter the fort of Madras.

The appearance of the natives is exceedingly varied, some are wholly naked, and others so clothed, that nothing but the face and neck is to be discovered; beside this, the Euro-

* This dress is in India usually worn both by Hindoos and Mahomedans, and is called Jammah; whence the dress well known in England, and worn by children, is usually called a jam.

† The complexions of the people on the coast of Coromandel and to the southward, are considerably darker than those to the northward. It is also to be observed, that the native Hindoos are generally darker than the Mussulmans, who originally came from Tartary and Persia. The latter may in fact be called a fair people; and I have even seen many of them with red hair and florid complexions. It is a well known fact, that when a Tartar or Persian family has resided in India for a few generations, their complexions have considerably deepened. The Mogul family of the house of Timoor, I understand, are of a deep olive complexion.

‡ It has been observed of the arms frequently brought to this country, that the gripe of the sabre is too small for most European hands.

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pean is ſtruck at firſt with many other objects, ſuch as women carried on men's ſhoulders on pallankeens, and men riding on horſeback clothed in linen dreſſes like women: which, united with the very different face of the country from all he had ever ſeen or conceived of, excite the ſtrongeſt emotions of ſurpriſe!

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the enthuſiaſm with which I felt myſelf actuated on this occaſion; all that I ſaw filled my mind with expectations of what was yet unſeen. I prepared therefore eagerly for a tour through the country; but my route was ſcarcely fixed, when I was interrupted by the great ſcourge of human nature, the great enemy of the arts, war, which, with horrors perhaps unknown to the civilized regions of Europe, deſcended like a torrent over the whole face of the country, driving the peaceful huſbandman from his plow, and the manufacturer from his loom. On the 18th of July 1780, I was a melancholy witneſs to its effects, the multitude coming in from all quarters to Madras as a place of refuge, bearing on their ſhoulders the ſmall remains of their little property, mothers with infants at their breaſts, fathers leading their horſes burthened with their young families, others ſitting on the miſerable remains of their fortunes on a hackery *, and dragged through the duſt by weary bullocks: every object was marked by confuſion and diſmay, from the 18th to the 21ſt, the numbers daily increaſing: and it was ſuppoſed that within the ſpace of three days not leſs than two hundred thouſand of the country people were received within the † black town of Madras. Our government behaved on this melancholy occaſion with their uſual humanity and liberality; and not only public, but private relief was afforded them to a conſiderable amount.

Thoſe poor people were ſoon afterward diſtributed to the northward, and into the ſircars; which are lands that lay to the northward of Madras, and but of late years ceded to the Engliſh government.

Mr. Smith was at this period at the head of the government of Madras; and the ſolicitous attention of his lady, to relieve the private inconvenience of many Engliſh families, who were alſo obliged to take ſhelter within the walls of the fort, muſt ever be remembered with reſpect.

Every object that now preſented itſelf to the imagination bore the ſame threatening and calamitous aſpect: the country houſes of the Engliſh, within one mile of the fort, were ſtripped of their furniture, by the owners, even to the doors and window-blinds; this indeed was no more than neceſſary, as the enemy extended their depredations even to the walls of Madras; and no ſecurity could be found without the fort; until the camp was formed at the Mount, a place about ten Engliſh miles weſt of Madras. Every gentleman now poſſeſſing a houſe within the fort, was happy in accommodating the family of his friend; who before had reſided on Choultry plain ‡.

The troops being collected from

* A hackery is a ſmall covered carriage upon two wheels, drawn by bullocks, and uſed generally for the female part of the family.

† Adjoining the glacis of Fort St. George, to the northward, is a large town, commonly called the Black town, and which is fortified ſufficiently to prevent any ſurpriſe by a body of horſe.

‡ The country of Madras is a perfect flat, on which is built, at a ſmall diſtance from the fort, a ſmall Choultry: theſe are public buildings found all over Hindoſtan, and are of Hindoo origin; they are in fact analogous to thoſe buildings called caravanſerais, well known through Aſia. They have been erected and endowed by the liberality of princes, or the benevolence and piety of individuals. A Bramin generally attends them who adminiſters relief to the poor and diſtreſſed, who are frequently ſupplied alſo with a mat to lie on. Tanks, or reſervoirs of water, or wells, are commonly near them.

different

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different quarters, with provisions and a proper train of artillery, the vanquished spirits of the people appeared to revive; and the reyot was again seen cultivating his rice fields, or collecting the fruits. Nothing less was expected when the army took the field, but that Hyder Ally would very soon be escorted by a party of our troops into Fort St. George, and there make a public atonement for the miseries he had occasioned. This vision soon vanished, in the unhappy fate of colonel Baillie's detachment, and the return of the army from a three week's campaign, reduced in its numbers and dispirited by its losses. These circumstances are too strongly marked in the page of history to make it necessary to recount their particulars in a descriptive work like this. The arrival of sir Eyre Coote from Bengal, with money and other supplies, in September, and the active measures pursued by that gallant officer, restored confidence to the troops; and the most sanguine hopes of the inhabitants from his exertions were not disappointed.

The opportunities that offer to a painter are few, in a country which is over-run by an active enemy. I made however among others a drawing of Marmalong bridge, which is a very modern work, built, as I am informed, at the private expence of an Armenian merchant. It is over a small river that runs near the mount, and falls into the sea at a little distance before the village of St. Thomá, four miles to the southward of Madras. The Portugueze had formerly a considerable settlement at this village. The church and the dwelling-houses of a few Portugueze families yet remain here. The legendary tale of the Roman Catholic church is, that St. Thomas the Apostle, in the course of his mission to India, suffered martyrdom on the spot where the church is built.

The settlement of Madras was formed by the English at or about the middle of the last century, and was a place of no real consequence, but for its trade, until the war so ably carried on by general Stringer Lawrence, from the years 1748 to 1752; and which originated from the claims of Chunda Saib, in opposition to our ally Mahomed Ally Cawn, the present nabob of Arcot; from which period the English may be considered as sovereigns. In the school of this able officer the late lord Clive received his military education.

Fort St. George, or Madras, rises, as has been already intimated, from the margin of the sea, and is allowed by the ablest engineers to be a place of considerable strength. It was planned by the ingenious Mr. Robins, the author of lord Anson's voyages, who was eminent for his general and philosophical, as well as for his mathematical knowledge. Since his time many works have been added.

In Fort St. George are many handsome and spacious streets. The houses may be considered as elegant, and particularly so from the beautiful material with which they are finished, the chunam. The inner apartments are not highly decorated, presenting to the eye only white walls; which, however, from the marble-like appearance of the stucco, give a freshness grateful in so hot a country. Ceilings are very uncommon in the rooms. Indeed it is impossible to find any which will resist the ravages of that destructive insect the white ant. These animals are chiefly formidable from the immensity of their numbers, which are such as to destroy, in one night's time, a ceiling of any dimensions. I saw an instance in the ceiling to the portico of the admiralty, or governor's house, which fell in flakes of twenty feet square. It is the wood work which serves for the basis of the ceilings, such as the laths, beams, &c. that these insects attack; and this will serve to explain the circumstance I have just mentioned.

The houses on Choultry plain are many of them beautiful pieces of architecture, the apartments spacious and

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and magnificent. I know not that I ever felt more delight, than in going on a visit to a family on Choultry plain, soon after my arrival at Madras, in the cool of the evening, after a very hot day. The moon shone in its fullest lustre, not a cloud overcast the sky, and every house on the plain was illuminated. Each family, with their friends, were in the open porticoes, enjoying the breeze. Such a scene appears more like a tale of enchantment than a reality, to the imagination of a stranger just arrived.

There are few objects to be met with here, which serve to illustrate the history or characters of the original inhabitants of India. One, however, is too curious to be omitted, and that is a beautiful Hindoo temple, or pagoda, at Triplecane, two miles south of Madras. It is of considerable magnitude; and the top of the building rising considerably above the trees, it is seen all over the country. Adjoining to the temple is a large tank, with steps descending to the bottom, filled with water. The whole is of stone, and the masonry excellent. On the surface of the temple are many basso relievos, which I suppose to relate to the religion of the Hindoos; but whether they are connected with the rites and worship of Bramah or not, I am not able to say: for some of them are of the most indecent kind. I made an accurate drawing of this building, which was sent to England, and lost on board the General Barker East Indiaman, when that ship was wrecked on the coast of Holland, in 1781; but as I have made drawings of other Hindoo temples, I less lament the loss *.

ON IMPRUDENT FRIENDSHIPS.

Hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse.

CICERO.

THE difficulties which foreigners frequently complain of, in acquiring a knowledge of the English language, are many. In particular, they tell us, that they are puzzled in their studies, and perplexed in their attempts to speak, from the circumstance of many words having the same meaning. They also object, that the same word often possesses five or six different meanings. But these difficulties are not confined to foreigners only. They often lie in our own way; and it is not unfrequent to hear a company of literary gentlemen disputing about the meaning of a word, that ought to have been fixed long before they were born. Every person who attempts a new dictionary of our language, provided he is not a mere copyist, will soon find that the fixing of the meanings of certain very common words is his greatest difficulty.

The difficulty will also be heightened, when we consider that it is often in vain to trace a word back to its first appearance in the language, with a view to give its original meaning. That original meaning, if it can be acquired, is of little use. If I were to call a man a *knave*, or a *villain*, I question much whether his resentment would abate, on my convincing him that these words originally meant nothing reproachful to the moral character.

To critics and lexicographers, however, I shall leave the definition of mere words; and only observe, that in conversation we much oftener hear *common* words used in an improper sense, than those which are less common and more erudite. The words *paradox*, *problem*, &c. are never misrepresented; whereas others, such as *honour*, *reputation*, *friendship*, &c. are scarcely ever quoted, unless to be misapplied.

* An idea of this temple may be formed from the view of the great pagoda at Tanjore, in this elegant volume.

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The words *friendſhip* and *friend* are uſed indeed in ſuch a variety of ſenſes, all different, that it is almoſt impoſſible to recognize the genuine features of that old faſhioned thing called friendſhip, among ſuch a group of unaccountables. A ſpendthrift, after various attempts to borrow money, complains with a ſigh, that he has not a *friend* left in the world; and another, who has not quite reached this period, talks, with ſome pleaſure, of meeting a *dozen* or two of *friends* to dinner at a tavern.—Benjamin Bribewell, eſq. invites his *friends* to meet at a public hall, and proceed from thence *in a body!* and captain Swagger, of the guards, who has accepted a challenge, requeſts a brother-officer to go out with him as his *friend*, and ſee that he be *fairly* run through the body. Ladies, who prefer keepers to huſbands, uſually call them their *friends*; and a highwayman, who quarrels with his accomplices, concerning the diſtribution of the booty, wonders that there ſhould be any bickerings among *friends*. Nor is it very uncommon to read in the papers, that two coal-heavers, or butchers, after cutting and bruiſing one another until they can ſcarcely ſtand, are ſeparated by their *friends*—nay, what is more remarkable, they ſometimes ſhake hands, and agree to part *friends!*

Such are the common ideas of friendſhip; and if ſuch is the only friendſhip men expect to contract, ſurely they have little reaſon to complain, if they ſhould be diſappointed. After having proſtituted the *name*, how can they expect the ſubſtance? After having dreamt only of the *ſign*, how can they expect the thing ſignified? If we conſider how thoſe connexions, which are called friendſhips, are formed, we ſhall the leſs wonder that they are unſtable with moſt men: it is ſufficient to have been twice or thrice in each other's company; they become thereafter *friends*, and we are not to be ſurpriſed, if what is formed ſo haſtily, ſhould be as haſtily diſſolved. Houſes that are thrown up quickly, and while the materials are green and unſeaſoned, cannot be expected to laſt long.

There are, on the other hand, ſome perſons, who entertain a notion of friendſhip, ſo very celeſtial and romantic, as is not to be expected from the frailty of human nature. They miſtake the nature of a *friend*, juſt as much as the others of whom I have been ſpeaking. They expect *every* thing from a friend, and in this are as much in fault, as the others who expected *any* thing. Romantic notions of friendſhip are much cheriſhed in novels and ſentimental writings, but their tendency is often fatal, and at all times pernicious. A very ſhort intercourſe with the world of men convinces them, that they have been reading of ideal beings; and their tempers are apt to be ſoured; in conſequence of which they entertain worſe notions of men than they deſerve.

There are two kinds of men, from whom it is impoſſible to expect real friendſhip; and if we are ſufficiently guarded againſt them, we ſhall be furniſhed with every neceſſary precaution againſt a world abounding in a mixture of characters. The one of theſe is, the low-minded, ignorant man: the other is the bad, or immoral man. With either of theſe, I aver, that it is impoſſible to form that connexion to which we give the name of friendſhip, or, if, in appearance, formed, it will be utterly impoſſible to retain it, ſo as to reap the advantages of friendſhip when they are wanted. My reaſons are theſe:

With regard to the ignorant and low-minded: friendſhip is not a paſſion, but an operation of the intellect. The underſtanding muſt ever be employed in perfecting it, and in preventing thoſe ſallies of momentary regard, which ſavour more of whim and caprice than of friendſhip. Of all this an ignorant man knows nothing, and a low-minded man will practiſe nothing. In ſuch minds, ſelf-intereſt uſually has a ſtrong hold; for I would wiſh it to be underſtood that mere ignorance,

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ignorance, without this poverty of ſentiment and generoſity, is a miſfortune that may be remedied, and never can be the object of cenſure. There is a wide difference between the ignorance of a man, in whom the natural feelings have not been adulterated by vice, nor civilized and refined by education, and that of an illiterate mechanic who, while he can ſcarcely ſpell his name, or comprehend a rational argument, can yet take pride in graſping more money than he who is capable of inſtructing a nation.—It is one of the few good advices which lord Chesterfield gives, never to keep company with thoſe who are at once 'low in birth, low in mind, and low in manners.'

The ſecond claſs of men, with whom it is impoſſible to hold friendſhip, conſiſts of the *bad*. From much reading and from no ſmall horizon of obſervation, I think I may challenge the world to produce an inſtance of real friendſhip ſubſiſting for any length of time between two bad men, or between a good man and a bad one. The thing is, indeed, in its own nature impoſſible. The very eſſence, the life's blood, if I may uſe the expreſſion, of friendſhip, is mutual benevolence; and how that can be expected to exiſt in minds habituated to profligacy, it is impoſſible to conceive. It is likewiſe of the nature of friendſhip, to be diſintereſted; but no bad man can be expected to entertain a ſentiment ſo pure. If he did, he could not practiſe it; for bad men are ever neceſſitous, ever covetous, ever deſirous of ſomething which they want to ſupply their pleaſures, or, as they probably will term it, to make them happy.—If the whole of friendſhip conſiſted in giving pecuniary aſſiſtance, they would be the laſt perſons to practiſe even that, from the urgency of their own demands. But this, though ſomething, is not the *all* of friendſhip. How many conſolations, how much kindneſs, what important relief, may a friend afford, of which the looſe and profligate can have no idea? No: their ſkill lies not in averting the calamities of life, or in conſoling the troubled ſufferer. They cannot

——— 'Adminiſter to a *mind* diſeaſed—
Nor 'pluck from the memory a rooted ſorrow.'

Should any be yet diſpoſed to doubt the truth of the propoſition which I have laid down, namely, that it is morally impoſſible to hold friendſhip, with the ignorant and low-minded and with the profligate, I will add, that my argument derives conſiderable ſtrength from another conſideration. In the various circumſtances and ſituations of human life, innumerable caſes occur, in which wiſdom only can adviſe and extricate, and in which piety only can conſole and aſſiſt. And having ſtated this, I will beg leave to aſk, whether, in every poſſible ſituation of life, wiſdom and goodneſs be not preferable to their oppoſites?—I entertain no fears for the iſſue of this queſtion: I am not afraid of the wiſdom of a blockhead, nor am likely to be charmed by the benevolence of a profligate.

Ill-judged friendſhips are the bane of human happineſs. A rational creature becomes a mere dupe by them, an uſeleſs character to himſelf, and only ſerviceable to thoſe who impoſe upon him. *Tom Fickle* partakes much of ſuch a character. His *friends* are innumerable, and he ſeems to think it neceſſary to keep up an increaſe; they no ſooner drop off, which they do the moment that their ends are ſerved, than he ſupplies their place with others. New faces are to him new friends. The man in whoſe houſe he dines, or who dines in his houſe, is his *friend*. An interchange of civilities and *treats* is all he expects. Yet he is not without ſome idea, a confuſed one indeed, of friendſhip, and bitterly laments that Jack or Dick Such-a-one has played him a ſcurvy trick; he did not expect to be treated ſo by a friend! In truth, *Tom* makes no diſtinction of characters; his

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his ſuperiors are his beſt friends, and next to them are his equals in *fortune*; but as his ideas of friendſhip extend no farther than to an interchange of dinners and wine, his inferiors are as much below par with him, as he will be when he comes to diſcover, what cannot be long concealed, that he *never had* a friend. To ſuch a man, Buckingham's advice might be of ſervice:

'Where you are liberal of your loves and counſels,
Be ſure, you be not looſe; for thoſe you make friends,
And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
The leaſt rub in your fortunes, fall away
Like water from you, never found again
But where they mean to ſink ye.'

Friendſhip, among people who have not been corrupted by thoſe artificial vices, which fatally wait upon civilized life, exiſts in the greateſt poſſible purity and conſtancy. The abbé Fortis gives ſome curious particulars relative to the friendſhips of the Morlacchi, a people who inhabit the mountainous part of inland Dalmatia. Friendſhip is laſting among the Morlacchi. They have even made it a kind of religious point, and tie the ſacred bond at the foot of the altar. The Sclavonian ritual contains a particular benediction, for the ſolemn union of two male or two female friends, in the preſence of the congregation. The abbé ſays, that he was preſent at the union of two young women, who were made *Poſeſtre* in the church of Peruſſich. The ſatisfaction that ſparkled in their eyes, when the ceremony was performed, gave a convincing proof, that delicacy of ſentiments can lodge in minds not formed, or rather not corrupted by ſociety, which we call civilized. The male friends thus united, are called *Pobratimi*, and the females *Poſeſtreme*, which mean half-brothers and half-ſiſters. Friendſhips between thoſe of different ſexes, are not bound with ſo much ſolemnity, though perhaps in more ancient and innocent ages it was alſo the cuſtom. From theſe conſecrated friendſhips among the Morlacchi, and other nations of the ſame origin, it ſhould ſeem, that the *ſworn brothers* aroſe, a denomination frequent enough among the common people in many parts of Europe. If diſcord happens to ariſe between two friends, among the Morlacchi, it is talked of over all the country as a ſcandalous novelty; and there have been ſome examples of it of late years, to the great affliction of the old Morlacchi, who attribute the depravity of their countrymen to their intercourſe with the Italians. Wine and ſtrong liquors, of which the nation is beginning to make daily abuſe, after our example, will, of courſe, produce the ſame bad effects as among us.

Nor is the abbé miſtaken. When theſe ſimple people become more men of the world, the romantic part of their friendſhips will degenerate into that motley, unintelligible thing, which many people call friendſhip. Whoever, therefore, wiſhes to enjoy real friendſhip, muſt in the firſt place expect no more from man than the frailty of his nature will admit; and in the ſecond place, he muſt not expect friendſhip from thoſe, who from their ignorance are not enabled, or from their wickedneſs, are not diſpoſed to perform acts of mutual benevolence in trying ſituations.

CAIUS.

IMPORTANT MEDICAL COMMUNICATION,

On the DISEASE *of* SCOLDING.

FROM the days of the Spectator to the preſent time, periodical writers have indulged in invectives againſt ſcolding, from an evident miſconception of the true nature, principles, and practice of ſcolding. Nay, our anceſtors were more to blame, becauſe they went farther, and, conſidering ſcolding as a crime, invented a puniſhment for it. Much light has

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never been thrown upon the ſubject; but as I have made it my particular ſtudy, for the laſt five-and-thirty years, that is, ever ſince I entered into the happy ſtate of matrimony, I hope I ſhall have it in my power to diſpel the darkneſs of ignorant and perſecuting times, and contribute ſomething to eradicate thoſe unreaſonable prejudices, which many gentlemen of our own days entertain againſt ſcolding.

The theory of ſcolding has been groſsly miſtaken. That which is a diſeaſe has been conſidered as a fault; whereas, in fact, ſcolding is a diſeaſe, principally of the lungs; and when the noxious matter has been long pent up, it affects the organs of ſpeech in a very extraordinary manner, and is diſcharged with a violence which, while it relieves the patients, tends very much to diſturb and frighten the beholders, or perſons that happen to be within hearing.

Such is my *theory* of ſcolding; and if we examine all the appearances which it preſents in different families, we ſhall find that they will all confirm this doctrine. It is, therefore, the greateſt cruelty, and the greateſt ignorance, to conſider it as a crime. A perſon may as well be confined in jail for a fever, or tranſported for the gout, as puniſhed for ſcolding, which is, to all intents and purpoſes, a diſeaſe ariſing from the cauſes already mentioned.

Nor is it only a diſeaſe of itſelf, but it is alſo, when improperly treated, the cauſe of many other diſorders. Neglected ſcoldings have often produced fits, of which a remarkable inſtance may be found in a treatiſe written by Dr. Colman, entitled the *Jealous Wife*, in the fourth chapter, or *act*, as he calls it, of that celebrated work. On the other hand, where the ſcolding matter has been long pent up, without any vent, I have little doubt that it may bring on conſumptions of the lungs, and thoſe dreadful hyſterical diſorders which, if not ſpeedily fatal, at leaſt embitter the lives of many worthy members of ſociety. All theſe evils might have been averted, if the faculty had conſidered ſcolding in the light of a diſeaſe, and had treated it accordingly. In purſuance of my theory, I now proceed to the

Symptoms.

The ſymptoms of ſcolding are theſe; a quick pulſe, generally about one hundred beats in a minute; the eyes conſiderably inflamed, eſpecially in perſons who are fat, or reſide near Wapping; a flushing in the face, very often to a great degree; at other times, in the courſe of the fit, the colour goes and comes in a moſt ſurpriſing manner; an irregular, but violent motion of the hands and arms, and a ſtamping with the right foot; the voice exceedingly loud, and as the diſorder advances, it becomes hoarſe and inarticulate; and the whole frame is agitated. After theſe ſymptoms have continued for ſome time, they gradually, and in ſome caſes very ſuddenly go off; a plentiful effuſion of water comes from the eyes, and the patient is reſtored to health; but the diſorder leaves a conſiderable degree of weakneſs, and a peculiar fooliſhneſs of look, eſpecially if any ſtrangers have been preſent during the fit. The memory too, is, I conceive, ſomewhat impaired; the patient appears to retain a very imperfect recollection of what paſſed, and if put in mind of any circumſtances, obſtinately denies them.—Theſe ſymptoms, it may be ſuppoſed, will vary conſiderably in different patients, but where they appear at one time, there can be very little doubt of the diſorder.

Predisposing Causes.

In all diſeaſes, a knowledge of the prediſpoſing cauſes will be found to aſſiſt us in the cure. In the preſent caſe, theſe cauſes are, irritability of the vaſcular ſyſtem, an exaltation of the paſſions, and a moderate deficiency of natural temper.

Occa-

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Occasional Causes.

The occasional causes of scolding are many. Among them may be enumerated, the throwing down of a china basin, misplacing a hat, or a pair of gloves, or an umbrella; leaving a door open; over-doing the meat; under-doing the same; spilling the soup; letting the fire go out; mistaking the hour, &c. &c. with many others, which I do not think it very necessary to enumerate, because these causes are so natural, that we cannot prevent them, and because, whatever the occasional cause of the disorder may be, the symptoms are the same, and the mode of cure the same.

Cure.

Various remedies have been thought of for this distemper, but all hitherto of the rough and violent kind, which, therefore, if they remove the symptoms for the present, leave a greater disposition toward the disorder than before. Among these the common people frequently prescribe the application of an oak stick, a horsewhip, or a leather strap or belt, which, however, are all liable to the objection I have just stated. Others have recommended *argumentation*; but this, like inoculation, will not produce the desired effect, unless the patient be in some degree prepared to receive it. Some have advised a perfect silence in all persons who are near the patient; but I must say, that wherever I have seen this tried, it has rather heightened the disorder, by bringing on fits. The same thing may be said of *obedience*, or letting the patient have her own way. This is precisely like giving drink in a dropsical case, or curing a burning fever, by throwing in great quantities of brandy.

As the chief intention of this paper was to prove that scolding is a disease, and not a fault, I shall not enlarge much on the mode of cure; because the moment my theory is adopted, every person will be able to treat the disorder *secundem artem*. I shall mention, however, the following prescription, which I never found to fail, if properly administered.

Take—Of *Common Sense*, thirty grains.
Decent Behaviour, one scruple.
Due Consideration, ten grains;

Mix, and sprinkle the whole with *one moment's thought*, to be taken as soon as any of the occasional causes appear.

By way of diet, though it is not necessary to restrict the patient to a milk or vegetable diet, yet I have always found it proper to guard them against strong or spirituous liquors, or any thing that tends to heat the blood.

But it is now expedient that I should state a matter of very great importance, in the prevention of this disorder, and which I have left till now, that my arguments on the subject may appear distinct, and may be comprehended at one view. It is commonly supposed, and indeed has often been asserted, that this disorder is peculiar to one only of the sexes; and I trust, I need not add, what sex that is. But although it may be true that they are most liable to it, yet it is certain, from the theory laid down respecting the predisposing causes, that the men are equally in danger. Why then do we not find as many males afflicted with scolding as we do females? For this plain reason; scolding, as proved above, is the effect of a certain noxious matter pent up. Now this matter engenders in men, as well as in women, but the latter have not the frequent opportunities for discharging it, which the men enjoy. Women are by fashion and certain confined modes of life, restrained from all those public companies, clubs, assemblies, coffee-houses, &c. &c. where the men have a continual opportunity of discharging the cause of the disorder, without its ever accumulating in so great a quantity as to produce the symptoms I have enumerated. This,

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and this only, is the cauſe why the diſeaſe appears moſt often in the female ſex. I would propoſe, therefore, if I were a legiſlator, or if I had influence enough to ſet a faſhion, that the ladies ſhould in all reſpects imitate the ſocieties of the men; that they ſhould have their clubs, their coffee-houſes, diſputing ſocieties, and even their parliament. In ſuch places they would be able to take that ſpecies of exerciſe, that tends to keep down the diſorder, which at preſent accumulates in confinement, and, when nature attempts a diſcharge, the exploſion is attended with all the violence and irregularities I have before enumerated.

Thus much I have ventured to advance reſpecting ſcolding, and I hope that I ſhall ſucceed in abating the unreaſonable prejudices which have been foſtered by an affected ſuperiority in our ſex, joined to a portion of ignorance which, to ſay the leaſt, renders that ſuperiority a matter of great doubt. I have only to add, that my motives for all this have been perfectly diſintereſted, and that I ſhall be very happy to give advice to any perſon labouring under the diſorder. Letters (poſt paid) may be addreſſed to me, and ſent to the publiſher of this Magazine.

CELSUS BOERHAAVE, M. D.

A DESCRIPTION *of the City of* TURIN: *With a general Account of* SAVOY *and* PIEDMONT, *and a Sketch of the Hiſtory of the Royal Family of* SARDINIA.

THE noble city of Turin, which ſtands on the northern bank of the river Po, is perhaps, if taken all in all, the beſt built, beſt fortified, and the moſt uniform in Europe. Its form is oval, the ſtreets are wide, and extend in ſtrait lines from one end of it to the other. Through the middle of which the clear ſtream of the Doria is made to flow in little channels that keep them clean, and ſupply the inhabitants with good water. As I had never read any deſcription of Turin, I was agreeably ſurpriſed on our arrival. The fronts of the houſes in every ſtreet are ſimilar to each other, being built of hewn ſtone, three ſtories high. The late king, who was really what kings ſhould be, the father of his country, began theſe improvements, and might be called the ſecond founder; for ſo great is the alteration, that it would be impoſſible for any perſon, who had ſeen it before the new plan was executed, to know it in the preſent time. But although the appearance of the whole is particularly grand and ſtriking, its uniformity ſoon tires the eye, which requires variety; and thus it is with numberleſs objects, whoſe beauties vaniſh with their novelty. While the venerable appearance of the royal palace makes it look like the great anceſtor of the city, its heavy and ill proportioned ſtructure ſtands as a memento of the rude and barbarous ages of Italy. It occupies one ſide of a ſquare called the Piazza Caſtello, and behind it are gardens, which, being ſliced into a variety of ſquares, parallelograms, and triangles, are by no means ſuited to the Engliſh taſte. But the inſide of the palace makes ample amends. It has a noble ſuite of rooms richly furniſhed, and hung with a fine collection of pictures of the Italian and Flemiſh ſchools; of the latter, one by Gerard Douw, the ſubject of which is a dropſical woman attended by her phyſician, her daughter, and maid-ſervant, is, I think, one of the moſt highly finiſhed pictures I ever ſaw, perhaps too much ſo. It is conſidered as the moſt valuable of the collection, placed in the beſt light, and careſully ſhut up in a ſmall cabinet of ebony. The ſame day we viſited the citadel, which is called by military men the firſt thing of the kind

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kind exiſting. The foundations were laid in 1564, by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy; but as fortification was little known at that early period, the citadel muſt have aſſumed quite a new form to be what it is at preſent. The great theatre, or, as it is here called, Il Teatro reggio, is a much finer houſe than we have in London, being built on a plan very different and ſuperior to that of our opera. It is lofty enough to admit ſix rows of boxes, which continue round the body of the houſe, or theatre, there being no galleries to obſtruct and deaden the muſic. The depth of the ſtage alone, is (as I am informed) 126 feet by 96—an immenſe allotment of ſpace for theatrical exhibition. As this theatre is only uſed during the carnival, we ſaw it in the day-time, conſequently to great diſadvantage. The only theatre now open is that of Carignano, where we found an admirable comic opera—an entertainment to which, by the way, I think I ſhall be very partial, when better acquainted with Italian. The ſhow of company did not anſwer our expectations, but I find the boxes are ſeldom full, except on the firſt and ſecond nights of performance, when the theatre is illuminated, and with the audience makes a very brilliant appearance. If I except ſome favourite airs, the opera is entirely diſregarded by the parties in the boxes, who are engaged either at cards, or in converſation. In ſhort, it is only a public manner to receive viſits, except on the firſt or ſecond repreſentation, when the whole houſe is ſilent. This inattention is very natural, when we conſider that the ſame opera is repeated ſucceſſively for a month or ſix weeks. Among the private palaces that we ſaw (for you muſt know that every gentleman's houſe in Italy is called a palace) the moſt ſuperb is that of the marquis del Borgo; and never did I behold any thing ſo extravagantly magnificent. The furniture is of the richeſt materials that can poſſibly be procured, and the ceiling ornamented with garlands, feſtoons, and fancy work of bands and twiſt of ſolid gold enamelled. I aſſure you the apartments of the royal palace are mean in compariſon of them. But what pleaſed us more was a cabinet of antique gems, the property of the commandanté del Gialouſé. We expected magnificent churches here, but have been very much diſappointed. However, we viſited that of Superga, ſituate on a high hill, about four miles from Turin. Having gained the top with ſome difficulty, as the aſcent is ſteep and rugged, we came rather ſuddenly on the church, which preſented a handſome portico, and above it a dome or cupola flanked on each ſide by ſteeples. Within it is quite circular, and in all reſpects correſpondent to the exterior beauty. We much admired its marble columns; they are of a colour between blue and grey, and exquiſitely poliſhed, but I think rather too low. Under the church is the royal vault; the magnificence of which, though ſtriking, does not in any degree take from the ſolemnity; but the whole poſſeſſes an equal proportion of each, and is moſt awfully grand. In the center is the coffin of the late king, where it is to remain till replaced by that of his preſent majeſty, at whoſe funeral it will be conſigned to the tomb which now awaits it. Theſe tombs are formed in the walls of the vault for the deceaſed of the royal family. But we were leſs pleaſed with Superga, than with the rich, the extenſive, and varied proſpect that it commands; we looked back with exulting pleaſure on the Alps, thoſe vaſt barriers that ſhut in Italy from the more northern countries of Europe, and divide not only the land, but climates. Below us was Turin, and eaſtward we beheld the plains of Lombardy, as far as Milan; through which the fertilizing Po winds its long courſe, and ruſhes violently into the Adriatic. Thus Virgil:

Et

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Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
Eridanus: quo non alius per pinguia culta,
In mare purpureum violentior influit amnis *.

During the ſiege of Turin in 1706, Victor Amadæus aſcended this hill to reconnoitre the poſition of the enemy, and then made a vow to erect a church on it, if they did not ſucceed in their enterprize, againſt the city; in conſequence therefore of the victory gained by prince Eugene, and the total overthrow of the French army, he built Superga nine years after. The expence of it muſt have been conſiderably increaſed by the labour in conveying the materials to the ſite, which even now, though much better than at that time, is moſt difficult of acceſs. Another excurſion we made in the vicinity of Turin, was to the royal palace of La Venerie, the moſt noble of the king's country reſidences; but I cannot ſay that I much admire it. The ſituation is low and flat; the buildings (if I except the chapel) heavy and irregular: the apartments gloomy: the furniture crowded and ill arranged: and, finally, the gardens (ſo much admired in this country) are laid out in the French manner, conſequently taſteleſs and unnatural. There are three rooms in the palace that particularly engaged our attention, as they were hung, or I would rather ſay, wainſcoted with pictures of the crowned heads of England, the German empire, and Savoy —all in my opinion very ill done. You know how nearly allied the Sardinian blood royal is to the Stuart family. About two miles from La Venerie is a large elm, held in univerſal veneration, and I leave you to judge how much more deſervedly ſo, than the oak that afforded an aſylum to our weak and worthleſs monarch Charles II, when I inform you that under this elm, Victor Amadæus, duke of Savoy, prince Eugene, and two other generals (I believe the prince of Anhalt, and the marquis de Prie) held a council of war, and came to the reſolution of attacking the French army then before Turin. This happened on the 5th of September 1706. On the 7th, they forced the enemy's lines, and gained a moſt deciſive victory, which not only raiſed the ſiege of the capital, but reinſtated the duke in all his dominions, and ruined the French intereſt in Italy.

The dominions of his preſent majeſty, Victor Amadæus III, conſiſt of Sardinia, Piedmont, Savoy, Montferrat, and part of the Milaneſe. Never was a ſovereign in poſſeſſion of two countries more oppoſite to each other than Savoy and Piedmont; the former is a wild tract of mountain and hollow vallies, which require every aid that art and labour can beſtow to make the produce adequate to the conſumption, though no people can be more frugal than its inhabitants, frugal indeed in conſequence of their poverty. The ſides of theſe mountains are in many places ſo very ſteep, as to be inacceſſible to beaſts of draught or burden, and the plow is there an uſeleſs inſtrument of agriculture; the peaſants break up the hungry ſoil with the pickaxe and ſpade, and to improve it, carry up mould and dung in baſkets. For the purpoſe of preſerving it from drought in the ſpring and ſummer, they cut ſmall reſervoirs above it, the water of which may be let out at will, and to prevent the earth from giving way, break the declivity of the mountains by building walls on the ſide for its ſupport, which frequently aſſume the appearance of ancient fortification, and are a very pleaſing deception to travellers. The Savoyards carry their better ſort of cheeſe into Piedmont, as the flavour is much eſteemed there; but they gain more by their ſkins of bears, chamois, and bouquetins (a ſpecies of the wild goat) or by the ſale of

* Bull-fac'd Eridanus with gilded horns,
Than which no ſtream runs through the fruitful lea
With ſwifter current to the purple ſea.

growſe

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growſe and pheaſants, which they carry in great numbers to Turin.

Piedmont is part of the plains of Lombardy, which extending from the north-weſt boundaries of Italy to the Lagune of Venice, conſtitute one of the moſt fertile and valuable parts of Europe. It abounds in fruits and grain of almoſt every kind in our quarter of the world, and its paſtures are as rich as thoſe of Holland. Novara is celebrated for its fine rice, Millefiori for his majeſty's tobacco plantations, while the vineyards, in every part of Piedmont, produce a ſweet red wine of an excellent quality. But what the owners of land moſt encourage is the feeding of cattle, and culture of the mulberry tree for ſilk worms; of the former they ſend annually to foreign markets from ninety to a hundred thouſand head, beſide great number of hogs and mules. The laſt of theſe animals are very fine in this country, as I have before obſerved; but the inhabitants have other beaſts, or rather monſters, which they find very ſerviceable, though vicious and obſtinate. Theſe are produced by a cow and an aſs, or mare and bull, and called Jumarres or Gimerri; I cannot ſay that I have ever ſeen any of them, but I am told they are very common. The ſilk worm thrives ſo well, that many peaſants make above* 100lbs. of ſilk annually; and it is not only abundant, but univerſally known to be ſtronger and finer than any in Italy. The land-owners divide the profit with their tenants. The duchy of Savoy and principality of Piedmont are, I find, more populous than I thought they were; by the laſt returns, the number is found to amount to 2,695,727 ſouls, of which Turin contains about 77,000.

I might almoſt ſay, that the authority of his Sardinian majeſty is as abſolute as his will, being neither controlled by parliaments, nor conditions of government. The ſucceſſion to the throne is determined by the ſalique law, ſo that females are excluded. He is marquis of Italy, and a prince of the empire, at the diet of which he has a ſeat. During a vacancy in the imperial throne, he is grand vicar for the empire in Italy, and chief of the two orders of the Annunciada and St. Lazarus. His great council is compoſed of eight miniſters of ſtate, among whom are the viceroy of Sardinia, his ambaſſador at Rome, and two ſecretaries of ſtate. The principal officers of his court are a great almoner, a high chamberlain, three gentlemen of the bed-chamber in firſt order, a grand maſter of the ceremonies, another of the houſhold, a principal maggiordomo, an honorary keeper of the wardrobe, and maſter of the ſtag hounds, all whoſe ſalaries would be thought little in compariſon of what, as Mr. Burke facetiouſly called them, the k—g's turnſpits received in England.

The public adminiſtration of juſtice is entruſted to certain provoſts and intendants nominated by his majeſty, who judge in the firſt inſtance. Appeals from their determinations are carried before the ſenates, of which there are three, at Turin, Chamberry, and Nice; the firſt is compoſed of three preſidents, and twenty-one ſenators; the ſecond of two preſidents, and ten counſellors; and the third of one preſident, and ſix counſellors. The law, though changed in many inſtances by the king's ordinances, is founded on the Roman code, or pandects of Juſtinian. With regard to the finances, I learn that they are adminiſtered by the grand chamber of accounts, eſtabliſhed ſince 1563, at Chamberry by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, which is compoſed of two preſidents, ſix counſellors, the ſame number of auditors, two ſecretaries, and an attorney-general. As a proof how much the

* Each pound is valued in Piedmont at eighteen ſhillings, the little village of La Tour, in the valley of Lucerne, makes above 50,000 pounds annually, and the exports every year to the ſingle city of Lyons amount to more than 160,000l.

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pope's influence is diminiſhed, I muſt obſerve, that no bull, brief, or papal letter, can be publiſhed in the dominions of his Sardinian majeſty without his permiſſion; his ambaſſador at the court of Rome is generally a cardinal, and it is he (the king) who preſents to all vacant benefices within his territories, deducting one third of their revenues for his penſions. All theſe benefices are ſubject to taxes, except the ancient patrimony of the church, or ſuch property as the clergy poſſeſſed before the year 1600; but even this in time of war contributes the twentieth part of its income, which certainly is much too little. All cauſes, in which eccleſiaſtics are concerned, are determined by ſecular judges, and finally to deſtroy that power by which they ſo frequently made the intereſt of religion a pretext for the gratification of their vengeance. The king put himſelf at the head of the inquiſition, ſo that no perſon can be ſeized, but by his order. In conformity to the general ſyſtem of Europe, and to defend his territories from the incroachments of his neighbours, his Sardinian majeſty keeps up an army of 40,000 men, viz. four regiments of body guards, twenty-two of infantry, ten of cavalry, and twelve of militia or provincials. Among theſe troops are alſo ſome Swiſs regiments. The marine is ſo inconſiderable, as to be unworthy of attention, being compoſed only of two frigates, and as many gallies, out of commiſſion. The royal revenues amount to 1,041,666 l. They are principally made up by a land-tax, poll-tax, tax on cattle, gabelle or duty on ſalt and tobacco, of which I believe each family is obliged, as in France, to take annually a certain quantity; another on ſtamped paper, on inns, butchers meat, leather, candles, gunpowder, and a tax on Jews.

I ſhall conclude this with an abridgement of the hiſtory of Savoy and Piedmont, more eſpecially as from reading it I am led to believe, that there is no where to be found a ſtronger inſtance of what a wiſe and prudent ſucceſſion of princes can do in raiſing a ſmall territory into a powerful ſtate, than what the former preſents in its firſt counts and dukes. Berthhold, of the illuſtrious houſe of Saxony, was in the year 1000 made count of Savoy and Maurienne, by Rodolph III, king of Burgundy, in recompence for the military ſervice he had rendered him; and from this nobleman is deſcended the preſent ſovereign of Sardinia, who may reflect with ſatisfaction, that the dominions he has inherited from his anceſtors are not the acquiſitions of blood and conqueſt, which however warranted by cuſtom, muſt to the philoſophic eye appear no better than public robbery ſupported by power. Through purchaſe, marriage, and ſucceſſion, the territories of the counts of Savoy became conſiderable. Otho, the grandſon of Berthhold, united Piedmont to his paternal inheritance; but theſe countries were again divided by Thomas I, between his two eldeſt ſons. Amadæus IV, who ſucceeded to Savoy, having eſpouſed the intereſt of the Gibbelins againſt the Guelfs, was recompenſed by the emperor Frederic II, who, in 1246, erected Chablais and Aoſte into a duchy, by which the ducal dignity entered into the houſe of Savoy. For the four firſt centuries it may be ſaid, that there were few princes of the race of Berthhold that did not add to their dominions; but far greater than any of his predeceſſors was Amadæus VI, or the Green Count, ſo called from his appearing with all his retinue at a tournament in Chamberry cloathed in that colour. Theſe appellations, which ſeem to have been the prevailing faſhion of thoſe rude times aroſe from the moſt trivial circumſtances, and were laviſhed on many, whoſe virtues entitled them to more honourable diſtinctions; ſuch as Edward the Black Prince, and Amadæus VI, who was certainly one of the moſt illuſtrious of his family; for during a reign of forty years he ſupported the character

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of a wiſe prince, and an able commander, while fortune, as the reward of his merit, proved favourable to whatever he attempted.

Having eſtabliſhed his reputation ſo much at home, as to make his alliance and mediation ſought by the emperor and all the Italian ſtates, he carried his arms into the eaſt, delivered John Paleologus I from the captivity of the Bulgarian kings and replaced him on the imperial throne of Conſtantinople. He ſuccoured the iſland of Rhodes, routed the Turks in a great battle, and to make memorable the victory, in 1362, eſtabliſhed the order of Annunciada in honour of it. He was alſo the founder of many convents.—You will probably laugh at this remark, but ſurely muſt allow, that although to this enlightened age ſuch an act will appear the leaſt beneficial of his life, it diſplayed a piety, which, however ill-directed, was the reſult of a grateful and laudable intention. He died of the plague at Capua in 1383, whither he had carried his veteran army to aſſiſt Lewis of Anjou in the conqueſt of Naples. The character of Amadæus VIII ſeems to be held in as much eſteem as that of the laſt mentioned duke. In his reign Piedmont, for want of iſſue from its own princes, was reannexed to the duchy of Savoy. After a ſeries of good and uſeful actions, he reſigned his dominions to his ſon Lewis in 1434, exchanging his diadem for the monaſtic habit and profeſſion; but he again appeared to the world in a character as ſingular as unexpected. In 1439, the council of Baſil, depoſing Eugenius IV, choſe Amadæus as the moſt proper perſon to fill the vacant chair of St. Peter, which nothing could perſuade him to accept, but a belief that his acquieſcence in the choice of the council would put an end to the ſchiſm of the church; in this however he was miſtaken, for during nine years after his election the papacy was continually diſputed; when at length, worn out with oppoſition, and deſirous of repoſe, he again retired to the convent, which he had firſt choſen for his aſylum, where he ſurvived his abdication of the papacy only two years. Savoy, and the other ducal dominions, which had hitherto been governed by princes who exerted themſelves for the welfare of their ſubjects, fell into anarchy and weakneſs from the ſucceſſion of Philibert, the infant ſon of Amadæus IX, and the diſtraction occaſioned by the various pretenſions to the regency, there being no leſs than ſix competitors, moſt of whom conſulted only their own intereſt in the claim; but happily the death of the young prince put an end to the diſturbances; for he being ſucceeded by his younger brother Charles I, who was conſequently a minor, his uncle Lewis XI, king of France, aſſumed the regency as it were by force, and dying in the following year, Charles, though but fifteen, took upon himſelf the management of his own affairs, and was found every way deſerving of it. At nineteen the kingdom of Cyprus was given to him by Charlotte, daughter of John II, king of that iſland, as next heir in right of his grandmother Anne, John's ſiſter. Charlotte being depoſed by her natural brother James, and unable to recover poſſeſſion, though powerfully ſupported, retired to Rome, where ſhe made this donation to Charles; but the iſland being ſeized by the Venetians, as heirs to Catherine Cornáro, relict of the uſurper, Charles and his deſcendants ſaw the futility of putting in a claim, which, from their want of naval force, could not poſſibly be ſupported; ſo that this gift has been productive to the houſe of Savoy of nothing more than uſeleſs pretenſions to the thrones of Cyprus and Jeruſalem, with a royal title and additional quarter to their arms; happily ſo, for could this prince and his ſucceſſors have ſupported their rights, they would have ſacrificed many thouſands of their ſubjects in gratifying their ambition; nor can I but condemn the continuance of ſuch claims, which for the moſt part are but a ſa-

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tire on the injuſtice of former times, and the vanity of the preſent. During the invaſions of Italy by the French kings Charles VIII, Lewis XII, and Francis I, the dukes of Savoy generally eſpouſed the ſtronger party, and by ſo doing prevented their country from being expoſed to the ravages of war; but, their attempts on the little republic of Geneva were always fruitleſs, and frequently followed by unſucceſsful war, particularly in the reign of Charles III, who, on that account, drew upon himſelf more enemies than he could reſiſt, but principally Francis I, and the canton of Berne; the former had won the greater part of Piedmont, and the latter the Pays de Vaud. In this unfortunate ſituation Montfort, governor of Nice, diſplayed an example of valour and fidelity, that was calculated to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen under the calamities which oppreſſed them. The duc d'Enguien, commander of the French forces, with his ally Horuc Barbaroſſa, the Turkiſh admiral, diſembarked their armies at Villa França, a ſmall diſtance from Nice, and commanded the ſurrender of the city. The governor, having heard the herald, replied: 'That he had ill addreſſed himſelf to him, for his name was Montfort, in his arms he bore balls, and that his motto was: I muſt hold out; and that he might therefore expect an obſtinate defence.' Barbaroſſa, whoſe haughty temper was little calculated to admire virtue in an enemy and a Chriſtian, was indignant at this gallant anſwer, and inveſted the city on the 10th day of Auguſt, 1543. He battered it till the 22d, when a general aſſault was given. In this, however, he was repulſed with loſs; but the heroic Montfort, finding that he could not maintain the place againſt ſuch ſuperior force, abandoned the city for the caſtle, which he had previouſly ſtored with ammunition and proviſions. There he was invincible; for after many deſperate attempts, the beſiegers conſiderably reduced by the ſucceſsful ſallies of the garriſon, and fearful of its being reinforced, gave up the attempt, after the loſs of much time, and many thouſands of their beſt troops. Emanuel Philibert, who ſucceeded Charles III in 1553, warmly eſpouſed the ſide his father had taken, and engaged perſonally in the war againſt France; for being nurſed as it were in arms, he poſſeſſed a thorough knowledge of the tactics of thoſe times, and all the valour of his anceſtors. In the famous battles of St. Quintin and Gravelines between Philip and Henry, the ſucceſſors of Charles V and Francis I, Emanuel Philibert very much contributed by his perſonal achievements to the victory; it was after the former of theſe, that Philip, whoſe hands the duke would have kiſſed in compliment of his ſucceſs, haſtily prevented him, exclaiming with more generoſity than I ever thought that monarch poſſeſſed: 'It is rather my duty to kiſs your hands, who have gained for me ſo glorious a victory at the expence of ſo little blood.' Though France was very unwilling to reſtore all the places that had been taken by Francis I, from the late duke, yet it finally took place, and a treaty to that purpoſe was ſigned at Turin, on the 14th of December, 1574. Philibert is remarkable alſo for his pretenſions to the crown of Portugal, vacant by the death of Henry the cardinal, in 1580; but in theſe he had no greater ſucceſs than his predeceſſor Charles I had in thoſe to Cyprus. He was ſucceeded by Charles Emanuel, who ſeems to have inherited the enterpriſing ſpirit of his forefathers without their virtues. Covetous of dominion, and regardleſs of the means by which he acquired it, he took advantage of the civil commotions in France, and ſeized Provence; but for this act of injuſtice he was ſeverely chaſtiſed by Henry IV, who reduced him to the ſituation of ſuing in perſon for part of his conquered territories. Finding that he was not likely to ſucceed againſt a monarch of Henry's heroic temper

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(who, as I have ſeen it obſerved, was ſupported by his rights, his virtue, his ſword, and Sully) he attempted to ſurpriſe the city of Geneva by night, in doing which he only increaſed the infamy of his character; but you have already had a deſcription of this attempt in a letter from that city. After a long life of political intrigue and perfidy, he died of an apoplexy, on the 26th of July, 1630. From this time to the reign of Lewis XIV, Savoy occaſionally took part with France or Spain, as moſt conducive to its intereſt. In 1653, the advantage was ſo much on the ſide of France, that Charles Emanuel II thought of allying himſelf to that court, and in conſequence went accompanied by his ducheſs, his mother, and the princeſs Margaret his ſiſter, to meet Lewis XIV, at Lyons, between whom and his ſiſter he was deſirous of effecting a marriage, which would probably have ſucceeded to his wiſhes, had not Spain, fearful of the conſequences, propoſed at the ſame time the Infanta Maria Thereſa, and peace between the two kingdoms, as the ratification of ſuch alliance. This offer, through the intrigue of cardinal Mazarin was preferred, which broke off all connection between France and Savoy, and induced the latter to unite itſelf to the enemies of the former. The firſt opportunity that offered was in 1690, when Victor Amadæus II, acceded to the grand league that was formed by almoſt all the powers of Europe to check the inordinate ambition of Lewis XIV; but this junction, which had ſo promiſing an appearance, was near producing the moſt fatal event. Catinat, the French general, ſtript the duke of almoſt all his dominions in two campaigns, and would have completed his ruin, had not Lewis, who deemed the expences of the war much greater than the advantages that would finally reſult from it, ordered Catinat to act only on the defenſive, and in the mean time, for the purpoſe of detaching Victor from the alliance, propoſed terms of accommodation more ſuited to the condition of a conqueror, than to that of the vanquiſhed. Theſe were immediately accepted, and a treaty of peace ſigned at Turin, on the 29th of Auguſt, 1696. It continued, however, but a ſhort time; for the famous war of ſucceſſion breaking out at the beginning of this century, Savoy became a party concerned. The duke againſt his intereſt, and indeed againſt his inclination, was firſt obliged to fight for the execution of the king of Spain's will, and unite his arms to to thoſe of Lewis XIV. Four years before this he had found himſelf almoſt diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by the rapid ſucceſs of the French arms; and ſhould he now have eſpouſed an oppoſite intereſt, he was more likely to be ſo than before, as Lewis had filled the Milaneſe with his troops. However, his intereſt as well as inclination ſoon induced him to join the imperial army under count Stahremberg, who commanded in Italy during the abſence of prince Eugene, and then he declared war againſt Lewis, when the French general acted with ſuch vigour, that he ſoon found himſelf diſpoſſeſſed of all his territories, except the two cities of Turin and Coni, the former of which they had inveſted, and were on the point of taking, though gallantly defended. In this hopeleſs ſituation Victor began to deſpair, when unexpectedly the allies, who were every where victorious, ſent a powerful army to his relief under prince Eugene. This great man triumphed over all the obſtacles that were thrown in his way by the duc de Vendome, and arrived near Turin in Auguſt, 1706, where he forced the enemies lines, gained a complete victory, and in conſequence ſaved Victor Amadæus from what a few days before ſeemed inevitable ruin. At the peace of Utretcht, in 1713, his fidelity and perſeverance were amply rewarded by England, whoſe miniſters inſiſted, that the houſe of

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Savoy ſhould be acknowledged as next in ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain, in default of iſſue from Philip, and by way of indemnification for the expence which the duke had incurred during the war, the iſland of Sicily ſhould be ceded to him with the title of king. In 1720, he was compelled to exchange Sicily for Sardinia with the emperor, and from this iſland we find he has aſſumed the preſent title. Victor, at length tired with a long reign of fifty years, and deſirous of repoſe, reſigned his throne to his ſon Charles Emanuel III, in 1730, and retired to Chamberry, where he publiſhed his marriage with the counteſs of St. Sebaſtion, daughter of the marquis de St. Thomas, one of his former prime miniſters, and relict of his firſt equerry the count of that name. It is ſuppoſed that his abdication was an act of policy, to avoid the reſentment of the emperor, which was excited by his having privately concerted meaſures with Spain for the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons into Parma and Tuſcany; be that as it may, certain it is, that he attempted to reaſſume the regal dignity the year after his reſignation of it, but was prevented by his ſon. He died at Montcallier the 31ſt of October, 1732. In conſequence of a treatry of alliance at Worms, on the 13th of September, 1743, Savoy was again engaged in a war againſt France and Spain, to ſupport the inheritance of the late empreſs, queen Maria Thereſa. Charles Emanuel, the late king, proved himſelf every way worthy of his illuſtrious progenitors. He commanded his own armies in perſon, and diſplayed the talents of an able general, the valour of an hero, and what is much more rare, a mind ſuperior to corruption; for his enemies, eager to detach him from the imperial alliance, offered him the Milaneſe as the reward of his revolt. This he rejected with all the indignation of inſulted virtue, for the only anſwer he ordered his miniſter to make to the propoſal, was to inform the count de Maillebois, ſent to conclude this buſineſs, that he might return to his army, as the campaign had already begun two days. This noble action found its recompence in his ſubſequent triumph over the French and Spaniſh armies, and at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, by which he received all that had been ceded to him by the empreſs queen in the treaty of Worms, except the marquiſate of Final, which, as it before belonged to, was beſtowed on the republic of Genoa.

EFFECTS *of the* MISERIES *of* HUMAN LIFE:
Illuſtrated by an affecting Story.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

AMID the miſeries to which human life is liable, nothing is ſo generally dreaded as poverty, ſince it expoſes mankind to diſtreſſes that are but little pitied, and to the contempt of thoſe, who have no natural endowments ſuperior to our own. Every other difficulty or danger a man is enabled to encounter with courage and alacrity, becauſe he knows that his ſucceſs will meet with applauſe; for bravery will always meet with its admirers; but in poverty, every virtue is obſcured, and no conduct can entirely ſecure a man from reproach. Cheerfulneſs (as an admirable author obſerves) is here inſenſibility, and dejection, ſullenneſs; its hardſhips are without honour, and its labour without reward. Notwithſtanding this, there is perhaps no ſtation more favourable to the growth of virtue, where the ſeeds of it are previouſly planted in the mind. The poor man

is,

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is, from his ſituation, cut off from a thouſand temptations to vice; and that levity and diſſipation of thought, which are the common attendants of eaſe and affluence, are obliged to give way to the ſteady exerciſe of reaſon and cool reflection, which are as cloſely connected with wiſdom, as vice is with folly. But when poverty is felt in its utmoſt extreme, it then becomes exceſſively dangerous; and ſome deviations from rectitude are perhaps impoſſible to be avoided. The man who can ſupport with courage 'the proud man's contumely,' may ſhrink at the proſpect of a priſon; and he who can cheerfully feed on the coarſeſt viands, will generally be unable to reſiſt the importunate ſolicitations of hunger, to deviate from the ſtrict road of equity, where it leads through a barren waſte, and where there are fruits at a diſtance to tempt his approach. Where this is the caſe, it would be cruel to puniſh the unhappy wretch, who is unable to withſtand the power of ſuch temptations: temptations that may be doubled by the multiplied diſtreſs of ſeeing a family ready to periſh. The learned and pious Boerhaave obſerves, that he never ſaw a criminal carried to execution, without aſking his own heart, 'who knows whether this man is not leſs guilty than I?' Were all mankind to aſk themſelves the ſame queſtion, juſtice would frequently be executed with leſs rigour, and perhaps ſometimes the malefactor would be reſtored to virtue, by the hand of mercy ſtretched out to his relief, inſtead of being deprived of life for a crime, which perhaps few would have been able, in the ſame circumſtances, to withſtand. 'In the year 1662, (when Paris was afflicted with a long and ſevere famine) M. de Sallo, returning from a ſummer's evening walk, with only a little foot-boy, was accoſted by a man, who preſented his piſtol, and in a manner far from the reſoluteneſs of a hardened robber, aſked him for his money. M. de Sallo obſerving that he came to the wrong man, and that he could get little from him, added, "I have only three louis d'ors, about me, which are not worth a ſcuffle, ſo much good may they do you;" but let me tell you, you are in a bad way.' The man took them, without aſking for more, and walked off with an air of dejection and terror. The fellow was no ſooner gone, than M. de Sallo ordered the boy to follow him, to ſee where he went, and, to give him an account of every thing. The lad obeyed; followed him through ſeveral obſcure ſtreets, and at length ſaw him enter a baker's ſhop, where he obſerved him change one of the louis, and buy a large brown loaf. With this purchaſe he went a few doors farther, and entering an alley, aſcended a pair of ſtairs. The boy crept up after him to the fourth ſtory, where he ſaw him go into a room, that had no other light but that it received from the moon, and peeping through a crevice, he perceived him throw it on the floor, and burſt into tears, ſaying, "There, eat your fill, there's the deareſt loaf I ever bought: I have robbed a gentleman of three louis; let us huſband them well, and let me have no more teazings, for ſooner or later theſe doings muſt bring me to the gallows, and all to ſatisfy your clamours." His lamentations were anſwered by thoſe of the whole family; and his wife having at length calmed the agony of his mind, took up the loaf, and cutting it, gave four pieces to four poor ſtarving children. The boy having thus happily performed his commiſſion, returned home, and gave his maſter an account of every thing he had ſeen and heard. M. de Sallo, who was much moved, ordered the boy to call him at five in the morning. This humane gentleman aroſe at the time appointed, and taking the boy with him, to ſhew him the way, enquired in the neighbourhood the character of a man, who lived in ſuch a garret, with a wife and four children; when he was told, that he was a very induſtrious good kind of

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of man; that he was a ſhoemaker, and a neat workman, but was overburdened with a family, and had a hard ſtruggle to live in ſuch bad times. Satisfied with this account, M. de Sallo aſcended the ſhoemaker's garret, and knocking at the door, it was opened by the poor man himſelf, who knowing him at firſt ſight to be the perſon he had robbed the evening before, fell at his feet, and implored his mercy, pleading the extreme diſtreſs of his family, and begging he would forgive his firſt crime. M. de Sallo deſired him to make no noiſe, for he had not the leaſt intention to hurt him. "You have a good character among your neighbours," ſaid he, "but muſt expect that your life will ſoon be cut ſhort, if you are now ſo wicked as to continue the freedoms you took with me. Hold your hand, there are thirty louis to buy leather, huſband it well, and ſet your children a commendable example. To put you out of farther temptations to commit ſuch ruinous and fatal actions, I will encourage your induſtry; I hear you are a neat workman, you ſhall take meaſure of me, and of this boy, for two pair of ſhoes each, and he ſhall call upon you for them." The whole family appeared ſtruck with joy, amazement, and gratitude; and M. de Sallo departed greatly moved, and with a mind filled with ſatisfaction at having ſaved a man, and, perhaps, a family, from the commiſſion of guilt, from an ignominious death; and, perhaps, from eternal perdition. May we not ſay of M. de Sallo with Rowe:

How few, like thee, enquire the wretched out,
And court the offices of ſoft humanity?

J. SHORE.

Never was a day much better begun: the conſciouſneſs of having performed ſuch an action, when it recurs to the mind of a reaſonable being, muſt be attended with pleaſure, and that ſelf complacency and ſecret approbation, which is more deſirable than gold and all the pleaſures of the earth.

F. B.

THOUGHTS *on* HUMAN HAPPINESS.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

MUCH has been ſaid, at different periods of the world, on the ſubject of human happineſs. Many expedients have been formed, by ingenious ſpeculatiſts, for the attainment of this ſublunary felicity; various have been the plans propoſed, to facilitate the acquiſition of this phantom of the imagination; as if it were poſſible for the powers of the human intellect to remain ſtationary, under any ſituation we can be placed in. Corporeal gratifications, we all know, are of tranſient duration, and to many of them, even thoſe accounted the moſt exquiſitely pleaſing, not only ſatiety, but diſguſt and languor ſucceed.

Intellectual enjoyments (which are certainly the moſt alluring) are evaneſcent and fleeting; ſeldom affording that pleaſing gratification that our ſanguine expectations vainly anticipated. It may naturally be demanded what is the cauſe of this grievous diſappointment?

There appears to me to be many cogent reaſons, why the mind never enjoys unmixed felicity in this ſtate of exiſtence; the principal one however is, that we are too apt to promiſe our ſelves greater degrees of happineſs, than the nature of things can poſſibly beſtow; when we are in purſuit of any promiſing gratification, we generally contemplate it in an abſtract ſenſe, as not being connected with contingent concomitants. We readily grant, that, in general, all human joys are imperfect: but do not we entertain a kind

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kind of mental reservation in favour of our own sagacity and prudence? Are we not apt to suppose that, in the general mode of human conduct, men frustrate the end of gratifications, by some mischievous injudicious management, for which they only are culpable; but which we trust our nicer judgment will turn to a better account.

The various ways by which the vanity of man deceives him, and counteracts even his best resolutions, are so numerous, that no person in any degree acquainted with himself, will deny, that, on many occasions, he has conceived thoughts of his own superior prudence and discretion, that he would be ashamed to own. That these mistaken conclusions in our own favour, are among the many eccentricities of the human mind, most of your readers will doubtless admit: and from this single circumstance we have been led to form fallacious notions of the nature of human happiness. It would be arrogant in me, not to acknowledge, that I have been repeatedly deluded in the participation of intellectual gratifications, by expecting a greater degree of satisfaction from them than the nature of things will admit.

I would wish to inculcate this maxim in the minds of all young men, who have rational pleasure in view, 'not to expect more delight in any earthly gratification, than the nature of imperfect beings is capable of receiving.' From entertaining false notions of human felicity, in the enjoyment of the various pleasures that the God of Nature has wisely provided for us, in order to smooth the more rugged paths of our earthly probation, men have been led to pronounce all things *vanity* and *vexation of spirit*. This confession, though from the wisest of men, does not appear to me to be grounded on a rational judgment, or a just estimate of the grand scheme of the Creator of all things; who could not provide any thing that was not ultimately *wise* and *good*.

For the consolation and encouragement of young persons, who wish to fill up the measure of their duty in social life; it is but just to inform them, that if they preserve themselves untainted by vice, which is constantly holding forth its illusive joys, they may find, in the intervals of their leisure moments, harmless amusements that will leave no sting behind them. Youth, full of gay thoughts and pleasing expectations, imagine that they will find, in a full scope of exquisite gratifications, as much happiness in a few months, as, in the usual gradation of human pleasures, are experienced in a whole age. The modern man of pleasure supposes, that the *Old Put*, his father, does not know how to enjoy life; his grave admonitions, (the fruits of many years observation and experience) are considered as *stale maxims*, resulting from a total incapacity of enjoying life. Thus deluded by his own vanity, and the empty applause of raw boys, he rushes into every scene of dissipation, ruins his constitution and fortune; and often, in the end, falls by his own hand.

To the young men of the age, I would farther observe, that if they cultivate the habits of virtue, they will not, in the end, have just cause to declare that all is vanity; and 'that life is a bubble;' for he who lives agreeably to nature, (that is, to virtue) lives happily; and he whose life has been spent in useful pursuits, cannot be said to have *lived in vain*. Innocent pleasures will be the attendants of virtue, as pain, remorse, and misery, are the natural consequences of vice.

C. G.

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SELECT PASSAGES FROM SHAKSPEARE.

NUMBER XVIII.

MEASURE for MEASURE.

Concluded from Page 250.

Struggle between Virtue and Paſſion.

Angelo. When I would pray and think, I think and pray
To ſeveral ſubjects: heaven hath my empty words;
Whilſt my invention *, hearing not my tongue,
Anchors on Iſabel: heaven in my mouth,
As if I did but only chew his name;
And in my heart, the ſtrong and ſwelling evil
Of my conception.

The frailty of human nature is well deſcribed in the wanderings of the mind in the very act of devotion, and the ſtruggle between virtue and paſſion. Excluſive of every other conſideration, there cannot be a ſtronger argument in favour of frequent addreſſes to the Deity in prayer, than the reluctance with which men reſort to it, when conſcious of any wicked intentions. This ſhews the moral tendency, as well as the duty of prayer; which is nothing more than a continual endeavour to conciliate the favour of the Supreme Being by an habitual intercourſe with him, by a ſincere endeavour to conform to his will, by a vigilant and circumſpect conduct. He who recollects the pious reſolutions of the morning, will ſtartle at the firſt ſuggeſtions of temptation in the evening; and he who has yielded to the momentary impulſe of paſſion, is withheld, even by reverence for the Great Object of his devotions, from approaching him as before. He conſiders himſelf as contaminated, and as unworthy to appear in his ſight; nor is it till after the moſt ſincere evidences of contrition, that he can preſume to hope for the ſame delightful converſe with God which he once enjoyed. When reſtored again to the pleaſures of devotion, the recollection of his former error, and of his former ſufferings, produces in his mind a degree of ſelf-diffidence, perfectly compatible with a greater degree of fortitude and reſolution, with more ardent views, and more animated endeavours. And thus prayer is one of the nobleſt means of improving that moral diſcipline of the mind, which is the only preparation for a better and happier ſtate hereafter.

Exalted Station.

O place! O form!
How often doſt thou with thy caſe †, thy habit,
Wrench awe from fools, and tie the wiſer ſouls
To thy falſe ſeeming!

In this paſſage, our poet judiciouſly diſtinguiſhes the different operations of high place upon different minds. Fools are frighted, and wiſe men are allured. Thoſe who cannot judge but by the eye, are eaſily awed by ſplendour: thoſe who conſider men as well as conditions, are eaſily perſuaded to love the appearance of virtue dignified with power.

Humility.

Iſabella. Let me be ignorant, and in nothing good,
But graciouſly to know I am no better.

Angelo had been indirectly intimating to Iſabella the baſe terms on which he would ſave her brother's life. With that beautiful ignorance, which is ſo natural to artleſs and unſuſpecting innocence, ſhe appears to miſtake his meaning: on which he adds,

Nay, but hear me.
Your ſenſe purſues not mine: either you are ignorant,
Or ſeem ſo craftily, and that's not good.

* The poet probably means *imagination*.

† Outſide, garb, exterior ſhow.

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This produces the charming sentiment of humility which Isabella utters, and which we may imagine to be spoken with that unaffected modesty, and yet with that dignity of conscious virtue, which must heighten all her charms. And the resolution which she declares at last, when she fully comprehends his insidious views, rather to let her brother die than forfeit her virgin honour, is finely enforced:

As much for my poor brother, as myself:
That is, were I under the terms of death,
The impression of keen whips I'd wear as rubies,
And strip myself to death, as to a bed
That longing I have been sick for, ere I'd yield
My body up to shame.
Angelo. Then must your brother die.
Isabella. And 'twere the cheaper way:
Better it were, a brother died at once *,
Than that a sister, by redeeming him,
Should die for ever.
Angelo. Were not you then as cruel as the sentence
That you have slander'd so?
Isabella. Ignomy † in ransom, and free pardon
Are of two houses: lawful mercy
Is nothing kin to foul redemption.

The Vanity of Human Life.

Duke. So, then you have hope of pardon from lord Angelo?
Claudio. The miserable have no other medicine,
But only hope:
I have hope to live, and am prepar'd to die.
Duke. Be absolute for death ‡: either death, or life,
Shall thereby be the sweeter. Reason thus with life—
If I do lose thee, I do lose a thing,
That none but fools would keep. A breath thou art,
(Servile to all the skiey influences)
That dost this habitation, where thou keep'st,
Hourly afflict: merely, thou art death's fool;
For him thou labour'st by thy flight to shun,
And yet runn'st toward him still. Thou art not noble;
For all the accommodations that thou bear'st,
Are nurs'd by baseness. Thou art by no means valiant;
For thou dost fear the soft and tender fork
Of a poor worm ‖: thy best of rest is sleep,
And that thou oft provok'st §; yet grosly fear'st
Thy death, which is no more. Thou art not thyself;
For thou exist'st on many a thousand grains
That issue out of dust. Happy thou art not;
For what thou hast not, still thou striv'st to get;
And what thou hast, forget'st. Thou art not certain;
For thy complexion shifts to strange effects **,
After the moon. If thou art rich, thou art poor;
For, like an ass, whose back with ingots bows,
Thou bear'st thy heavy riches but a journey,
And death unloads thee. Friend hast thou none;
For thine own bowels, which do call thee fire,
The mere effusion of thy proper loins,
Do curse the gout, serpigo, and the rheum,
For ending thee no sooner. Thou hast nor youth, nor age;
But, as it were, an after-dinner's sleep,
Dreaming on both: for all thy blessed youth
Becomes as aged, and doth beg the alms

* Perhaps the reading should be—*for* once.
† Ignominy.
‡ That is, Be determined to die; entertain not a hope of life.
‖ Worm is put for any creeping thing or *serpent*. Our bard supposes falsely, but according to the vulgar notion, that a serpent wounds with his tongue, and that this tongue is forked. He confounds reality and fiction: a serpent's tongue is soft, but not *forked* or hurtful. If it could hurt, it could not be soft.
§ Solicitest, procurest.
** For *effects* read *affects*; that is, affections, passions of mind, or disorders of body variously affected.

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Of palſied eld * ; and when thou art old, and rich,
Thou haſt neither heat, affection, limb, nor beauty †,
To make thy riches pleaſant. What's yet in this,
That bears the name of life? Yet in this life
Lie hid more thouſand deaths ‡ : yet death we fear,
That makes theſe odds all even.

Theſe reflections on life, although they do not often occur to the multitude, are ſo obvious and ſtriking when read, as to be immediately acknowledged, with all the acquieſcence of conviction, by the moſt thoughtleſs and inattentive. They require, therefore, no very minute comment. I cannot but remark, however, that the Roman poet has a ſentiment ſimilar to that which begins the above paſſage:

Omne crede diem tibi diluxiſſe ſupremum,
Grata ſuperveniet, quæ non ſperabitur, hora.

HOR.

Think every riſing ſun will be thy laſt;
And then the grateful unexpected hour
Of life prolong'd, when come, will pleaſe the more.

CREECH.

The obſervation that 'all our accommodations are nurs'd by baſeneſs' is well illuſtrated by two excellent critics: 'Shakſpeare,' ſays Mr. Edwards, 'is not here conſidering man as a moral agent; but is ſpeaking of animal life, the *accommodations* [conveniencies] of which, he ſays, are *nurſed* [ſupplied and ſupported] by baſeneſs, or thoſe that are eſteemed the lower and meaner part of the creation, ſuch as wool, ſilk, the excrements of beaſts and inſects, &c. or by the labour and ſervice of the meaneſt people. King Lear fell into the ſame reflection, on ſeeing the naked beggar: 'Conſider him well. Thou oweſt the worm no ſilk, the beaſt no hide, the ſheep no wool, the cat no perfume. Ha! here's three of us are ſophiſticated! Thou art the thing itſelf: *unaccommodated* man is no more but ſuch a poor, bare, forked thing as thou art ‖.' 'Shakſpeare,' ſay Dr. Johnſon, purſuing the idea of Mr. Edwards, 'meant only to obſerve in this paſſage, that a minute analyſis of life at once deſtroys that ſplendour which dazzles the imagination. Whatever grandeur can diſplay, or luxury enjoy, is procured by *baſeneſs*, by offices of which the mind ſhrinks from the contemplation. All the delicacies of the table may be traced back to the ſhambles and the dunghill: all magnificence of building was hewn from the quarry; and all the pomp of ornaments dug from the damps and darkneſs of the mine.'—Of the compariſon of life to an after-dinner's ſleep, &c. Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that this paſſage is exquiſitely imagined. 'When we are young,' he adds, 'we buſy ourſelves in forming ſchemes for ſucceeding time, and miſs the gratifications that are before us. When we are old, we amuſe the languor of age with the recollection of youthful pleaſures or performances: ſo that our life, of which no part is filled with the buſineſs of the preſent time, reſembles our dreams after dinner, when the events of the morning are mingled with the deſigns of the evening.'—In a word, it may be added, our *bleſſed* youth [the time that ſhould be bleſſed and happy] is eaten up with the care and canker of age, and, through our anxiety to heap up ſomething for the future, too often becomes a very old age.

* Eld is generally uſed for old age, decrepitude. It is here put for old people, perſons worn out with years.

† By 'heat' and 'affection' the poet means to expreſs *appetite*, and by 'limb' and 'beauty,' *ſtrength*.

‡ The meaning is, not only a thouſand deaths, but a thouſand deaths beſide what have been mentioned.

‖ Lear, Act III, Scene 4. Canons of Crit. page 171. ſeventh Edition.

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The Terrors of Death moſt in Apprehenſion.

Iſabella. O, I do fear thee, Claudio; and I quake,
Leſt thou a feverous life ſhould'ſt entertain,
And ſix or ſeven winters more reſpect
Than a perpetual honour. Dar'ſt thou die?
The ſenſe of death is moſt in apprehenſion;
And the poor beetle, that we tread upon,
In corporal ſufferance finds a pang as great
As when a giant dies.

'The reaſoning here,' ſays Dr. Johnſon, 'is, that death is no more than every being muſt ſuffer, though the dread of it is peculiar to man; or, perhaps, that we are inconſiſtent with ourſelves, when we dread ſo much that which we careleſsly inflict upon other creatures, that feel the pain as acutely as we.' This may poſſibly be thought a refinement on the author's meaning. The terrors of death have their principal ſource in thoſe apprehenſions reſpecting our future ſtate, which muſt neceſſarily reſult from the retroſpect of a vicious courſe; but of the mere ceſſation of life, the dread is often more in apprehenſion than in reality.

Ere hope, *ſenſation* fails: black-boding man
Receives, not *ſuffers*, death's tremendous blow.
The knell, the ſhroud, the mattock, and the grave,
The deep damp vault, the darkneſs, and the worm,
Theſe are the bugbears of a winter's eve,
The terrors of the *living*, not the dead.
Man makes a death, which Nature never made;
Then on the point of his own fancy falls,
And feels a thouſand deaths in fearing one.
YOUNG.

Calumny.

Duke. No might nor greatneſs in mortality
Can cenſure 'ſcape; back-wounding Calumny
The whiteſt virtue ſtrikes. What king ſo ſtrong,
Can tie the gall up in the ſlanderous tongue?

This has been the general complaint in every age; nor are there any times in which theſe lines have appeared more forcible and ſtriking than the preſent, from the unthinking ſlander of the tea-table to the dark and deſigning licentiouſneſs of the preſs. In a ſubſequent ſcene, the duke expreſſes the ſame ſentiment with ſome amplification:

O place and greatneſs, millions of falſe eyes*
Are ſtuck upon thee! Volumes of report
Run with theſe falſe and moſt contrarious queſts
Upon thy doings. Thouſand 'ſcapes of wit
Make thee the father of their idle dream,
And rack thee in their fancies.

But in the following paſſage from Cymbeline, our ſublime bard has deſcribed the extent of Slander in the greateſt pomp of expreſſion, elevation of thought, and fertility of invention:

Slander,
Whoſe head is ſharper than the ſword; whoſe tongue
Out-venoms all the worms of Nile†; whoſe breath
Rides on the poſting winds, and doth belie
All corners of the world: kings, queens, and ſtates,
Maids, matrons, nay, the ſecrets of the grave
This viperous Slander enters.
Act III. Scene 4.

A beautiful Song.

Take, oh, take thoſe lips away,
That ſo ſweetly were forſworn;
And thoſe eyes, the break of day,
Lights that do miſlead the morn:
But my kiſſes bring again,
Seals of love, but ſeal'd in vain.

* Eyes inſidious and traiterous.
† Serpents and dragons were called *worms* by the old writers.

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Hide, oh, hide those hills of snow,
Which thy frozen bosom bears,
On whose tops the pinks that grow,
Are of those that April wears.
But first set my poor heart free,
Bound in those icy chains by thee.

Of this song, which is so exquisitely sweet, the first stanza only is in the play: the second is taken from our author's poems.

Deviation from Rectitude.

Angelo. A lack, when once our grace we have forgot,
Nothing goes right; we would and we would not.

We have already noticed the struggle of Angelo between virtue and passion; and what an excellent caution is here against the first deviations from rectitude, whose paths are so difficult to be found again. He who imagines that the first deviation from virtue will be the last, is unacquainted with human nature. Guilty pleasures are too often repeated against the strongest convictions of reason, and the most sincere resolutions to the contrary. There is a kind of fascination, and often almost an irresistible infatuation, in the suggestions of the passions, that prevent the devoted victim from seeing objects as they really are. The horror which a virtuous mind feels on the first commission of guilt, subsides by imperceptible degrees; that, which at first was glanced at with detestation, is at length beheld with complacency; and habit, once formed by repetition, acquires, at last, all the stubbornness of second nature. The feelings, once so fine and delicate, are then no more. Conscience, lulled into a state of stupidity, no longer whispers her salutary admonitions; and desperation, perhaps, fatally terminates the horrors of unavailing remorse.

The novel of Cynthio Giraldo, from which Shakspeare is supposed to have borrowed this fable, may be read in 'Shakspeare Illustrated,' elegantly translated, with remarks which will assist the inquirer to discover how much absurdity Shakspeare has admitted or avoided.

'Of this play,' says Dr. Johnson, 'the light or comic part is very natural and pleasing; but the grave scenes, a few passages excepted, have more labour than elegance. The plot is rather intricate than artful. The time of the action is indefinite; some time, we know not how much, must have elapsed between the recess of the duke and the imprisonment of Claudio; for he must have learned the story of Mariana in his disguise, or he delegated his power to a man already known to be corrupted. The unities of action and place are sufficiently preserved.'

In the Spectator, Number 491, there is an interesting story of Claudius Rhynfault (a German governor of Zealand, under Charles the Bald, duke of Burgundy) and Sapphira Danvelt, the wife of a wealthy merchant, which is similar in many circumstances to that of Angelo and Isabella, although very different in the catastrophe. The reader will also recollect the story, related in most of the histories of England, of colonel Kirke and the hapless maid of Bridgewater, who, unlike the Isabella of Shakspeare, yielded up her innocence to save her brother, whom her betrayer showed, the next morning, executed by his order. But the authenticity of this story has been disputed. Hume relates it, not from any authority, but as what had been *commonly told* of Kirke. Indeed, if all that is related of this man be true, it seems wonderful that such an excellent prince as king William the third, should afterward have employed in his service a monster of cruelty, who was, if he had been guilty, amenable to the laws for actual murder. But, it seems, this very man distinguished himself by great gallantry and good conduct, in the memorable relief of London-derry, when reduced to the greatest extremity by the army of king James the second.

On

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On the PROPRIETY *of* MAKING *a* WILL.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

IN your last Magazine, appeared a few short thoughts on Postobitous Obligations, which suggested to me the idea of writing to you more fully on a subject, which has often occupied my mind.

Of all the duties incumbent on men to perform, as members of society, I can scarcely name one in which they err more egregiously, than in the disposal of their property by will. From the great number of absurd wills, that are every day produced at the Bank, and other public offices, for the transfer of testamentary property, one would be tempted to imagine, that beside the sentence 'to die,' there was a time appointed for all men to play the fool, and contradict every opinion of their wisdom or common sense, which had been formed during their lives. In most nations men enjoy, as a sacred right, the privilege of disposing of their property by will; and it is very singular that men of acknowledged, or supposed good understanding, should do so much to bring into disrepute a privilege, which the common consent of the public has fully recognized. Yet this they do in various ways.

Of wills properly made, it is not necessary here to speak: of those which come under another description, there are several kinds. There are cruel wills and whimsical ones. In the first, a total disregard is paid to the obligations of kindred, affection, and merit: a family that have lived in splendour, and who consider themselves as in part heirs to the continuation of it, are left very often destitute of the necessaries of life, and very ill provided with any means, or resources, to enable them to support such a reverse of fortune, or to re-enter the world in a different character from that in which they appeared before. In whimsical wills, we find that property, which might have been usefully extended among the circles of industry and indigence, left entirely to some worthless, and perhaps to some inanimate objects: a dog, or a cat have often inherited what would have assisted a distressed family, and sums have been left to erect monuments, which perpetuated the vanity of those on whom they could confer no fame.

But when we consider the nature of wills, in which cruel, unjust, and whimsical or absurd divisions of property are made, a question very naturally arises; how can all this be reconciled with the vanity of mankind, and with their desire to obtain and perpetuate a good report among their fellow creatures? Is it not strange, that a man who had for a long life so demeaned himself as to obtain (what surely it is the wish of most men to obtain) the character of a just, kind, and wise member of society; I say, is it not strange that such a man should at once, with a few strokes of his pen, destroy all this reputation, and cancel every obligation which his friends or his fellow citizens owed to him? That a miser should leave his possessions to build an hospital, or a wicked man to found a religious seminary, are things not to be wondered at. The former may have thought that he can do more good by one great act of munificence, than by the usual mode of periodical or casual charity; and the latter may imagine, that if the last of his actions demonstrate a regard for the interests of piety, his former failings may be buried with him. But when we find a man, who has enjoyed an excellent reputation for justice, affection, generosity, and wisdom, make such a will, as is not consistent with any of these qualities, nor even with common sense, we must acknowledge ourselves to be at a loss how to reconcile

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cile his latter with his former conduct, upon any known principles which usually guide mankind.

In such cases, indeed, it may be said, and perhaps it is all that can be said, that these men have delayed the writing of their wills to a period, when the anguish of a sick bed impaired their memories and their intellects. It is not certainly easy to suppose that any man, in the full possession of reason, would stab his *reputation* any more than his person. But the fact, in whatever manner it may be accounted for, is not to be denied; nor will it, indeed, be disputed by any person whose profession puts it in his way to see many wills, and who will often see much that he may wonder at without being able to resolve.

The privilege of making a will, however grosly abused, is perhaps the very last of which we would consent to be deprived. Custom is second nature; it would not be possible to persuade a man that he has not a natural right to bequeath his property, because it is a right, which he knows his ancestors have enjoyed time immemorial. Blackstone informs us, that when property came to be vested in individuals by the right of occupancy, it became necessary for the peace of society, that this occupancy should be continued, not only in the present possessor, but in those persons to whom he should think proper to transfer it; and this first introduced the practice of alienations and gifts; but if we were restricted to those, the privilege would still be imperfect; for upon the death of the occupier, all his goods would again become common, and create an infinite variety of strife and contention. The law of very many societies has therefore given to the proprietor a right of continuing his property after his death, in such persons as he shall name, and in defect of such appointment or nomination, or where no nomination is permitted, the law of every society has directed the goods to be vested in certain particular individuals, exclusive of all other persons. In England, as the same author observes, this power of bequeathing is coeval with the first rudiments of the law; for we have no traces or memorials of any time when it did not exist.

Such is the law upon this subject, and we know that scarcely any crime is more severely punished in the civil courts, than any departure from the will of a testator. Guarded, therefore, as this privilege is, by express laws, and considered as sacred by public opinion, it is lamentable that it should be so often exercised to prove the wickedness or imbecility of our natures; that it should be attended to only when attention cannot be commanded, and that it should be neglected even by those, who from a thousand motives might be supposed interested in its being well and duly executed. These evils appear to me to arise from two causes, though perhaps it is not necessary to consider them distinctly—I mean, either putting off the making of a will to a distant and inconvenient period, or neglecting it altogether; the latter perhaps sometimes is intentional, as in the case of a person, who thinks that he ought not to violate an imprudent promise in behalf of some one, which would injure his heirs at law,—but more often this proceeds from the first cause, a perpetual delay and backwardness to perform the most simple and easy act of human obligation.

It is not easy to account for this backwardness in men of sense; for all the reasons assigned to excuse it, are not very consistent with common sense. A man who is entitled, in any moderate degree, to the epithet of *wise*, will not surely think that when he signs his will, he signs his death-warrant, or that the undertaker must of necessity follow the lawyer. In fact, it would be foolish to delay the making of a will, even if this were the case; but surely that man's mind must have little fortitude, and less religion, who cannot at stated times think on

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on death with compoſure, as that which is appointed for all men, and which he can neither retard nor accelerate.

But every thing muſt be ſubordinate to duty. If the thought of death be a pain, it muſt be ſubmitted to, becauſe that which ſuggeſted it is an obligation binding on all men who are poſſeſſed of property, and much more on thoſe who have families, and who are engaged in the connexions of buſineſs. Could any man of ſenſe, who died without a will, return to ſee his family almoſt beggared, his children ſcattered on the wide world, his buſineſs embarraſſed ſo as to be worth nothing, how much would he be ſhocked to think that all this confuſion aroſe from his neglecting ſo ſimple an operation as a will? Would not ſuch a man bluſh to find his memory deſpiſed, and perhaps execrated, for neglecting to do what, if he conſidered as a trifle, ought the more readily to have been done, but what, conſidered as the means of avoiding much diſtreſs and confuſion, it was criminal to leave undone?

One cauſe there is, which, I firmly believe, has prevented ſome men from making a will. It is not very honourable to human nature that ſuch a cauſe ſhould exiſt, but they who have opportunities of knowing that it does exiſt, will not object to a truth, though an unwelcome one. I attribute the reluctance which worldly and avaricious men entertain againſt a will, to that extreme averſion they have to the very idea of parting with their property. As their enjoyment of wealth is not in ſpending, but in hoarding, and is conſequently a paſſion which brick-duſt might gratify, if it were as ſcarce as gold duſt, it muſt be ſuppoſed that the imaginary parting with their wealth, will afflict them in proportion to the ecſtaſies that ariſe from their imaginary enjoyment. The miſer who ſhows me his gold, has not much more enjoyment of it than I have; the bright metal affects my eyes juſt as much as his: the employment of the wealth belongs to neither of us. I cannot touch it without ſuffering puniſhment; and he cannot without ſuffering pain. I repeat it, that I am perſuaded ſuch a man will feel ſo much from the idea of parting with his wealth, that he cannot ſit down to give it away with his own hand. I know not even whether a miſer be not ſuch a monſter, as to calculate the poſſibility of taking it with him, but I know that he is often fool enough to lament that he muſt leave it behind him.

If the making of a will is not to be deferred to a late period, at what time is it to be performed? This queſtion is not neceſſary to be anſwered, after what I have already preſumed to advance on the ſubject. If any man knows exactly when he is to die, he may defer it to that period; but as 'of that day and hour knoweth no man,' we muſt be content to prepare for whatever may happen. Sickneſs has its pangs, its alienations of mind; and old age has its cares and its forgetfulneſs. Theſe are not the times, when a man of ſenſe would hazard blunders and errors in a matter that concerns his deareſt relatives and his reputation. I will not enquire how far death-bed repentance is accepted; but I hope it is leſs matter of diſpute than death-bed teſtaments. If indeed making of a will be deferred until that period, it had better be done then, but it will rarely be done ſatisfactorily; it will rarely include or exclude what it ought; very little indeed ought to be left to that awful criſis. Our intellects are not perfect in 'the time of tribulation.' We cannot think of the world at 'the hour of death.'

The confuſion and unhappineſs which ariſe to ſurvivors from the neglect of a will, or from the making of one, when the teſtator cannot poſſibly recollect his obligations or his engagements, need not demand many words. We obſerve ſomething of the kind every day. One thing, however, it is worth while to dwell upon more

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more particularly. It has often been a cuſtom with perſons of wealth and ſubſtance, to adopt, and conſider as their own child, ſome poor orphan or friendleſs young perſon, whom they educate in a manner ſuitable to their own fortune. Theſe adopted children naturally adopt the ideas of the ſituation in which they are brought up; they look upon themſelves as the heirs of thoſe who have adopted them, and are conſidered in the ſame light by the world. At length, the patron or patroneſs dies, *without a will!* and the heirs at law take poſſeſſion of all. The orphan, if not immediately turned out of doors, finds his or her ſituation too irkſome to remain longer in a place, where they are degraded to the rank, perhaps of a menial ſervant; and with the education, accompliſhments, and ideas of genteel life, they ſink into the helpleſs lot of thoſe 'who cannot work, and to beg they are aſhamed.'

This is one bad effect of inteſtate property, and in my opinion that which, of all others, blackens the memory of the deceaſed. I know no *crime* greater than that of him, who promotes an orphan to a rank of independence, takes him from where he might have been trained up to induſtry and uſefulneſs, and yet does not, from the firſt, provide that no accident ſhall deprive him of the rank to which he has been raiſed. It is in fact, though perhaps without the evil intention, ſtrewing the path to a precipice with roſes. Such dependents, educated in high life, only to be conſigned to poverty which they cannot avert, and ſhame which they cannot encounter, have reaſon, it is to be feared, to curſe that miſtaken benevolence which drew them from the happy manſions of induſtry and frugality, where they might have been uſeful and virtuous in their ſituations, and have had no hopes or fears to encounter from the ſmiles or frowns of the world.

It may be ſaid—'This is too ſevere; thoſe benefactors meant to have left to their adopted children as they would to their own, had they not been ſuddenly cut off before a will could be made.'—But if we conſider what a ſerious thing is the temporal, and perhaps eternal happineſs of a child, educated and deſerted as I have ſtated, I fear that our indignation will not be abated by this excuſe. In the firſt place, it is great folly to take a child from a life of uſeful induſtry; and in the ſecond place, it is great wickedneſs to educate any children with ideas of high life, even if we could realize them, and with hopes of great wealth, even if we could gratify them. He is the beſt benefactor to orphans, who places them in ſituations where they can provide for themſelves; and who teaches them the value of wealth, not by the profuſion, but by the acquirement of it. But to educate children in ſplendid idleneſs and uſeleſs accompliſhments, can never be atoned for, unleſs an immediate proviſion be made for them, and nothing be left to accident. I conclude this part of my ſubject with repeating, that the man who in ſuch circumſtances neglects to ſecure his promiſed proviſion for his adopted child, is guilty of a crime connected with every thing unthinking, ungenerous, and abſurd.

I have, perhaps, extended this letter too far; but I was unwilling to divide the ſubject, and I have written ſo much, becauſe I do not recollect to have ſeen the ſubject profeſſedly treated. After what I have advanced, very little is neceſſary to demonſtrate that it is of great importance.

I have ſaid nothing yet of the embarraſſments ariſing from wills being written in a confuſed manner. Whoever is in the leaſt acquainted with law proceedings, muſt know that errors, and confuſed arrangements in wills, furniſh a rich harveſt to the gentlemen of the long robe. Much of this unqueſtionably proceeds from the cauſe I have already inſiſted upon, namely, the delaying the duty until we are ſick, and muſt call in the aſſiſtance of thoſe who may deceive us, until we are old

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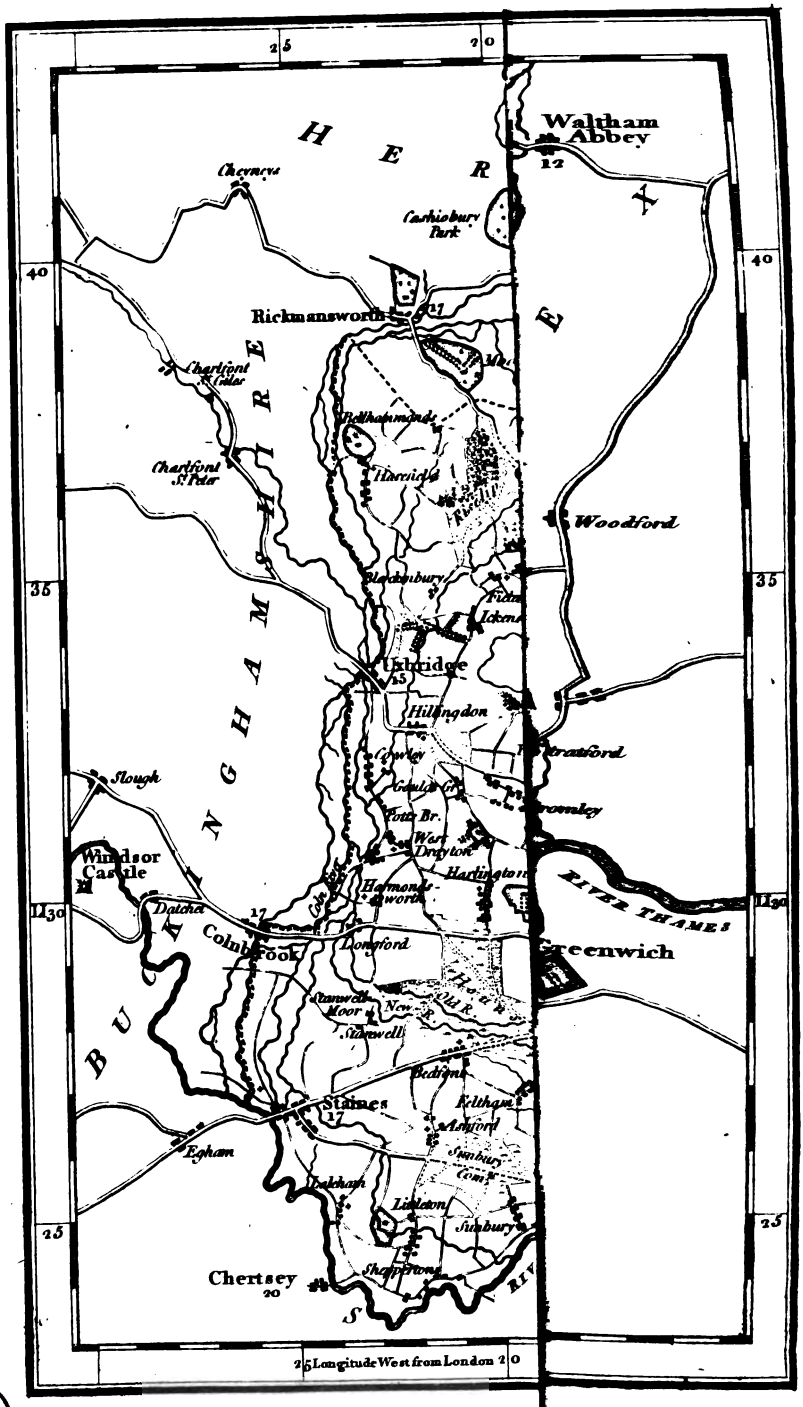
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20
HERTFORDSHIRE
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
SURREY
Waltham Abbey
12
Cheyneys
Cashiobury Park
40
Rickmansworth
21
Chartfont St Peter
Chartfont St Peter
Harrold
Woodford
35
Uxbridge
15
Hillingdon
Stratford
Slough
Windsor Castle
Datchet
17
Colnbrook
Longford
Greenwich
RIVER THAMES
Staines
17
Egham
Chertsey
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25 Longitude West from London 20

and cannot recollect our various obligations, and until we are fretful, and cancel the good ſenſe and diſcretion of a whole life by the ſpleen of a moment. These are conſiderations which I truſt will have their weight.

I might add ſomething, perhaps, in proof of the neceſſity of an early will, from the ſecrecy with which certain perſons chooſe to conduct their affairs. A circumſtance occurred very lately, which places this argument in a ſtriking point of view. I allude to the act of parliament, which compelled the Bank to render up to the public the unclaimed money in their hands.

One other argument only may be advanced. Although in the caſe of a perſon dying inteſtate, the law provides him with heirs, it is very ſeldom that the diſtribution of property in this way is conſiſtent with juſtice, far leſs with the intentions of the deceaſed, had he been wiſe enough to provide a will. The law lays down a certain poſitive ſucceſſion which muſt apply to all caſes alike, and cannot be guided by any individual circumſtances.

As to thoſe perſons who may be termed legacy hunters, and who employ the beſt of their days in obſequious idleneſs, expecting that the will of their patron or friend muſt at laſt be in their favour, I purpoſe to conſider their hopes and diſappointments in another letter. Meantime, I am, ſir, your moſt obedient ſervant,

TESTAMENTARIUS.

An Account of MIDDLESEX: *With a neat and accurate* MAP *of that County.*

MIDDLESEX received its name from its ſituation, when it was ſurrounded by the Eaſt, Weſt, and South Saxons. It is bounded on the north by Hertfordſhire; on the eaſt by Eſſex, from which it is divided by the river Lea; on the ſouth by the Thames, which ſeparates it from Surry and a corner of Kent; and on the weſt by a part of Surry and Bucks, to which laſt county the river Coln ſerves as a boundary. Its figure is an oblong ſquare, with a broad projection on the north-eaſt, which ſoon winds round due weſt. On the ſouth-weſt is a ſtill broader projection, which runs due ſouth. It is the ſmalleſt county in England, except Huntingdon and Rutland, being from eaſt to weſt only twenty-two miles, and from north to ſouth, nineteen. Its circumference is about ninety miles.

This county, which lies in the dioceſe of London, is divided into ſix hundreds and two liberties; and, beſide the cities of London and Weſtminſter, contains five market-towns, and ſeventy-three pariſhes. But although one of the leaſt counties, it is by far the richeſt and moſt populous; paying more taxes to government than any ten beſide; yet ſends only eight members to parliament; two for the county, four for London, and two for Weſtminſter.

The air muſt be extremely wholeſome, ſince not even the great number of people in London can affect it ſo much as to render it more ſubject to epidemical diſeaſes than other great cities uſually are; but, at a very ſmall diſtance from the ſmoke of this immenſely populous city, the air is not only healthful, but exceedingly pure. To this the ſoil, which generally conſiſts of gravel, greatly contributes.

'Middleſex,' ſays Dr. Aikin in his England Delineated, 'is naturally a diſtrict of little fertility, its general ſoil being a lean gravel; though, by means of the vicinity of the metropolis, many parts of it are converted into rich beds of manure, clothed with almoſt perpetual verdure. There are ſtill, however, ſeveral extenſive tracts of uncultivated heath; as that of Hounſlow at the ſouth weſtern part, and Finchley common to the north of London.

'Beſide the boundary rivers already men-

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mentioned, Middlesex is watered by several small streams, one of which, called the New-river, is artificially brought from Amwell, near Ware, in Hertfordshire, for the purpose of supplying London with water, in the pipes and cisterns of which vast city it may be said to terminate.

'The whole county, indeed, may be considered as a sort of demesne to the metropolis, being covered with its villas, intersected by the innumerable roads leading to it, and laid out in gardens, pastures, and inclosures of all sorts for its convenience and support. Very little corn is grown in it, the land being applicable, by the force of manure, to so many more profitable purposes. It swarms with people in its numerous and extensive villages; but no large towns can exist in the neighbourhood of that which attracts people so strongly from the whole nation.'

Such is this ingenious writer's account of the general aspect of the county: to illustrate which still farther we shall add his observations on the metropolis, the immense bulk and opulence of which he ascribes to certain local peculiarities of situation, as well as to certain general causes:

'The united cities of London and Westminster are situated on a gentle declivity on the northern bank of the Thames; the bending course of which river they follow for the space of some miles. On the opposite bank, upon more level and naturally marshy ground, lies the borough of Southwark, bordering the river still farther than London does. The broad stream of the Thames flowing between, continually agitated by a brisk current, or a rapid tide, brings constant supplies of fresh air, which no buildings can intercept. The country round, especially on the London side, is nearly open to some distance, whence, by the action of the sun and wind on a gravelly soil, it is kept tolerably dry in all seasons, and affords no lodgment for stagnant air or water. The cleanliness of London, as well as its supply of water, are greatly aided by its situation on the banks of the Thames; and the New-river, together with many good springs within the city itself, further contributes to the abundance of that necessary element. All these are advantages, with respect to health, in which this metropolis is exceeded by few.

'Its situation with regard to the circumstance of navigation is equally well chosen: had it been placed lower on the Thames, beside being annoyed by the marshes, it would have been more liable to insults from foreign foes: had it been higher, it would not have been accessible, as at present, to ships of large burthen. It now possesses every advantage that can be derived from a seaport, without its dangers; and, at the same time, by means of its noble river, enjoys a very extensive communication with the internal parts of the country, which supply it with all sorts of necessaries, and in return receive from it such commodities as they require. With the great article of fewel, London is plentifully supplied by sea from the northern collieries; and to this circumstance the nation is indebted for a great nursery of seamen, not depending upon foreign commerce; which is a principal source of its naval superiority. Corn and various other articles are with equal ease conveyed to it from all the maritime parts of the kingdom, and great numbers of coasting vessels are continually employed for this purpose.

'London, therefore, unites in itself all the benefits, arising from navigation and commerce, with those of a metropolis at which all the public business of a great nation is transacted; and is at the same time the mercantile and political head of these kingdoms. It is also the seat of many considerable manufactures; some almost peculiar to itself, as ministering to the demands of studied splendour and refined luxury; others in which it participates with the manufacturing towns in general, with this difference, that

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that only the finer and more coſtly of their works are performed here. The moſt important of its peculiar manufactures is the ſilk weaving, eſtabliſhed in Spitalfields by refugees from France. A variety of works in gold, ſilver, and jewellery; the engraving of prints; the making of optical and mathematical inſtruments, are likewiſe principally or ſolely executed here, and ſome of them in greater perfection than in any other country. The porter-brewery, a buſineſs of very great extent, is alſo chiefly carried on in London. To its port are likewiſe confined ſome branches of foreign commerce, as the vaſt Eaſt India trade, and thoſe to Turkey and Hudſon's Bay.

'Thus London has riſen to its preſent rank of the firſt city in Europe with reſpect to opulence; and nearly, if not entirely ſo, as to number of inhabitants. Paris and Conſtantinople may diſpute the latter with it. Its population, like that of all other towns, has been greatly over-rated, and is not yet exactly determined; but it is probable that the reſidents in London, Weſtminſter, Southwark, and all the out-pariſhes, fall ſhort of 600,000.

'The ſtyle of building, both public and private, in this metropolis, is rather formed upon the plan of neatneſs and convenience than of ſplendour and magnificence. No capital contains proportionally fewer palaces, and none ſo many good houſes. Of the public edifices, St. Paul's church, Somerſet buildings, and two of the bridges, are almoſt the only ones that have pretenſions to grandeur and beauty united. The ſtreets in the old parts of the town are, for the moſt part, ill laid out, and frequently narrow; but the new ſtreets and ſquares are planned and built with great regularity and elegance. The paving and lighting of the whole are admirable.'

Of the Thames, the only river of this county, which deſerves a particular deſcription, we have given an account in vol. 90, page 371.

On the Origin of the HOUSE *of* AUSTRIA.

NOT far from Baden, in Swiſſerland, are the ruins of a caſtle called Hapſburgh, to the mere counts of which we trace the formidable houſe of Auſtria. Rhodolph, count of Hapſburgh, born in 1218, after ſignalizing his youth in a conſtant ſcene of warfare, was unexpectedly elected emperor in 1273. He conferred honour on that exalted dignity, and died in 1291, after a long and glorious reign. His deſcendants, by a ſucceſſion of ſplendid alliances in marriage, and other fortunate circumſtances, gradually raiſed the family to that height of power which it has attained under the more diſtinguiſhed appellation of the houſe of Auſtria. There is a ſmall rill in the Alps, to which this powerful family may be compared. Its ſource is uncertain, but having received or joined numberleſs ſtreams, it forms no inconſiderable river. Flowing through Swiſſerland, ſtill almoſt unknown to its neighbours, it no ſooner enters Germany, than it loſes its name by its junction with the Danube; and, having collected the tribute of numberleſs ſtreams, rolls with its accumulated and ſtill increaſing waters, through an immenſe extent of country, and falls by a hundred mouths into the Euxine Sea;

E pare
Che guerra porta e non tributo al mare.
TASSO.

Rhodolph, during his reſidence in this caſtle, would not have given credit to a perſon endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy, who ſhould have informed him, that he himſelf ſhould poſſeſs the imperial throne, and found the houſe of Auſtria; and that his lineal deſcendants ſhould rule over Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Auſtria, Spain, Burgundy, the Low Countries, Milan, Naples, and Sicily, and extend their dominion from the Euxine to a new world beyond the Atlantic.

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METEOROLOGICAL JOURNAL, April 1793.

D.	H.	Baro.	T.out	T. in	Hyg.	C.	Wind.	Weather, &c.
1	7	29,80	38,5	46,5	46,5	5	SSE 1	continual gentle rain with little ſnow
	2	29,67	40	46	52 5	5	SE 2	ain. fine eve. cloudy : ſnow
2	7	29,57	36,5	45,5	52	5	NNE 1	ſnow. wind W and fine
	2	29,74	41	46,5	49	5	W 2	: fine
3	7	29,92	36,5	45,5	51,5	1	W 0	
	2	29,96	48,5	49	47	3	WSW 1	. cloudleſs night but hazy
4	7	30,05	40	45,5	56	3	S 0	foggy
	2	30,03	50	50	47	3	N 1	
5	7	30,03	42	48	52,5	4	N 1	. fine
	2	30,02	55	52,5	46	2	N 1	. hazy eve
6	7	30,09	41,5	48	53	h	NE 1	. fine
	2	30,09	48,5	52,5	51	1	NNE 1	
7	7	30,19	39,5	50	50	1	ENE 1	
	2	30,23	52	53	45	2	E 1	
8	7	30,32	39,5	49,5	49	1	E 1	
	2	30,32	51	52	40	1	E 2	
9	7	30,28	38	48,5	50	1	NE 2	
	2	30,25	50	50	39,5	2	NE 2	
10	7	30,21	34,5	46	48	1	N 1	. cloudy and wind NE
N	2	30,18	48	50	50	5	NNE 2	. fine. clear night
11	7	30,08	36	46,5	46	1	N 1	hazy. cloudy and little ſnow
	2	30,00	45	50	48	4	NNW 1	hazy. little hail and rain
12	7	29,90	39,5	47	49	4	N 1	hazy. wind NE and much gentle rain
	2	29,90	45,5	49	47,5	5	NE 1	hazy. clear night
13	7	29,76	36,5	46	49	1	NNE 1	hazy
	2	29,71	51	50	42,5	3	NNE 1	. cloudy night
14	7	29,77	44,5	50	48	5	E 1	hazy. leſs cloudy
	2	29,84	47	50,5	44	4	N 1	hazy
15	7	29,93	33	44	45	4	W 1	hazy. fine : cloudy
	2	29,82	51	50,5	42,5	5	W 1	. little rain at times
16	7	29,66	38	48	47	5	NNW 2	. little ſnow. fine : ſhower of ſnow
	2	29,80	44,5	51	37	3	NNW 3	. leſs wind and clear night
17	7	30,09	34,5	46	45	2	W 1	hazy : cloudy. little rain
	2	30,03	41,5	48	45	5	SSW 2	much rain
18	7	29,29	48,5	49	57	h	W 1	: fine. ſhower
	2	29,26	52	52	51	3	W 1	hazy. little rain at night
19	7	29,59	41	50	49	4	N 1	. ſhowers of rain hail and ſnow
	2	29,87	42	51	47,5	3	N 1	. ſhowers of ſnow and hail. fine eve
20	7	30,22	36	46	48	1	WNW 1	hazy
	2	30,23	46	49	43	3	NNW 1	very hazy. fine. cloudy night
21	7	30,19	43	48	46	4	S 1	. fine
	2	30,15	54	53	42	1	S 2	
22	7	30,23	43	49,5	47	2	SE 1	hazy
	2	30,17	54,5	52	37	2	SE 2	
23	7	29,91	43,5	50	49	1	E 1	hazy
	2	29,80	58,5	55	30	3	SE 1	. hazy eve
24	7	29,73	47,5	53	48	4	E 1	
	2	29,73	58,5	56	44	3	E 1	. cloudy night : rain
25	7	29,79	45,5	54	50	5	N 1	. chiefly cloudy
	2	29,81	51	55	45	5	N 1	. chiefly cloudy
26	7	29,87	46	54	48,5	5	NW 1	: fine
F	2	29,79	55	55	43	3	SW 1	. more wind S
27	7	29,69	47,5	52,5	49,5	4	ESE 1	hazy. more cloudy
	2	29,68	55	56	45,5	4	E 2	
28	7	29,78	45,5	53	47	5	NNE 1	hazy. leſs cloudy
	2	29,83	55	56	43,5	3	N 1	hazy
29	7	29,89	45	52,5	46,5	2	NE 1	hazy. more wind S and cloudy : little rain
	2	29,79	54	56	46,5	5	S 3	little rain. fine eve. clear night
30	7	29,81	47,5	54	49 5	1	SW 2	. cloudy : little rain
	2	29,72	56	57,5	49	5	SSW 2	much gentle rain. windy : fine

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OBSERVATIONS *on the* DISEASES *in* April 1793.

THE diſeaſes of this month were very little different from thoſe of the laſt; rheumatiſm prevailed, and the ſmallpox increaſed in frequency, but were very mild. In the neighbouring villages, to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, a malignant ſcarlet fever has prevailed, and proved very fatal. There have been many caſes of croup, which is in general a very rare diſeaſe, though it had indeed appeared laſt winter, and in the preceding autumn. This has moſt likely been owing to the large proportion of wet weather; and the obſervations of Dr. Home ſtrengthen this opinion: he ſays, in his excellent treatiſe on this diſeaſe, that it occurred much more frequently in the neighbourhood of the ſea, and in wet and marſhy ſituations, than in any other. It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that in nearly every inſtance it proved fatal.

On the PRESENT STATE *of the* DRAMA.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THE queſtion, whether a well-regulated ſtage would be beneficial to the nation, I have long conſidered to be in part uſeleſs; for this reaſon, that no perſon has yet been pleaſed to inform us what a well-regulated ſtage means, and becauſe no perſon, as far as I can learn, will aſſert that we have at preſent any thing *very like* a well-regulated ſtage. Nor do I believe that one in a hundred of the lovers of the drama ever conſidered the queſtion in any view. I ſhall therefore leave the probable *moral* effects of the ſtage to thoſe who have ſpeculated on the ſubject. My opinion is, that, in its preſent ſtate, it is but indifferently calculated to diffuſe either good morals or good taſte.

The dearth of good writers will be admitted, I believe, by moſt perſons who have frequented our theatres for the laſt dozen years. Some have accounted for this from a real or ſuppoſed diſcouragement given to good writers; and this opinion receives conſiderable force from the following circumſtances. A writer, who preſents a piece to the manager, muſt expect the common treatment of all dependants on the favours of the great. If not powerfully recommended, he muſt expect to be put off from day to day by various excuſes; he muſt ſubmit his performance to be mutilated by the friends of the manager, and he muſt not complain if he has to wait one, two, or more years, before he is able to obtain a poſitive anſwer. When, at length, the piece is received by the manager, he has to run the gauntlet through the whims and caprices of the performers. One diſlikes his part, becauſe it is too long; another his, becauſe it is too ſhort. When all theſe ſcruples are ſet aſide, the author has to pleaſe—not the town, but a ſet of gentlemen who ſtyle themſelves *critics*, and who take upon them to judge for the public. Could any connected opinion be formed from their united criticiſms, perhaps they might merit in ſome reſpect the name they have aſſumed; but the very great difference which is to be diſcovered in their accounts, even in matters of fact as well as taſte, ſhows that the mortification of paſſing through their hands is none of the leaſt which an author has to encounter. If, however, this candidate for dramatic fame has got over theſe difficulties, he is ſtill ſo much in the power of the *houſe*, that his benefit nights can be rendered more or leſs attractive and profitable, entirely at the caprice of the managers. It is a fact, that now, when the houſes are ſo greatly enlarged, an author

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author rarely earns so much by his nights as he did in the days of Garrick. The enlargement of the houses has given the managers an opportunity to enlarge their demands on the score of *expences*, which are now precisely double what they were in Garrick's time. This is a manifest injustice to an author, because the enlargement of the house is a matter which can be profitable to the managers only. To explain this, I may state a case. Suppose, twenty years ago, that the house *contained* three hundred pounds, and that out of this sum the author had to pay for expences only sixty pounds—he gains two hundred and forty. But if he can muster no more friends than will bring three hundred pounds into the house now, he must pay one hundred and twenty for the expences.

Thus far, and perhaps farther, may the plea of *discouragement* be alleged by *good writers*, if there are any such who will not submit to the humiliation attending such circumstances. But it is fair to state, on the other hand, such facts and arguments as will tend to show, that *discouragement* is not the only cause why we scarcely witness a good play. I conceive that it is so evidently, so incontestably, the interest of managers to bring forward good plays, that I am inclined to challenge all living authors to produce an instance of a *good play* that was rejected by the managers. What I have already said of managers, will, I hope, exculpate me from the charge of any very violent respect for them, as caterers for the public taste; but I am certainly clearly of opinion, that they never once rejected a really good play, however unpatronized or recommended to them. In all my knowledge of theatrical affairs, which has not been very confined, I never heard of such a play; and after repeated enquiries, I must beg leave to remain in the opinion that no such play exists, until the author or possessor shall be pleased to produce it, and confound both the managers and me.

Nay, it may, I am afraid, be said, with no great hazard of contradiction, that no really good play has been lately offered to them, if we may form a judgment from the dramas of the last ten years. Perhaps it may be answered, that a play has been rejected at one house and accepted at another where it was eminently successful. This is possible, and I have known instances of it; but if it proves any thing, it proves that the caprice or mistaken taste of one man will never be able completely to crush the progress of a good play. When we hear of the great sums that are brought into the dramatic treasuries by such plays as they do bring forward, can we for a moment suppose that they would suppress others of greater and more attractive merit; that, for instance, they would bring forward one of Reynolds' overgrown farces, and suppress an Heiress, or a School for Scandal?

It appears to me, that this subject must be considered on these suppositions; first, that there is a defect of real dramatic genius; and secondly, that the corruption of public taste is favourable to, and the only cause why the productions of the present day are received with approbation. The first of these suppositions, it is needless to expatiate upon; but the second requires some explanation. The corruption of public taste is, indeed, not more easy to suppose than it is to prove; but there is some difficulty in arranging our reasonings upon the subject. There is some difficulty, for instance, in stating historically when the public taste degenerated, and by what means it was brought about. There is also some difficulty in proving whether it be the *cause* or *consequence* of the trash now exhibited under the names of comedy, opera, and farce. In some cases, and this is one of them, length of time, and our want of observation, have so confounded causes with effects, that the original stamp of character is effaced, and the latter may be

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be very eaſily miſtaken for the former, or *vice verſa*. It is ſufficient for us, however, to be ſenſible that ſuch a corruption of taſte does exiſt, and ſome cauſes may be eaſily aſſigned for the promotion of it.

For inſtance, the avarice of perſons concerned in ſtage property: This inclines them to foſter a vulgar taſte in the public, by whatever means occaſioned. This lately introduced boxing-matches, horſes, and fox-chaſes on the Britiſh ſtage! an enormity, an inſult to good taſte, and every lover of the drama, which could not have been tolerated for a moment, had not the public taſte been in ſome reſpect prepared for ſuch vitiation. What, not many years ago, appeared a prophecy without probability, has been ſince realized.

But who the coming changes can preſage,
And mark the future periods of the ſtage?
Perhaps, if ſkill could diſtant times explore,
New Behns, new Durfeys, yet remain in ſtore:
Perhaps, where Lear has rav'd, and Hamlet died,
On flying cars new ſorcerers may ride:
Perhaps (for who can gueſs the effects of chance)
Here Hunt may box, or Mahomet may dance.

If, indeed, it be held as a rule of action, that what the people *like* muſt be given to them, which, I am afraid, is too much the caſe, managers can never be at a loſs for novelties, or ſuch things as are at leaſt novelties on the Britiſh theatre, though they may be familiar at the Bear Garden, or the riding ſchool. If the only object be to *get money*, the entertainments of Bartholomew Fair may be occaſionally introduced with effect, and a menagerie may be a very uſeful and neceſſary appendage to a theatre. If the people muſt have what they *like*, they will like a great many things much more eaſily procured than good comedies, and which, while they produce as much money, may be *got up* at a much ſmaller expence.

On the other hand, if the words 'Britiſh theatre' mean any thing, they certainly mean a place where the firſt productions of dramatic genius, and thoſe only, are to be produced, in order to promote good taſte and chaſte morals; and where, inſtead of debauching the ignorant part of the public by entertainments, which become a fair only, it ought to be the object,

To wake the ſoul by tender ſtrokes of art,
To raiſe the genius, and to mend the heart.

In Comedy, to give correct delineations of human life and character; and, in farce, to ſatirize with a freer pen the foibles of mankind; ſeem to be the chief purpoſes of the ſtage. If theſe are not its buſineſs, it loſes its name and its nature.

Should ſome dramatic writer of theſe days be inclined to diſpute the fact, 'that public taſte is corrupted, and that, with certain arts, any thing will *go down*,' I have one reſiſtleſs bribe to bring him over to my opinion; namely, the eaſe with which he may ſucceed, without the poſſeſſion of of an inventive genius or a correct taſte. He has only to obſerve the talents of the actors, and ſtring together a number of ſcenes that ſhall fit the reſpective talents of theſe gentlemen, and he will find that puns, and what is called *equivoque*, will enable him to paſs for a wit; and all his deficiencies will be completely hid under the comic talents of the actors.

If we conſider the province of comedy only, we ſhall be very much at a loſs to know what it means. It contains ſuch a proportion of vulgar farce and of pantomime, that if we muſt give ſuch productions a name, they ought to be termed *farces of five acts*.—To look for a picture of life and manners is conſequently in vain, no ſuch characters being in exiſtence, or if they were, would be entitled to our pity, ſince they do not act upon rational principles. What are we to think of an event, which determines the happineſs of two human creatures, being

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being brought about by the overturning of a table, or breaking a parcel of china? Theſe monſtrous improbabilities ſhow an author to be lamentably deficient in the knowledge of natural events, and beſpeak, at the ſame time, a no leſs lamentable deficiency in invention.—But the individual abſurdities of modern Comedy, would lead me into a cloſer examination of the ſubject, than I can at preſent enter upon.

We have, it is true, baniſhed from the ſtage, the indelicacies of Congreve, Farquhar, and Vanbrugh. That reformation was brought about by an individual, Jeremy Collier—But we have lately adopted other irregularities no leſs repugnant to delicacy. The practice of women appearing in men's characters may be inſtanced. A blockhead, when at a loſs to pleaſe the public, introduces his heroine in breeches, and without aſſigning to her any greater proportion of wit than if ſhe had appeared in a more natural garb, acquires the approbation of the public. This, you will ſay, is an eaſy road to applauſe and profit. It certainly is ſo; and nothing can be ſo eaſy as any appeal thus made to the ſenſual appetites; for what elſe can it be called? Perhaps, hereafter, a lady bleſſed with a pair of handſome legs, will demand an extraordinary ſalary from the managers on that account. Every approach indeed to proſtitution ought to be paved with gold, that it may have, at leaſt, that one excuſe.

I have been led into theſe remarks on the preſent ſtate of the ſtage from my frequent viſits when in town, and from a peruſal of the productions of the Drama, which are preſumed to pleaſe in the cloſet. Want of time has prevented me from dwelling on ſome parts of the ſubject which merit a lengthened conſideration. But I cannot help thinking it a matter of ſerious regret, that an amuſement, which has a very great influence on public manners, ſhould not be conducted ſo as to render that influence of the moſt profitable kind. I am, ſir, yours,

Hereford, May 1, 1793. PHILO-DRAMATIS.

The Extraordinary Hiſtory of JACQUELINE *Counteſs of* HAINAULT.

[From the Female Mentor, or Select Converſation, 2 Vols.]

HONORIA deſired to read the life of the counteſs of Hainault; ſaying that it afforded as many extraordinary events, and intereſting recitals, as are uſually found in novels.

Jacqueline, only child of William count of Hainault, was heireſs of the provinces of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Frieſland. Nature had beſtowed on this her favourite child her choiceſt gifts: exquiſite beauty, elegance of perſon, an inſinuating addreſs, a lively imagination, and a firmneſs and intrepidity above her ſex. In the ſixteenth year of her age, ſhe eſpouſed John eldeſt ſon of Charles the ſixth, king of France, and by this marriage was flattered with the proſpect of ſharing the throne of France with a huſband whom ſhe adored. But all theſe hopes of love and grandeur were annihilated, by the premature death of the dauphin in the ſecond year of their marriage, not without ſuſpicion of being poiſoned by his unnatural mother, Iſabella of Bavaria.

Afflicted with this grievous loſs ſhe repaired to Hainault, and found her father on the verge of the grave, anxiouſly intent on ſecuring to his beloved Jacqueline the ſucceſſion of his dominions, and in providing her with a huſband who might be able to repreſs the civil commotions which had long agitated the county of Hainault, and repel the encroachments of the neighbouring powers. With this view, he recommended to her choice her couſin John the fourth, duke of Brabant; who was alſo ſprung from the

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houſe of Burgundy, and whoſe dominions bordering on Hainault, would form a compact and well united ſovereignty.

Deference to the requeſt of her dying father, ſupported with all the influence of her mother, Margaret of Burgundy, deſirous of an alliance with a prince of her own houſe, extorted from her a reluctant promiſe in favour of the duke of Brabant. A few days after this promiſe her father died; Jacqueline ſucceeded to all his dominions; and although the duke of Brabant was a prince of weak intellects, and deformed perſon, and therefore ill calculated to gain the affections of ſo accompliſhed a princeſs, yet the ſolemn promiſe which he had made to her dying father, prevailed over her repugnance, and at the expiration of the year of her widowhood the nuptials were ſolemnized.

Soon after her marriage, her uncle, John of Bavaria, who had quitted the biſhopric of Leige with the hopes of eſpouſing his niece, laid claims to Hainault and Holland, as fiefs not deſcendible to females, obtained from the emperor Sigiſmond the inveſtiture of theſe provinces, treated Jacqueline as an uſurper, penetrated into Holland at the head of a formidable army, and ſeconded by a diſaffected party, made the moſt alarming progreſs.

In oppoſition to this invaſion, Jacqueline herſelf took the field at the head of the troops of Hainault and Brabant: inſpiring the ſoldiers with a martial valour, ſhe obtained the moſt ſignal ſucceſs, and ſeemed likely to quell the rebellion, till her huſband the duke of Brabant ſpread dejection among his army by his daſtardly conduct, and perhaps aſhamed of his conſort's ſuperior valour, withdrew his forces from the ſcene of war, and commanded Jacqueline to follow him into Brabant. An inglorious peace, concluded under the mediation of the duke of Burgundy, was the conſequence of this infatuated conduct. Jacqueline acknowledged John of Bavaria her heir, ſhould ſhe die without iſſue, and ceded to him a conſiderable part of Holland.

If Jacqueline had reaſon to be irritated againſt her huſband for his cowardly behaviour; his conduct afterward tended ſtill more to increaſe her reſentment. During their reſidence at Antwerp, he eſtranged himſelf from her company, purſued mean pleaſures, devoted himſelf to low and unworthy favourites, and loaded her with repeated marks of contempt and ill uſage. Meanwhile her hereditary dominions became a prey to confuſion and anarchy. John of Bavaria continued his uſurpations, and the citizens of Holland, diſguſted with his deſpotic adminiſtration, roſe in arms, and earneſtly called for the preſence of their ſovereign. Jacqueline having in vain ſolicited the aſſiſtance of her huſband, or his permiſſion to return, her high ſpirit at length became irritated by repeated neglect and ill uſage; fearful of loſing her paternal inheritance, ſhe withdrew from the palace, attended only by a ſingle page, and under the ſanction of her mother, who had in vain remonſtrated againſt his unfeeling conduct.

It cannot be a wonder that ſo amiable a princeſs, only in the twentieth year of her age, and in the full luſtre of her beauty, formed by her amiable diſpoſition to impart felicity in the married ſtate and deſerving a reciprocal attachment, ſhould become anxious to diſſolve a marriage which had been the ſource of ſo much unhappineſs. Her affinity with the duke of Brabant afforded a plauſible pretext; becauſe this very objection had been urged by Pope Martin the fifth, and it was not without difficulty that he had been induced to grant the diſpenſation. But while ſhe was ſoliciting the pope, an incident happened, which by intereſting her paſſions, rendered her ſtill more eager for the ſucceſs of her application.

Henry the fifth of England was at that time in the low countries, and had recently obtained the ſplendid victory of Agincourt. Among the

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princes who attended him on this occaſion, Jacqueline had diſtinguiſhed Humphery duke of Glouceſter, the youngeſt brother of the king; a prince in the flower of his age, handſome, ſenſible, brave, and endowed with all thoſe qualities which are moſt likely to gain the heart of an amiable princeſs. By an union with this accompliſhed prince, Jacqueline hoped to obtain that happineſs which ſhe had ſought in vain with the duke of Brabant; and to find at the ſame time a warrior who could defend her territories againſt the uſurpations of John of Bavaria, and the reſentment of her former huſband.

The duke of Glouceſter was not inſenſible to the charms of Jacqueline, nor unmoved by the proſpect of becoming the ſovereign of ſo many ſtates. Thus, mutually attracted, Jacqueline and the duke of Glouceſter flattered themſelves that they might prevail upon the pope to annul the former marriage.

But while they indulged this hope, a powerful obſtacle to their union aroſe in the family of Jacqueline. Philip, ſurnamed the Good, duke of Burgundy, poſſeſſed eminent talents and boundleſs ambition. Maſter of ample domains in the Netherlands, the fair inheritance of his kinſwoman the princeſs of Hainault preſented an object, which the ambition of this prince could not reſiſt. Aſpiring to the ſucceſſion of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, if Jacqueline ſhould die without iſſue, ſatisfied that no progeny would be derived from her ill-aſſorted marriage with the duke of Brabant, he was alarmed at her new engagement with the duke of Glouceſter; and to prevent this intended union, employed all the influence which he derived from his recent alliance with England againſt France, and his affinity with the duke of Bedford, who had eſpouſed his ſiſter.

But all his oppoſition was unſucceſsful; Jacqueline paſſed over to England, eſpouſed the duke of Glouceſter; and as Philip had prevailed on pope Martin to refuſe a diſpenſation, ſhe procured a ſentence from the anti-pope Benedict the thirteenth, by which her marriage with the duke of Brabant was annulled, and that with the duke of Glouceſter eſtabliſhed. Fortune now ſeemed to ſmile upon Jacqueline; ſhe returned to Hainault, accompanied by her huſband, and a body of Engliſh forces, and put him in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of her hereditary dominions.

But the felicity of Jacqueline was of no long duration; the duke of Burgundy fired with reſentment at ſo precipitate a marriage, and affecting a lively ſenſe of the injury done to his relation the duke of Brabant, joined his troops to thoſe of Brabant, advanced into Hainault at the head of a formidable army, and defeated, with great ſlaughter, the Engliſh forces at the battle of Brav. Humphrey confounded by that defeat, concluded a ſuſpenſion of arms, returned to England that he might collect a freſh ſupply; and Jacqueline threw herſelf into Mons, invited by the citizens, who ſolemnly promiſed to defend their ramparts to the laſt extremity.

Receiving no ſuccours from the duke of Glouceſter, to whom Jacqueline conveyed her griefs in a letter from 'her falſe and traiterous city of Mons;' ſhe was compelled, by the perfidy of the inhabitants, to ſurrender herſelf to the duke of Burgundy, and was by him impriſoned in the city of Ghent. After a confinement of three months ſhe contrived to eſcape from priſon: diſguiſing herſelf in man's apparel, ſhe paſſed through the ſtreets of Ghent at midnight, and eſcaping into Holland, was gladly received by that party which remained faithful to their ſovereign.

Notwithſtanding the deſperate efforts of herſelf and partizans, ſhe was unable to reſiſt the powerful armies of the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant. Philip beſieged and took all the principal towns of Holland; the death of John of Bavaria intervening, the duke of Brabant was acknowledged count

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of Hainault and Holland; and Philip was declared preſumptive heir of thoſe counties. Her marriage with the duke of Glouceſter was annulled by Martin the fifth, that with the duke of Brabant was confirmed, and the princeſs was reſtrained from marrying the duke of Glouceſter, even if ſhe ſhould become a widow by the death of the duke of Brabant; an event which ſoon after took place.

But the blow, which imprinted the deepeſt wound on the mind of Jacqueline, was the inconſtancy of the duke of Glouceſter: that prince, from a compliance, as he pretended, with the advice of his brother the duke of Bedford, regent of England, but more induced by his paſſion for Eleanor, daughter of lord Cobham, whom he afterward married, declared his final reſolution of ſeparating himſelf from the princeſs of Hainault, and of yielding entire obedience to the mandate of the pope. Deſerted by her ſubjects, forſaken by the duke of Glouceſter, overpowered by her enemies, the unfortunate Jacqueline, after many exertions of an undaunted ſpirit, was compelled to accept the cruel terms preſcribed by her implacable enemy. She ceded to the duke of Burgundy the government of all her dominions, with the title of her lieutenant, retaining only the appellation of ſovereign, and conſented never to marry without his conſent and the approbation of the ſtates.

Jacqueline was only in the twenty-eighth year of her age when ſhe made this forced abdication: ſhe paſſed her retirement principally in the iſlands of Zealand, formed in the mouth of the Scheld, or at the Hague in the province of Holland. There ſhe paſſed two years, her beauty as yet little impaired by time or by the calamities of her life; when love again ſurpriſed her in her retirement, and prepared for her new misfortunes. The ſlender penſion which ſhe received from the duke of Burgundy not being always ſufficient to ſupport her expences, ſhe was compelled to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of her partizans: but at length when moſt of them excuſed themſelves under frivolous pretences, ſhe wept and complained of the ingratitude of thoſe whom ſhe had formerly obliged. In this diſtreſs, one of her attendants propoſed applying to Francis Von Borſelen, ſtadtholder of Holland.—'What!' ſaid Jacqueline, 'ſhall I apply to him who owes me no favour, who has proved himſelf my enemy by joining the duke of Burgundy? he will certainly refuſe me; and I ſhall be more humbled than ever.' Perſuaded however to apply, Borſelen remitted the ſum in ſo handſome and liberal a manner, that Jacqueline, who had long been diſuſed to ſo generous a mode of proceeding, was charmed with his behaviour: her beauty and accompliſhments won the heart of Borſelen; and as he joined to a graceful perſon a courtly addreſs and engaging manner, ſhe became prepoſſeſſed in his favour. Her growing inclination foſtered by her retired way of life, and deriving ſtrength from oppoſition, ſhe overlooked her promiſe to the duke of Burgundy, and privately married the object of her affection. Philip, rouzed with indignation at the ſolemnization of this marriage, concluded in oppoſition to her ſolemn promiſe, arreſted Borſelen, conveyed him to the caſtle of Rupelmonde on the banks of the Scheld, and ſpread a report that his death would ſoon expiate the crime of which he had been guilty.

Alarmed with this report, and conſulting her love and her apprehenſion more than her force, ſhe aſſembled the few troops whom ſhe could ſuddenly collect, and aſcended the Scheld with a firm reſolution to deliver her huſband or periſh in the attempt. On approaching the caſtle, ſhe found her implacable enemy the duke of Burgundy already there at the head of a numerous army.

The unfortunate princeſs, diſappointed in her hopes, requeſted and obtained a conference with the duke,

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and eagerly inquired if her husband was yet alive. Philip instantly commanded Borselen to be brought in chains on the platform of the castle which overlooked the river; when Jacqueline, transported with joy at the sight of an object who was most dear to her, sprung from the vessel on shore, and precipitated herself into the arms of her husband. Being now in Philip's power, she was compelled to accept his terms, and purchased her own liberty and the life of her husband by ceding the sovereignty of all her dominions, and renouncing the title of countess. In return for these concessions, she was permitted to enjoy during her life the lordships of Boorne, Zuidoeveland and Tholen, and to receive the revenues of the customs of Holland and Zealand. Borselen in lieu of the stadtholdership of Holland, was nominated count of Voservant, and decorated with the order of the golden fleece.

Jacqueline and her husband, to whom she willingly sacrificed all the remains of her former grandeur, passed the remainder of her days in the castle of Teylingen in the Rhineland. History records, that she instituted games of archery and horsemanship, in which she greatly excelled, and was pleased to win the prize, and to be declared queen of the fraternity by the acclamations of the peasants. She also occasionally amused herself in framing vases of earthern-ware, several of which being found in the gardens of the castle of Teylingen, were retained as relics by the people, devoted to the memory of their charming mistress, and are still preserved in the cabinets of the curious, under the name of the vases of the lady Jacqueline.

In this manner the sovereign of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, with a husband whom she adored, and by whom she was adored, passed the remainder of her days; and was repeatedly heard to say that she enjoyed more solid satisfaction in this retreat than she had ever experienced in the height of her grandeur. But the misfortunes of her life had already too sensibly affected a princess of her high spirit. Her constitution had been gradually impaired, and a lingering consumption carried her to the grave on the 8th of October, 1436, in the thirty-seventh year of her age. The body was interred with royal pomp among the sepulchres of the counts of Holland; and those honours were paid to her last remains, which had been refused to her when alive.

CHARACTER *of the celebrated Madame de* SEVIGNE'.

[From the SAME.]

HONORIA read a letter from Viator, describing the castle of Grignan, and the tomb of madame de Sevigné; and concluded with a translation of her character as drawn by madame de la Fayette.

'Dear Sister,

'As I was returning from Avignon to Lyons, I stopped at a small village to change horses, and happening to examine the map of post roads which I had in the chaise, I observed the name of Grignan, a place so often mentioned in madame de Sevigné's letters, as the country seat in which her daughter madame de Grignan usually passed her summer, and received those delightful letters from her mother, which, as long as taste and sensibility are not extinct, cannot fail of interesting and delighting.

'Recollecting your fondness for this elegant woman, I knew, that you would not easily forgive me if I passed within three leagues of that castle without going there; accordingly I ordered the postilion, who had already harnessed his horses to convey me to Montelimar, to drive to Grignan.

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'Although the diſtance is not more than eight miles, yet I employed four hours in this route; the roads being ſo execrably bad, that I could hardly credit my ſenſes when I found myſelf ſafely arrived, in a crazy two-wheeled chaiſe, without meeting with any accident. I now indeed no longer wonder at the anxiety which madame de Sevigné always expreſſed for her daughter's ſafe arrival at Grignan, from the time that ſhe took her departure from Paris till ſhe reached, without a broken limb, her country ſeat. Such alarms, which on reading the letters I uſed to conſider as fanciful female terrors, now appear to me, who have juſt traverſed theſe rocks which can ſcarcely be called roads, as by no means exaggerated. Theſe alarms will appear ſtill more juſt, when I inform you, that I this morning obſerved at Avignon, the ruined arcades of a bridge ſtill exiſting in the ſame ſtate in which it fell, ſoon after madame de Grignan had traverſed it; a circumſtance which the fond mother has deſcribed with ſuch horror at the recollection, and yet ſuch pleaſure at the narrow eſcape of her darling child.

'The caſtle of Grignan is a venerable pile of building, ſituated on the higheſt eminence in theſe parts, in the midſt of vines; and commands a very extenſive proſpect, bounded on all ſides by ranges of bare and piked rocks. The apartments are in general magnificent. I contemplated with pleaſure a neat little cabinet which was appropriated to madame de Sevigné when ſhe paid a viſit to her daughter.

'The male branch of Caſtellan de Grignan being a few years ago extinct on the death of Louis Provence, madame de Sevigné's grandſon, the caſtle was ſold by the female line to Mr. de Muy. The apartments are crowded with his family portraits, which ſcarcely engaged my obſervation, as I was particularly attentive to a few which came from the Grignans; among them I recognized ſeveral of my old acquaintance, who are mentioned in the letters of madame de Sevigné; particularly her own portrait, that of her daughter and ſon-in-law. The firſt, painted by La Tour, drew my chief attention, as well from the beauty and ſpirit of the countenance, as from the conſideration that it exhibited the reſemblance of one whoſe merit in epiſtolary writing is ſo much acknowledged.

'After having examined all the apartments of the caſtle, I deſcended to the pariſh church, of which the following circumſtance is remarkable; that in driving round the terrace of the caſtle, the carriage paſſes over the roof of the church. Madame de Sevigné, who died at Grignan, is buried near the altar: the monument to her memory, erected at her own expreſs deſire, is a ſmall grave-ſtone of white marble, with black borders. I was greatly ſtruck with the ſimple elegance of this ſepulchral memorial, and conſidered it in ſome meaſure as an emblem of her letters. Your's,

VIATOR.'

The following character of madame de Sevigné, which was drawn by made la Fayette, and preſented to her as written by an anonymous gentleman, finiſhed the entertainment of the evening.

'Every artiſt who paints a beauty is ſo anxious to embelliſh the portrait, that he does not dare to exhibit any imperfections; but, thanks to the privilege of an unknown perſon, in which character I now appear before you, I ſhall boldly draw every feature undiſguiſed, not being in the leaſt apprehenſive of incurring your diſpleaſure.

'I am much perplexed that I have nothing to relate concering you but what is favourable; for it would give me ſincere pleaſure if, after having reproached you with numberleſs faults, I ſhould find myſelf this winter as well received by you, as many other perſons who have importuned you with praiſes. I will not tire you, nor amuſe my-

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myſelf, by telling you that your ſhape is admirable, that your complexion ſtill retains the appearance of youth, that your mouth, your teeth, and your hair are incomparable. I will not inform you of theſe things; your mirror tells you them conſtantly: but as you do not amuſe yourſelf by converſing with your mirror, I cannot refrain from informing you how beautiful you are when you ſpeak.

'Know then, madam, if by chance you do not already know it, that your mind ſo highly ornaments and embelliſhes your perſon, that there is no woman ſo enchanting as you are, when you are animated in a converſation where conſtraint is baniſhed. Every thing you ſay has ſuch a charm, and becomes you ſo admirably, that your words draw the loves and the graces around you. The brilliancy of your wit gives ſuch animation to your complexion and your eyes, that although wit only faſcinates the ears, yours may juſtly be ſaid to dazzle the ſight; and this luſtre is ſo powerful, that it precludes us from obſerving any irregularity of your features, but compels us to acknowledge, that you are the moſt complete beauty upon earth. You are ſenſible to the love of glory and ambition; and you are not leſs ſenſible to innocent pleaſures. You appear born for them, and they are made for you. Finally, joy is the true feature of your character, and ſadneſs is more inapplicable to you than to any one.

'You may perceive, that I am not unknown to you, that you are not unknown to me; and that I muſt have been frequently in your company, to have diſcovered ſo clearly every circumſtance that heightens your charms, which raiſe ſurpriſe and admiration.

'But I will ſtill more convince you, madam, that I am not leſs acquainted with your ſolid, than your agreeable qualities. Your ſoul is great and noble; ready to diſpenſe treaſures, and incapable of amaſſing them. You are naturally tender and affectionate; but to the ſhame of our ſex, this tenderneſs has been uſeleſs to you; and you have confined it in your own breaſt by only imparting it to madame de la Fayette. Ah! madam, if there had been in the world a man happy enough to have found himſelf not unworthy of the treaſure which ſhe enjoys, and if he had not taken every method to poſſeſs it, he would deſerve to ſuffer every diſgrace that love can inflict upon his votaries. What a happineſs to be maſter of ſuch a heart as yours, whoſe ſentiments are expreſſed by that animated wit with which you are endowed! Your heart, madam, is doubtleſs a treaſure, which no perſon can deſerve. There never was one ſo generous, ſo amiable, and ſo faithful. There are people who ſuſpect you of not letting your thoughts always appear ſuch as they really are; but on the contrary, you are ſo accuſtomed to have no thoughts but what are virtuous and amiable, that you ſometimes divulge what prudence would lead you to conceal. You are the moſt civil and obliging perſon in the world; from your open and ſweet manner, the moſt ſimple compliments appear in your mouth profeſſions of friendſhip; and all who quit your company, are perſuaded of your regard and eſteem, without being able to recollect, that you have given them any ſign either of the one or the other.

'To conclude; you have received ſuch graces from heaven as have never been imparted to any other woman, and the world is obliged to you, for ſhewing them a number of agreeable qualifications which were heretofore unknown.

'I will not attempt to deſcribe them all, leſt I ſhould alter the deſign of this addreſs: which is not to oppreſs you with an eulogium: moreover, madam, it is neceſſary I ſhould be your lover, to be able to write thoſe praiſes which are worthy of you; and I cannot boaſt of that ſupreme happineſs.

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ANECDOTE *of the celebrated M. de* MONTESQUIEU.

A Gentleman, being at Marſeilles, hired a boat, with an intention of ſailing for pleaſure; he entered into converſation with the two young men who owned the veſſel, and learned, that they were not watermen by trade, but ſilverſmiths; and that when they could be ſpared from their uſual buſineſs, they employed themſelves in that way to increaſe their earnings. On expreſſing his ſurpriſe at their conduct, and imputing it to an avaricious diſpoſition; 'Oh! ſir,' ſaid the young men, 'if you knew our reaſons, you would aſcribe it to a better motive. Our father, anxious to aſſiſt his family, ſcraped together all he was worth; purchaſed a veſſel for the purpoſe of trading to the coaſt of Barbary, but was unfortunately taken by a pirate, carried to Tripoli, and ſold for a ſlave. He writes word, that he is luckily fallen into the hands of a maſter who treats him with great humanity; but that the ſum which is demanded for his ranſom is ſo exorbitant, that it will be impoſſible for him ever to raiſe it; he adds, that we muſt therefore relinquiſh all hope of ever ſeeing him, and be contented, that he has as many comforts as his ſituation will admit. With the hopes of reſtoring to his family a beloved father, we are ſtriving, by every honeſt means in our power, to collect the ſum neceſſary for his ranſom, and we are not aſhamed to employ ourſelves in the occupation of watermen.' The gentleman was ſtruck with this account, and on his departure made them a handſome preſent.

'Some months afterward the young men being at work in their ſhop, were greatly ſurpriſed at the ſudden arrival of their father, who threw himſelf into their arms; exclaiming, at the ſame time, that he was fearful they had taken ſome unjuſt method to raiſe the money for his ranſom, for it was too great a ſum for them to have gained by their ordinary occupation. They profeſſed their ignorance of the whole affair, and could only ſuſpect they owed their father's releaſe to that ſtranger, to whoſe generoſity they had been before ſo much obliged.

'After Monteſquieu's death, an account of this affair was found among his papers, and the ſum actually remitted to Tripoli for the old man's ranſom. It is a pleaſure to hear of ſuch an act of benevolence performed even by a perſon totally unknown to us; but the pleaſure is infinitely increaſed, when it proves the union of virtue and talents in an author ſo renowned as Monteſquieu.'

NATIONAL SUPERSTITION *inſtanced in the Remarkable Story of two* VENETIANS.

AT Genoa, two Venetians, whoſe countrymen and the Genoeſe ſtill keep up that inveterate hatred to each other, which diſtinguiſhed their anceſtors, were preſent at an Oſteria, or wine houſe, where the converſation of the company aroſe, not as it would in England, on politics and pleaſure, but on the merits of St. John, the Protector of Genoa, who, it was aſſerted, had worked innumerable miracles, and was the greateſt of all ſaints. If nature be ſo much the parent of patriotiſm, as to create in us an affection for thoſe minuter objects in our native land, which the citizen of the world would regard with an eye of indifference, how much more powerfully muſt ſhe operate on our paſſions, when we remember that on which the proſperity of our country is ſuppoſed to depend? The two Venetians were preciſely in this predicament. They probably knew as little of St. John, as they did of St. Denis; but St. Mark was the guardian

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dian of Venice, and consequently their all in all. Resolved therefore to maintain his honour in opposition to this provoking eulogium of the Genoese on their patron, one of them observed, that the bones of his saint had worked more miracles, particularly in healing diseases, than all the apostles and saints; that in heaven he was next in rank to the Virgin and popes, and as much superior to their St. John, as the patriarch of Venice was to the archbishop of Genoa. To prevent any reply to this, he and his friend left the room, but were soon followed by one of the company, who had the honour of bearing the great cross of a religious order in their church professions. This desperate enthusiast on overtaking, stabbed the Venetian, who had spoken, to the heart, crying out with the blow, Ti manda questo San Giovanne che ti guriano le osse di San Marco: 'St. John sends thee this, that the bones of St. Mark may heal thee.' His friend, astonished at a deed so bloody, (though an Italian) applied to a magistrate for justice, who, having heard the particulars, told him, that had a Venetian murdered a Genoese in Venice, no notice would have been taken of it, but that his complaint would probably be considered in a few days; —and so indeed it was, even sooner than he had promised, for early the next morning he too was found assassinated at the door of his lodgings, and the bearer of the great cross still maintains his post of honour. What must be the character of a people, among whom such crimes are committed with impunity.

THE BRITISH MUSE.

PROLOGUE to the New Comedy of HOW TO GROW RICH.

Written by W. T. FITZGERALD, Esq.

Spoken by Mr. POPE.

WHILE jarring Discord flies this happy land,
And Whig and Tory shake each other's hand,
Proud to display the flag of Britain's pride,
And hoist *The Union* on their country's side:
That noble banner of our nation's fame,
Unstain'd by cruelty, unknown to shame!
Still may it ride triumphant o'er the wave,
The signal both to conquer and to save!
While England's sons in gallant bands advance,
To hurl just vengeance on perfidious France,
And adverse parties zealously unite,
For Freedom's cause, and Freedom's King to fight,
Our Author, loyal, tho' not bred to arms,
Has for his own concerns, some slight alarms—
He shakes his head, and owns he sometimes fears
The Muse of smiles, may join the Muse of tears;
Together read the sweet pathetic page,
And banish joke and laughter from the stage;
Till Comedy, quite sentimental grown,
Doffs her light robe, to wear the tragic gown;
Draws from the virgin's breast hysteric sighs,
And thinks, to weep—is all the use of eyes!
Still may each rival Muse her pow'r maintain,—
With smiles Thalia best supports her reign;
To start the tear, and palpitate the heart,
Justly demands her *Sister's nobler art!*
Each has her charms, and, while to Nature true,
Each finds impartial advocates in you.
If their fair rivals, jealousy forgot,
Should once embrace, and tie the friendly knot;
Mirth must retire, and hide her dimpled face,
Convuls'd with laughter, at the strange embrace;
Our Bard discarded, must his jokes forego,
And Vapid's frolics, yield to Werter's woe!
The Author's prospects bear a brighter hue,
Should his light scenes be now approv'd by you;

'Twas

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'Twas *You* who taught his earlieſt hopes to ſoar,
Be ſtill his patrons, as you've been before!
Acquitted often by this gen'rous court,
He dares, once more, rely on your ſupport.

EPILOGUE.

Spoken by Mr. LEWIS.

BEHOLD the hero, who with motives ſiniſter,
Thought he had got the daughter of the miniſter;
Thought too of getting from the nuptial feaſt,
Twenty young privy-counſellors at leaſt;
Now wife muſt be content if we can diſh up
A little alderman, or tiny biſhop—
Dad is a miniſter, but of a ſort
That look for better places than at court;
Our new relations now will flock by dozens,
I ſhall be teaz'd to death by caſſock'd couſins—
Dear coz, accept my pray'r, and my thankſgiving—
You live but to do good—Give me that living—
A motley group we are, of ſaints and ſinners—
No birth-day ſuits, no miniſterial dinners!
Dinners indeed we have, with claſſic gig,
Backgammon—fine October, and a pig;
But where's the levee troop, who fag and drudge it,
The ſcrip, the loan, the omnium, and the budget?
All would grow great like me, yet all deſpiſe
The humble path which led them firſt to riſe—
The purſe-proud tradeſman, bred at Norton-Falgate,
Grows tir'd of city feaſts and clubs at Aldgate;
Madam, his lady too, is ſick at heart,
With gaping daily at a Thames'-ſtreet cart,—
My ſpouſe, ſhe cries, let's move to Grov'nor-ſquare,
You'll ſoon be better, Duck, in better air;
Then we ſhall ſee fine folks, and have fine routs,
One can't get nothing taſty hereabouts,
Vittels are coarſe, and company quite coarſerer,
And your poor cough grows worſerer and worſerer.
Pert Miſs and Maſter—Sclons of the ſtock,
With equal rhet'ric urge the parent block.
Father, cries Dicky, let's live near St. James's—
Pall-mall and Piccadilly! there the game is!
We get no money here, there's none to lend,
The city's now as bare as t'other end!
Nothing but paper—that indeed is plenty!
But not a guinea caſh—I'll hold you twenty—
Suppoſe this charming party fix'd and ſettled,
Staring at belles high plum'd, and bucks high mettled;
Miſs undertakes to ſchool her boiſterous brother,
Aided by hints from her ſagacious mother—
'Now, Dicky, ſince the guards abroad are gone,
Copy the ſmarts, and you may paſs for one—
Have at your knees long ſtrings and little buckles,
With ſcarlet waiſtcoat ſleeves below your knuckles;
Have a great coat, ſcarce half way down your back,
Your chin quite buried in a muſlin ſack!
Have—tho' for ſhirt, there's no great need of any,'
'Have—a fig's end, cries Dick, go teach your granny;
Mind your own dreſs, your gauſes, and your gingums,
Your two-inch waiſt, and all your bunch of thingums!
A man may marry now without much fear,
His wife's ſhape won't be ſpoil'd within the year!
You ſail like ſmugglers for illicit trading,
Under falſe colours, with falſe bills of lading—'
'What lading, brother?' 'Why, the Pad, Miſs Sophy:
I've made a ſeiſure, and ſee here's the trophy.' [*Takes out a Pad.*

One word, our bard—ourſelves, to recommend—
We wiſh to laugh, but never to offend.

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ELEGIAC SONNET.

SWEET evening, hail! I love thy ſober hue,
When the bright ſun, deſcending to the weſt,
Invites tir'd nature to a tranquil reſt,
And opens to the penſive mind a view,
Replete with every charm to ſorrow true,
The nightingale attunes her ſong, ſweet gueſt!
Unto that ſoul with every woe depreſs'd.
Oh, let me at thy ſilent hour beſtrew
With roſes, violets, and the primroſe pale,
The verdant ſpot where all my bliſs is laid,
Enchanting Ella! fair and matchleſs maid!
Oh how ſhall I repeat the melting tale,
When Death relentleſs tore her from theſe arms,
And left my heart a prey to all Deſpair's alarms!

SONG.

BEAUTY, ſoft Enchantreſs, tell
What confirms thy magic ſpell?
'Tis when, moſt the heart to bind,
Native grace reflects the mind.

On thoſe eyes how loſt we gaze,
Where each milder virtue plays;
Can thoſe ſmiles not win the heart,
Which the ſoul's ſoft ſenſe impart?

Temper'd thus with heavenly light,
Gems the raptur'd ſenſe delight;
Opening roſes thus combine,
Blooming beauty, breath divine.

VERSES on a Sheet of Blank Paper.

By the late GEORGE THICKNESSE, Eſq.
Head-maſter of St. Paul's School.

FAIR, ſpotleſs leaf (thou emblem pure
Of innocence) beware:
Nor think thy beauty lives ſecure;
'Tis dang'rous to be fair.

To wit obſcene, and impious jeſt,
Thou lieſt too much expos'd:
Give truth poſſeſſion of thy breaſt,
Or be for ever cloſ'd.

Some wanton pen may ſcrawl thee o'er,
And blot thy virgin face:
And whiteneſs, deem'd thy praiſe before,
May turn to thy diſgrace.

O give me then thy faultleſs page,
'Ere yet foul ſtains be drank,
On Virtue's ſide with me engage,
Nor leave for Vice a blank.

By thee ſhall idle vacant hearts
This uſeful moral learn,
That unemploy'd, the brighteſt parts
To vice and folly turn.

By thee ſhall innocence be taught,
What dangers wait on youth,
Unleſs with early precepts fraught,
And prepoſſeſs'd with truth.

By thee ſhall beauty learn to yield
To real worth her charms;
For virtue (tho' an ample ſhield)
But incompletely arms.

THIRTY-EIGHT.

To Mrs. H——y.

By Mrs. CHARLOTTE SMITH.

IN early life's unclouded ſcene,
The brilliant morning of eighteen,
With health and ſprightly joy elate,
We gaz'd on Youth's enchanting ſpring,
Nor thought how quickly time would bring
The mournful period—thirty-eight!

Then the ſtarch maid, or matron ſage,
Already of that ſober age,
We view'd with mingled ſcorn and hate;
In whoſe ſharp words, or ſharper face,
With thoughtleſs mirth, we lov'd to trace
The ſad effects of—thirty-eight!

'Till ſad'ning—ſick'ning at the view,
We learn'd to dread what time might do;
And then preferr'd a prayer to Fate,
To end our days ere that arriv'd,
When (pow'r and pleaſure long ſurviv'd,
We meet neglect, and—thirty-eight!)

But time, in ſpite of wiſhes, flies;
And Fate our ſimple pray'r denies,
And bids us Death's own hour await!
The auburn locks are mixt with grey,
The tranſient roſes fade away,
But Reaſon comes at—thirty-eight!

Her voice the anguiſh contradicts,
That dying vanity inflicts:
Her hand new pleaſures can create;
For us ſhe opens to the view
Proſpects leſs bright—but far more true,
And bids us ſmile at—thirty-eight!

No more ſhall Scandal's breath deſtroy
The ſocial converſe we enjoy,
With bard, or critic, *tête-à-tête*—
O'er youth's bright blooms her blight ſhall pour!
But ſpare the improving friendly hour
Which Science gives to—thirty-eight!

Snatch'd

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Stripp'd of their gaudy hues by truth,
We view the glitt'ring toys of youth,
And bluſh to think how poor the bait;
For which to public ſcenes we ran,
And ſcorn'd of ſober ſenſe the plan
Which gives content at—thirty-eight!

O may her bleſſings now ariſe,
Like ſtars that mildly light the ſkies,
When the ſun's ardent rays abate!
And, in the luxuries of mind—
In Friendſhip, ſcience—may we find
Increaſing joys at—thirty-eight!

Tho' Time's inexorable ſway
Has torn the myrtle bands away
For other wreaths—'tis not too late;
The Am'ranth's purple glow ſurvives,
And ſtill Minerva's olive thrives
On the calm brow of—thirty-eight!

With eye more ſteady, we engage
To contemplate approaching age,
And life more juſtly eſtimate;
With firmer ſouls and ſtronger pow'rs,
With reaſon, faith, and friendſhip, ours,
We'll not regret the ſtealing hours
That lead from thirty e'en to forty-eight!

INSCRIPTION for a GOTHIC NITCH, lined with IVY, near St. AUSTIN'S MONASTERY, at CANTERBURY.

MORTAL, thou who view'ſt this cell,
Scorn not here a while to dwell;
Hence is baniſh'd noiſy ſport:
This is Contemplation's Court.

Hermits here in days of yore
O'er their beads were ſeen to pore:
Screen'd within this friendly ſhade,
Erſt has wept the love-lorn maid.

Oft within this ivy'd ſeat,
Tenants of the green retreat,
Bards have ſhunn'd the glare of noon—
Here have hail'd the riſing moon!

Here, with glitt'ring viſions bleſt,
Have they ſunk to downy reſt:
Here have wak'd, this truth to know—
Wild ambition leads to woe.

Whilſt around your eyes you turn
From this cell, one moral learn—
Far from fortune's flatt'ring gale,
Cautious ſpread your little ſail.

See yon once-aſpiring fane,
With ruin ſad beſtrew the plain;
While within the fretted tower
Night's lone bird erects her bower.

Yet the zealot's ruffian hand,
Speeding ruin o'er the land,
Spar'd the rude, the lowly cell,
Where Contentment choſe to dwell.

Thoſe who from the Prelate's hand
Tore the crozier's coſtly wand—
Let the ſhepherd by the brook
Keep unhurt his beachen crook.

PASTORAL BALLAD.

By PETER PINDAR, Eſq.

THE ſwains and the virgins ſo gay
Reſort to my fountains and groves;
Joy follows wherever they ſtray,
And my vales ſeem the Court of the Loves.

But with wonder they mark me forlorn,
'Mid fountains and valleys ſo fair—
Ah! their hearts have no reaſon to mourn,
Nor to heave the ſad ſigh of deſpair.

To love, and be lov'd not again,
Is a curſe that embitters each hour;
Then dull are the ſongs of the plain,
And faded the blooms of the bower!

But with her who will ſmile on our ſighs,
Even rocks of the deſert muſt bloom,
Pale night be a ſun to our eyes,
And the dungeon depriv'd of its gloom!

The PHILOSOPHER and the ROSE.

A ROSE long flouriſh'd, fair to view,
In all the pride of bloom,
But, trampled on, ſoon loſt its hue,
And waſted its perfume.

A ſage beheld it as it lay,
A tender tear he ſhed,
And, where thy colours once ſo gay?
He moralizing ſaid.

Perhaps, ſaid he, I at thy fate,
Leſs griev'd might now repine;
But emblem of the mortal ſtate,
My own I ſee in thine.

EPITAPH on a YOUNG LADY.

HERE innocence and beauty lie, whoſe breath
Was ſnatch'd by early, not untimely, death.
Hence did ſhe go juſt as ſhe did begin
Sorrow to know, before ſhe knew to ſin.
Death, that does ſin and ſorrow thus prevent,
Is the next bleſſing to a life well-ſpent.

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PROCEEDINGS *of the Third* SESSION *of the Seventeenth Parliament of* Great Britain, *continued from page* 301.

ON Wednesday, March 29, the chancellor of the exchequer rose to state the particulars of the loan he had entered into for four millions and a half. He said it had been thought prudent to raise the whole sum necessary for the extra services of the year by a loan from individuals, rather than suffer the commissioners for liquidating the national debt, to apply any of the monies in their hands to the loan. The terms on which he had concluded the bargain, were at 72 for 100 in the three per cents. which, on 4,500,000l. would increase the capital of the three per cents. 6,250,000l. the interest for which would be - - - - £187,500
Add one per cent. for reduction of capital - - - 62,500
Making an annual charge of £250,000

He admitted that the terms on which the loan had been raised were disadvantageous, as 72 was considerably below the market price of the three per cents. But, after every exertion, he had seen no chance of procuring better terms. Circumstances unconnected with the politics of the country [he alluded to the late failures] had operated to produce a scarcity of money destructive of that competition he had endeavoured to raise. He concluded by moving, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum of 4,000,000l. be raised by annuities, and that for every seventy-two pounds, the lenders should be entitled to 100l. three per cent. stock, bearing interest from the 5th of January last.

Mr. Fox objected to the terms of the loan for the large bonus on which he saw no reason. He reprobated the withholding from the commissioners the sum before stated so to be raised, 1,600,000l. by which in interest the public lost 130,000l. and in the one per cent. for the reduction of the capital 30,000l. making a total loss, by not permitting the monies in the commissioners hands to be so appropriated, of 160,000l. He was averse to the right hon. gentleman's throwing away the public money upon speculation in the funds, recollecting, that, by his speculation twelve-months ago, when the Threes were at 96, (that they would rise higher, and enable him the better to reduce the fours) he had lost the favourable opportunity which had offered, and by which the public had lost an annuity of 300,000l. per annum. He therefore wished he had availed himself of the money in the hands of the commissioners, instead of speculating in the appropriation of that money with a view to the reduction of the fives. He was of opinion that the loan might be raised upon better terms, and that the public would suffer less by the minister trying again to raise one upon better, than in the house confirming the present.

Mr. S. Thornton said, that the scarcity of money was so great, that he was convinced if the loan should again be opened, better terms could not be obtained.

Mr. Drake, sir J. Sinclair, and Mr. Sheridan were also against the terms of the loan. The latter said, that an open loan would produce the money wanted, in a few days, at 75. Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Rose, and Mr. Serjeant spoke in support of the terms, as the best, in the circumstances of the country, that could be obtained; and, on a division, the numbers were,

For the loan - -	74
Against it - - -	21
Majority -	53

The several resolutions were then read and agreed to; and it was likewise resolved, That the assessment on the taxes, by act of 31 Geo. III. be made perpetual; secondly, That the additional duties upon worts, wash, and other liquors, made in England, for extracting spirits for home consumption, and upon spirits made in Scotland, and imported into England, charged by act 31 Geo. III. be made perpetual; thirdly, That the additional duties upon foreign spirits imported, charged by act 31 Geo. III. be continued for a time to be limited; and that the said additional duties be carried to and made a part of the consolidated fund.

On Thursday, April 4, in a committee on the traiterous correspondence bill, the clause prohibiting the purchase of lands in France by British subjects, was opposed by Mr. Fox, and others as nugatory. It was supported by Mr. Burke and the solicitor-general, on the ground of preventing British subjects having an interest in France detrimental to this country; and by Mr. Pitt, as striking a blow at the

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principal resource the French had to carry on the present war. The question being put, the numbers were,

Ayes	-	77
Noes	-	19
Majority	-	58

On Monday, on the clause being read, empowering the trial of offences committed in any part of the realm, to be held in Middlesex; Mr. Adam contended that it was contrary to the principles of the administration of justice, which went to carry justice to every man's door. His amendment was to confine the trial to the country in which the offence should be committed.—The amendment was negatived.

On the clause being read, for proceeding to trial of offenders against the act, as against the counterfeiters of the king's coin, Mr. Adam again rose, and after urging several reasons for extending to all persons prosecuted for treason under the present bill, the benefits allowed to defendants charged with treason by the act of the 7th of William III, and by the act of the 7th of Anne, moved as an amendment, the adding of those benefits to the clause.—This was negatived, there being

Ayes	-	32
Noes	-	110
Majority	-	78

On Tuesday, April 9, the chancellor of the exchequer presented a message from his majesty, that 'his majesty relied on the zeal and affection of the house to make provision for such extraordinary expences as may be incurred in taking such measures as the exigencies of affairs may require in the course of the ensuing campaign.'—He said, that the message was for the purpose of bringing before the house in the most parliamentary way, the demand of the 1,500,000l. which, at the time of opening the budget, he stated as the sum likely to enable government to take effectual steps against the common enemy in the course of the campaign. He then moved, that the message should be referred to a committee of the whole house, which was ordered accordingly.

The same day, the traiterous correspondence bill, after a variety of minute discussion, at last passed the house; previously to which Mr. Fox said, he should neglect the duty he owed to the public, did he not solemnly protest against the bill; for he had never known a bill brought in, so little called for in point of policy or necessity, and, at the same time, so effectually contrived to overthrow every principle of justice and humanity. It was founded on pretext, instead of principle; which well accorded with the whole of the administration of the right hon. gentleman.

Mr. Burke contended, that the bill, instead of meriting those censures cast on it by the right hon. gentleman, was calculated to ensure to us the blessings we enjoyed under a good constitution: it carried with it those guards to secure the blessings of society, which had been on former occasions created by the wisdom of our ancestors.

The question for passing the bill being put, the numbers were,

Ayes	-	154
Noes	-	53
Majority	-	101

On Tuesday, April 23, the house resolved itself into a committee to consider of a motion from the lord advocate of Scotland, for a repeal of the act of William III, which disabled the catholics of Scotland from holding lands. The noble lord dwelt upon the injustice of the law, which enabled the distant Protestant, heir to any estate, to take it from the catholic possessor, unless that possessor renounced the religion he professed, which might have been the religion of his ancestors for ages. He instanced a case, now pending, in which a catholic of high respectability, in possession of an estate of upward of 1000l. a year, possessed by his family more than a century and a half, was at issue with a Protestant distant heir, and in which suit the probability was, that the old gentleman would be deprived of that which he possessed from his ancestors, or be compelled to renounce his religion. The bill would remove the hard law, and to enable the catholics to hold lands, upon a similar oath of allegiance to that which was inserted in the catholic bill of the last year. He concluded by moving that the chairman be directed to move for leave to bring in the said bill. Colonel M'Leod gave the motion his warm approbation, and added a wish, that the bill had extended to the catholics of Scotland all the indulgences which the Irish parliament had granted to the catholics of Ireland.—The question being agreed to, the chairman moved for leave to bring in the bill, which was carried *nemine contradicente*.

After this, Mr. secretary Dundas moved the house to resolve itself into a committee to consider of the government and commerce

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merce of India; and having resolved itself into a committee accordingly, Mr. Beauſoy in the chair, Mr. Dundas ſaid, that he ſhould have to propoſe, that the government of India, civil and military, ſhould continue to be exerciſed through the preſent exiſting civil organ, the court of directors of the Eaſt India company. With reſpect to the trade, though every writer he had read contended, that in proportion to the freedom of trade was its chance for proſperity, he ſhould, notwithſtanding, recommend the trade of India to be carried on excluſively by the company. His wiſh was to be guided by experience and practice in preference to ſpeculation and theory. The ſtake was of too great national importance to be raſhly handled. By authentic documents, it appeared, that the trade of the company, employed upward of 81,000 tons of ſhipping; upward of 7,000 mariners; that they imported annually into this country raw materials to an amount of more than 700,000l. and exported of our manufactures to more than the amount of a million annually. They paid into the Exchequer not leſs than a million annually for duties, and contributed farther to the enriching of the ſtate, by adding to its circulation and capital a million annually as a tribute from India, to which he might add a further ſum of 500,000l. more as the fortunes the ſervants of the company annually brought home. In one groſs ſum, he might ſtate, that there were nearly ſeven millions of money ariſing out of or connected with the trade, added thereby to the circulation in this country, and to that increaſe of her capital which had operated to extend every other branch of her commercial and manufacturing proſperity. He had given this ſtatement to deter the houſe from encouraging raſh ſpeculations. The country had ſeen the benefit ariſing to the company, and to the public through that company, from the exiſting mode of government; his propoſition would, therefore, be to continue that government as it did now exiſt, in the court of directors, ſubject to the board of controul—the king, the ſovereign—the parliament, the great ſuperintending guardian—but the inſtrument, the company. Under that government the company's affairs, for the laſt nine years, had been in one progreſſive ſtate of proſperity: it had tended to extend benefits in time of peace, and to give vigour in time of war. It had, in the laſt war, unprovoked on our part, enabled the Britiſh arms to add honour to their country, and future ſecurity for the peace and proſperity of her Indian empire. In war or peace, the preſent mode of government had been found experimentally effectual: to continue that government, the trade muſt be excluſively given to the company; for to change the mode of carrying on the trade, it would be neceſſary to go into long inveſtigations to aſcertain the rights the company might claim to territory and to ſovereignty; and though upon their claim to ſovereignty and to territory, he had not a doubt, being fully convinced that they had no ſuch claim, he was averſe to the changing of the mode of trade, as ſuch change muſt of neceſſity bring on the diſcuſſion of thoſe claims, which would produce many long delays, and operate to the interruption, if not to the material injury of the trade between this country and India. He was hoſtile to any delay in coming to a ſettlement with the company, not from the fear of any rival in Europe to our trade, but from a conviction of the wiſdom of ſeizing the preſent favourable opportunity of ſecuring that valuable trade to this country for ever, from the rivalſhip of any future power. He was alſo averſe to any change in the government, as the natives of India looked up to the company as the ſovereigns; and as they might deem any change to be an innovation or uſurpation, he would aſk, what man would be bold enough to ſpeculate upon the convulſion ſuch a change might occaſion in the empire of India? It might be urged, that the preſent mode gave great patronage to the executive power; upon this he would ſay but a few words, as he ſhould have abundant opportunities, in the progreſs of the buſineſs, to diſcuſs what patronage the executive power did poſſeſs, and he pledged himſelf to ſtate every ſhare of patronage that had been exerciſed by that power. In every valuable reſpect, the company had the patronage. To take it out of their hands, and to place it in thoſe of the executive government, would be dangerous to the balance of the conſtitution. The exiſting connection, however, between the executive government and the company, with reſpect to the patronage, was well calculated for every good purpoſe. The company poſſeſſed that which the government ought not to poſſeſs, and the executive power that which was anſwerable for the important end of good government. One alteration he ſhould ſuggeſt, which would be to extend the powers of the king in his choice of perſons to ſit at the board of controul, ſeats at which

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which were now restricted to privy-counsellors. It had been suggested to him by lord Cornwallis, that the appointment of governor-general and governor of presidencies, should rest with the king: his reason, however, for not proposing that power was, that the king already possessed a right to negative any improper person that might be chosen by the company. With respect to the trade, he objected to the opening of it, because an open trade to India would produce an emigration to that continent which might be productive of convulsions ultimately ruinous to the whole of the British power in that part of the world. The persons so emigrating for speculative commercial views, might furnish recruits for the armies of Tippoo, or of the Mahrattas, and might in other shapes rise up against the interests of their own country. Many golden dreams had been enjoyed upon the idea of having the trade opened, but if the trade were opened, those speculative dreamers would be completely disappointed: for the great distance of that country was against any lucrative commerce, unless carried on upon a large capital, and to a very considerable extent. With respect to the fashionable attempt to cry down the company, he wished to call the attention of the country to what they were indebted to the company. To that company was the country indebted for its present flourishing manufactures of cottons and muslins, for the great increase of our navigation; for a great annual influx of wealth, enabling speculators to commence new manufactures, and to carry on the old ones with vigour and effect. The company was entitled to the gratitude of the country, rather than to be run at by people who might think it convenient to pull down the ladder by which they had mounted to prosperity and riches. But whether the charter should or should not be again renewed; the company would still remain a corporate body, with a large trading capital in perpetuity, and would continue to hold the different forts of which they were possessed, and the numerous factories they had established, of none of which the public could deprive them, without being guilty of the grossest injustice: how then could merchants, individually or corporately, hold a successful competition with them? The more it was looked into, the more imaginary would be found the views of those who speculated upon the advantages of an open trade. To shew that an idea of competition was ridiculous, he drew the attention of the committee to the competition which had been attempted by foreign countries, and drew a contrast between their miserable success, and the splendid superiority of the British company. He contended that the Commutation Act had, by destroying clandestine trade, given to the company a fair chance of displaying their superiority. Previous to that act, the tea sales annually at the India-house amounted to about six millions of pounds: they amounted now to sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen millions annually. Previous to that act, when the impolicy of the country placed high duties on the import, and enabled foreigners to counteract the fair trade of the company, Sweden and Denmark employed each six or seven large ships annually; they were now content with one, and that alternately between them. Holland was also now content with one, as was Portugal last year, but this year had none. These countries had tried a competition, and had failed, which he conceived ought to operate to British speculators as a warning of the dangers to which they might be exposed by similar attempts. He referred the committee to the time of Oliver Cromwell, who had with his strong hand destroyed the monopoly, and opened the trade, a measure which had alarmed the Dutch East India company, who, under the persuasion of the great wisdom of the protector, dreaded the measure as destructive to themselves; but what was the consequence? The Dutch went quietly on with their exclusive charter, obtained those valuable possessions which were the foundation of their subsequent power in India, and our trade, which had been opened, went to ruin. The consequence of which was, that Oliver, though not a man very ready to change his measures, in the course of three years had the good sense to restore the charter he had rashly destroyed. In the reigns of Charles and James, the trade was in some degree opened by letters of licence to individuals, to carry it on independently of the company; but every one who had embarked in it had ruined themselves. He was convinced that the same would happen again; and that if the trade were opened to-morrow, the company would speedily beat every rival out of the world. After many other observations to the same effect, he said that on Monday he should move certain propositions accordingly. Some explanations took place, when, as a matter of course, the house was resumed, and the committee ordered to sit again on Monday.

On Thursday, April 25, the chancellor of

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of the exchequer, purſuant to notice given, roſe to move the appointment of a ſelect committee to examine into the preſent ſtate of commercial credit. He accordingly moved the appointment of a committee of fifteen gentlemen, among whom were the maſter of the rolls, the lord-mayor, ſir J. Sinclair, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Huſſey, Mr. S. Thornton, and the chancellor of the exchequer. The motion was agreed to, and the committee empowered to ſend for perſons, papers, and records.

After this, Mr. Sheridan roſe to make a motion, of which he had given notice on a former day. It related to a memorial preſented by lord Auckland to the ſtates-general on the 5th of April. He ſhould not conſider it of importance, if its object went merely to cenſure lord Auckland, but of very great importance, as it went to obtain an explanation of the true nature and object of the war. A war of vengeance and extermination had been diſclaimed by miniſters: he wiſhed now, however, to preſs them deciſively upon that point, and to try them by the paper he complained of, whether they avowed one purpoſe, the ſecurity of the country, and had another purpoſe which they durſt not avow. If they ſhould not diſclaim the memorial of lord Auckland, it would be evident they had abandoned the ground on which they had called the houſe to ſupport the war. That memorial had termed the perſons poſſeſſing the government in France, *wretches* and *miſcreants*: ſhould the fate of war be againſt us, the hard words beſtowed upon an enemy with whom we might be compelled to treat for peace, could have no other operation than to render that peace ignominious. He admitted the right of England and Holland to determine, as they did by memorials in September, to refuſe aſylum to thoſe who might commit that act which had been every where lamented: by thoſe memorials, however, no idea had been expreſſed of ſeizing or puniſhing perſons guilty of any crime in France: matters remained in that way until chance put five commiſſioners into the hands of the Auſtrians, and into, what lord Auckland terms, the reach of the ſword of juſtice. The memorial of the 5th inſtant, was the conſequence of the poſſeſſion of thoſe commiſſioners, who were termed deteſtable regicides within the reach of the ſword of the law. The Britiſh miniſter, in his memorial, adviſes to have them delivered up as examples to mankind, and calls on the Dutch, in effect, to put them to death, and all who might fall in like manner into their hands. Dumourier had delivered thoſe commiſſioners to the Auſtrians as hoſtages for the living; not to be immolated in a Dutch garriſon to the manes of the dead. The memorial of lord Auckland was a recommendation to have them aſſaſſinated; which act might, when known at Paris, expoſe thoſe to deſtruction for whom the commiſſioners were delivered as hoſtages. The noble lord talked of holding up to men leſſons and examples; by his memorial he had proved, however, that he was not one who profited by leſſon or example, or he would have recollected his ſituation when he had acted in a ſimilar manner in America, when a commiſſioner. A proclamation by the ſame hand, threatening deſolation to the wretches in America, with whom we were afterward compelled to treat, was an inauſpicious ſimilarity. If we were to conſider ourſelves at war with France, we ought to conduct that war, whoever might rule in France, and by whatever means they might have obtained the power, in the ſame manner as we ſhould conduct a war againſt any other country in Europe. If we were to act upon ſuch principles as muſt have led to the production of the memorial of the 5th inſtant, we might as well act out at once boldly, offer a price for the head of every Frenchman, treat their rulers as conſpirators, their armies as banditti, their navy as pirates, and hunt them as wolves. Was ſuch the intention of miniſters? If it were let them ſpeak out; the people of England ought to know the real grounds and objects of the war, that they might ſee for what they were expending their blood and treaſure. Aſſuming, for a moment, that miniſters had changed their profeſſed grounds, and had reſolved not to treat with thoſe who now exerciſed the power in France, he would aſk, how was peace ever to be acquired? With what ſort of government were we to treat? who was to preſcribe a government for France with which we might treat? Were ſuch perſons as the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the virtuous and pious lady who is empreſs of Ruſſia, the queen of Portugal, and the king of England, to form it? If they were, what conſtitution were we to look for? Was the conſtitution of 1789, to which the French nation had ſworn, and which Cobourg, in two memorials, ſtates to be the wiſh of all ſovereigns to ſee eſtabliſhed, one that could reconcile the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Burke) to a termination of the war? No,

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it could not be expected; for againſt that very conſtitution he had exhauſted every epithet of indignation and reproach. Would it be avowed that there exiſted a wiſh to eſtabliſh the ancient deſpotiſm? He was confident it would not; for no miniſter in this country would dare to avow that to be the object for which Britiſh blood was to be ſhed, and Britiſh treaſure expended. By treating the exiſting ruling powers as wretches and regicides, he ſaw no means by which we could treat for peace; on the contrary, it ſhould ſeem that peace was not the object of the confederation againſt France; for whatever the allies might profeſs, their object was, to aggrandize themſelves by a partition of France. Partition might not be the object with England, but ſhe would be the dupe of thoſe whoſe views ſhe was forwarding. The preſent emperor had been but little tried. The late emperor, however, was notorious for his diſregard of good faith. The king of Pruſſia had not ſhewn himſelf better, for he engaged the Brabanters to rebel, and afterward gave them up to their enemy. To that perfidious act England was acceſſary, and a participator in the guilt. For a proof of the virtuous conduct of crowned heads, he adverted to their proceedings with Poland; they had there done acts of rapine, ambition, and injuſtice, which ought, in policy, to have been deferred for ſome little time, as extremely mal-a-propos, at a period when thoſe very powers were reproaching France for acts of injuſtice and aggrandizement, which they themſelves had far exceeded. Deſcribing the revolution in Poland, which had been overthrown by Ruſſia and Pruſſia, he read Mr. Burke's beautiful deſcription of that revolution, by which all, from the king to the peaſant, were bettered; yet this glorious revolution had been deſtroyed by ambition and deſpotiſm, without a ſingle word in reprobation from thoſe who had been foremoſt to applaud that revolution. The empreſs of Ruſſia, in an inſulting memorial, had ſtated that ſhe had, to indemnify herſelf for her interference with the government of Poland, been graciouſly pleaſed to annex for ever to the Ruſſian empire, ſeveral diſtricts of Poland, and all their inhabitants: ſhe was alſo pleaſed to declare, that ſhe wiſhed to affiliate them with her own ſubjects. Fraternity and affiliation offered by France had been treated cavalierly; but here was imperial affiliation, for the glory, not of the country taken, but of the whole Ruſſian empire, which was paſſed by without reprobation. Such affiliation the allies have in view for France; and, in like manner, if they could form a ſufficient combination, would they affiliate England. The great, generous, and pious empreſs, had ſtolen a territory, with three millions of inhabitants, the great and pious king of Pruſſia, in his fraternizing and affiliating meaſure, had acted in a ſimilar manner. When we were connected with powers guilty of ſuch conduct, it was neceſſary to know how far we were bound to act with them againſt a country whoſe conduct had been imitated by thoſe who were waging war againſt her: for he conſidered a robbery to be a robbery, whoever committed it, whether by an empreſs with a ſceptre, or a poiſſarde with a pike; whether by men with crowns on their heads, or with woollen nightcaps. Should the war againſt France be ſucceſsful, and the crowned fraternizers ſucceed, how was the ſpoil to be divided? The emperor, he had no doubt, would be deſirous to affiliate Alſace and Lorrain, and, in the general ſcramble, it was far from improbable that we might be compelled into another war, againſt ſome of our preſent allies, for the maintenance of the balance of power, which would be endangered by the conqueſt of France. If the Britiſh lion were to come in for his ſhare of the prey, we might appear in a new ſhape upon the continent, and be continually involved in war, becauſe this gentleman of a king, or that lady of an empreſs, might not agree about their reſpective ſhares. With our allies there could be no cordial co-operation: we had a right to look upon them with a jealous eye, and to conſider every victory obtained by them, dangerous to our future peace. They eyed us with jealouſy, and, upon the ſame principle which had induced the invaſion and partition of Poland, might they, if ſtrong enough, invade and divide England: for one of the reaſons advanced for ſeizing Poland was, the danger of the propagation of French principles. That ſuch principles were propagated in this country, the aſſertions of our miniſters might be advanced to prove, and our good allies, to deſtroy thoſe principles might favour us with the fraternity of their armies. He, however, wiſhing to avoid their kindneſs, and to ſeparate England from co-operating with powers guilty of the deeds they had perpetrated, was deſirous of getting rid of the preſent war, by keeping open ſome channel for a ſeparate peace.

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For that reason he reprobated lord Auckland's memorial, which shut out all prospect of peace; and which, if not disavowed, was calculated to add to the horrors of war, by reviving that sanguinary spirit which had characterized the wars of less civilized ages. He concluded by moving, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to express the displeasure of this house, at a memorial, dated the 5th of April 1793, presented to the states-general, by lord Auckland, his majesty's minister at the Hague, the said memorial containing a declaration of the following tenour: 'Some of these detestable regicides, (meaning by this expression the commissioners of the national convention of France delivered to prince Cobourg by general Dumourier) 'are now in such a situation, that they can be subjected to the sword of the law; the rest are still in the midst of a people whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils; and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war are about to prepare new calamities. In short, every thing that we see happen, induces us to consider as not far distant the end of these wretches, whose madness and atrocities have filled with horror and indignation all those who respect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity. The undersigned, therefore, submits to the enlightened judgment and wisdom of your high mightinesses, whether it would not be proper to employ all the means in your power to prohibit from entering your dominions in Europe, or your colonies, all those members of the assembly styling itself the national convention, or of the pretended executive council, who were directly or indirectly concerned in the said crime; and if they should be discovered and arrested, to deliver them up to justice, that they may serve as a lesson and example to mankind.' To acquaint his majesty with the sense of this house, that the said minister, in making this declaration, has departed from the principles upon which this house was induced to concur in the measures necessary for the support of the war; and has announced an intention on his part, inconsistent with the repeated assurances given by his majesty, that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of France; and humbly to beseech his majesty, that so much of the said memorial as contains the declaration above recited, may be publicly disavowed, as containing matter inconsistent with the humanity which at all times have distinguished the British nation, and derogatory to the dignity of the crown, by avowing an intention to interpose in the internal affairs of France, which his majesty has in so many declarations disclaimed, and mingling purposes of vengeance with those objects of defence and security to ourselves and our allies, which his majesty's ministers have so often declared to be the sole object of the present war.—To represent to his majesty, that this house has already expressed its sense of the acts spoken of in the above declaration; but that as neither this, nor any other foreign state, can possess any cognizance or jurisdiction respecting them, the only tendency of menaces against their perpetrators is, to compel this country either unjustifiably to carry on war for the subversion of the present government of France, or disgracefully to seek peace by an ignominious negotiation with the very government whom we have thus stigmatized in our public acts. That these threats must tend to give to the hostilities with which Europe is now afflicted a peculiar ferocity, by reviving a system of retaliation and bloodshed, which experience of its destructive tendency, honour, humanity, and religion, have combined to banish from the practice of civilized war. And finally, to represent, how deeply the reputation of his majesty's counsels is interested in disclaiming the unjustifiable, and we trust unauthorized, denunciations of vengeance, so destructive of all confidence in the sincerity of the public acts of ministers, and so manifestly tending at once to render the principle of the war unjust, the conduct of hostilities barbarous, and the attainment of honourable peace hopeless.'

Mr. Grey having seconded the motion, the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the hon. gentleman, instead of an argument against lord Auckland, had indulged himself in an invective against the king of Prussia and the empress of Russia; and instead of moving (according to the notice he had given) for the recal of our ambassador at the Hague, had worded a motion which went to attack not the noble lord, but the professions and sentiment of the king, approved of by that house and the nation. The motion stated a departure from avowed principles; he denied any such departure, and defied a proof to be advanced of such departure by any word or sentiment contained in the memorial of the 5th of April. He entered into the great services of lord Auckland, particularly his recent services in Holland. The memorials issued by that

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noble lord, were founded on the reſolutions of that houſe and the general ſentiments of the country. The king had declared, previous to the act which had diſgraced France, that thoſe who ſhould commit ſuch an act ſhould not find an aſylum in his dominions. That declaration had been approved of, and he was confident that no lover of juſtice would differ with him in opinion, that there ought to be handed down to poſterity ſome ſignal puniſhment accompanying the hiſtory of the horrid act which had been committed. The perpetrators had been denounced before the war. Did our being involved in a war render a repetition of that denunciation improper? It certainly did not; nor did it in any ſhape change the principles of the war; the war had been commenced to repel an unprovoked aggreſſion, and its objects were to obtain an indemnity for that aggreſſion, and to render our ſituation hereafter ſecure. The memorial condemned by the hon. gentleman did not recommend, as he had declared, under any poſſible conſtruction, the execution of any perſon; the ſentence that *they may come under the ſword of the law* could not have been written by lord Auckland, in the ſenſe it was explained by Mr. Sheridan, nor had the Dutch acted upon it in that ſenſe; its obvious meaning was, that thoſe perſons who had been delivered over to the Auſtrians might, by being in their hands, be brought to juſtice, upon ſucceſs attending the plans of Dumourier, and the progreſs of the Auſtrians, by which a counter-revolution might have been reckoned upon, though as he had thought too haſtily, and by which counter-revolution a tribunal might have been eſtabliſhed in France for the purpoſe of bringing to juſtice all thoſe perſons who might have been concerned in the murder of the king. But this obvious ſenſe would not ſuit thoſe who were on the hunt to impute blame where merit was due. In that fair ſenſe of the memorial there was not any thing new, or contrary to the law of nations. Upon an occaſion ſomewhat ſimilar in this country, a Britiſh ambaſſador at the Hague applied for the delivery of certain regicides. The regicides were delivered up, tried in this country, and executed. He had been puzzled to account for the views of the hon. gentleman in his motion; one of thoſe views now appeared to be, to induce the country to give up the co-operation with other powers which might aid us in repelling ſucceſsfully an unjuſt war, becauſe thoſe powers had been guilty of acts of aggrandizement and ambition which he was far from approving, as acts of injuſtice and violence were to him as odious when offered by crowned heads as by republics: the aggrandizement of thoſe powers, however, was at a diſtance, and the danger not equally preſſing upon us with that aggrandizement attempted by France, and by her war commenced againſt us, which was aimed at the vitals of the conſtitution. After again expreſſing his diſapprobation of the partition of Poland, he replied to that part of Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech which held out the probability of all proſpect of peace being deſtroyed, by the apparent determination of miniſters not to treat with thoſe who exerciſed the power in France. It was not his wiſh to treat with them, nor could it be the wiſh of any man; but ſhould there be a neceſſity for treating with them, there was not any thing that precluded it.

Mr. Fox obſerved, that the right hon. gentleman had exculpated miniſters from holding out any principles of vengeance, or of interference in the internal affairs of France; they had not avowed authorizing language, cutting off all chance of treating with thoſe who might hold the government of France; but if, while they held that language in the houſe, they continued to employ miniſters in foreign courts holding a contrary language, the public would be induced to believe that principles were acted upon which it was not deemed convenient to avow.

The chancellor of the exchequer repeated, that there had not been any intention of interfering with the internal affairs of France; but in that declaration he did not wiſh to have it underſtood, that this country, when any circumſtance might ariſe, was precluded from ſuch interference, if that interference ſhould have an operation to accelerate the termination of the war.

Mr. Fox admitted the right of interference hinted at by the right hon. gentleman, which he never meant to deny; for he was fully aware, alluding to former wars with France, that this country, if inſurrections took place, for inſtance, in their Weſt India ſettlements or elſewhere, was juſtified to aid the inſurgents, for the purpoſe of diſtreſſing the enemy, and the more ſpeedily effecting a peace.

The queſtion being loudly called for, Mr. Burke, who had riſen, declined ſpeaking, and the queſtion was negatived,

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there being ayes 36, noes 211; majority against the motion 175.

On Monday April 29, the report of the committee respecting the present state of commercial credit was brought up, and read. It represented, that the immediate interposition of the legislature was necessary; that the effects of circumstances, already of public notoriety, are not confined to the concerns of private individuals, but threaten to involve consequences of very serious national importance: that the best mode to avert and remedy those evils, would be to enable individuals, by the public advancing them money (for which proper security should be given) to restore their lost credit, and thereby recover the energy of the national commerce; this assistance to be afforded only to houses of known solvency and reputation: that the sum of five millions, on public security, would be adequate to those purposes, for which an interest should be required of 2½d. per cent. per diem, or 3l. 16s. per cent. per ann. The difference of which, and the usual interest and discount on such securities, to be also paid by the borrowers; that the bills issued for this purpose should be some of 100l. each, some of 50l. and some so low as 20l. That the distribution of these, the superintendence of the goods and articles received as security, which the committee recommend to be warehoused, should be vested in commissioners to be appointed by parliament. The committee think that 20 commissioners would be sufficient; and they also think that many would gladly undertake the office without wishing for emolument; and that the best places which appear to the committee for the securities, &c. to be warehoused, is at London, Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, Leeds, and Glasgow, &c.—This report was ordered to be taken into consideration the next day. This was accordingly done, and the chancellor of the exchequer moved a resolution in conformity to the report of the committee. It was objected to, on various grounds, by some of the members; Mr. Fox, in particular, observing, that, in a constitutional point of view, there was great danger in permitting government to interfere in these matters, and that fatal effects might ensue from the influence which such a measure would give them in the commercial world.—The force of these observations was allowed by members on the other side, who alleged, however, in answer, that the necessity of the case was paramount to every consideration; and, on a division, the resolution was carried by 110 to 26, and the next day, a Bill was ordered to be brought in pursuant to this resolution.

On Monday May 2, a petition for a parliamentary reform was presented from Sheffield, which was refused to be received on account of the disrespectful terms in which it was couched. But petitions for the reform were received from Birmingham, Durham, Glasgow, Leven, Anwick, Kempsey, Hamilton, and Kirkintulloch.

A motion for discharging the order for the second reading of the Stockbridge disqualifying bill was carried 53 to 27, by which the bill was lost.

The following gentlemen were appointed commissioners for carrying into effect the act for the relief of commercial credit: Lord Sheffield, sir John Sinclair, sir Grey Cooper, alderman Anderson, Mr. Boddington, Mr. Manning, Mr. Baring, Mr. R. Barclay, Mr. Forster, Mr. Grant, Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. Smith, Mr. Darrell, Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Innes, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Harman, Mr. Chiswell, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Bragden; seven of whom are members of the house; four Bank directors; and the remainder merchants of established credit and reputation in the city of London.

On Monday May 6, petitions for a parliamentary reform were received from Westminster, Suffolk, Warwick, Huddersfield, Dundee, Paisley, Montrose, Kilmarnock, Perth, Edinburgh, Dunbarton, Roxburghshire, Linlithgow, Nottingham, and from certain inhabitants of the parish of Aldgate in London. A petition from Norwich having been printed, was, on that account, not received.

After this, Mr. Grey having presented a petition to the same effect from the society called 'The Friends of the People,' proceeded to make his long-expected motion respecting a reform in parliament. What he advanced in support of the petition contained a variety of matter, which, though urged with great force and perspicuity, was necessarily a repetition of arguments which had been constantly urged in all former discussions of the subject. On one great point he insisted; namely, that a majority of the whole house of commons is elected by less than 15,000 persons; that is, by the 200th part of the people to be represented, supposing them to consist of 3,000,000 of adults. He stated farther, that by the influence and patronage of 72 peers and 91 opulent com-

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commoners, the return of no less than 306 members was procured, which greatly exceeded the majority of the house. He took notice of the formidable adversary he should find in the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who had been once the great advocate for the reform. He adverted to the argument that had been and would be used, that the present was a time of too much danger to attempt a reform. That plea had been urged on every discussion of the subject in this century, and, particularly in 1785, when the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) then minister, had made a motion for a reform, and who then very ably and completely refuted that plea. It was singular that this plea should be urged, whenever any extension of popular rights was proposed, but never, when any encroachment upon those rights was attempted, when an alien bill, a traiterous correspondence bill, &c. was proposed. Had the reform taken place at the conclusion of the war in 1763, this country would probably have been saved from the American war. Had it taken place last year, we might have been saved from the present calamitous state in which the commercial credit of the country was involved. Were he to advert to authorities for the necessity of a reform, he might mention the late earl of Chatham, sir George Savile, the right hon. gentleman himself (Mr. Pitt) and the duke of Richmond; and an authority still greater than these, a speech of his majesty from the throne in 1784. Recurring again to the plea of danger, he said, that so far as that could follow (which had, indeed, been much dreaded) from the propagation of French principles there could be *none*; for such had been the dreadful *effect* of those principles in France, that none but madmen would either adopt the principles or imitate the consequent practice. He concluded by moving, that the petition be referred to a committee; and the motion was seconded by Mr. Erskine, who, however, reserved his observations to another period of the debate.

Mr. Jenkinson, in opposition to the motion, urged the danger of attempting to stir up the minds of the people, who, when once roused, were to be quieted by the nod of no man. Of this position France exhibited a deplorable example. Gentlemen would recollect, that the happiness of man depended not on any general theories, unless it could be proved, that those theories were calculated to promote practical good; and hence he drew this conclusion, that no theories, however plausible, ought to be adopted, unless actual grievances were experienced. He expatiated on the ends of representation, which, he said, were best answered by the present constitution of parliament; for, to preserve and strengthen the deliberative capacity of the house of commons, it was requisite that it should consist of men attached to the landed interest, of men attached to the monied interest, and of professional men. From this mixed constitution of the house it followed, that while, in other countries, there was not a sufficient number of statesmen, in this country there was more than sufficient. And it was to be observed, that one species of the elected, namely, professional men, could never find their way into the house, except through the medium of the *rotten boroughs*; for, in populous places, none but men possessed of landed or monied interest could possibly succeed. He denied that the public burdens were occasioned by any ineffectual representation of the people; observing, that the very American war, so much reprobated as a proof of it, was, on the contrary the war of the people till within two years of conclusion, when it ceased to be popular, because it was unsuccessful; and he concluded by saying, that as no practical grievance had been stated, he should be against the motion.

Mr. Powys spoke against the motion in a speech, that was principally levelled at the Society of the Friends of the People.

Mr. Windham condemned the introduction of metaphysical speculations as rules of conduct. It was like turning a mill by the power of music, or raising a wall, like another Amphion, by a tune. He denied the proposition, that in all states the will of the majority ought to govern. It was not a general principle of government, nor consonant to the spirit and practice of ours, in particular, that the numerical majority should decide for the whole. An ingenious author, whom he admired more as a philologist than a politician (Mr. Horne Tooke) had said with some pleasantry, that many of the evils of life arose for want of a right understanding of *particles*. Just so, he imagined, many of the errors of these new political philosophizers originated in a misunderstanding of particles. They said, for instance, that all government proceeded *from* the people; now, if instead of the particle *from* they would insert

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ſert the particle *for*, their propoſition would be not only intelligible but true; and yet on the ſtupid confounding of theſe two, not indeed by ſtupid, but very ingenious men, did they reſt their wild and injurious ſpeculations. When he denied the right of the majority to govern the whole, and decide in all caſes, he might be aſked what he would ſubſtitute for it; if he would take the minority. He would not ſay ſo, though even that propoſition would not be more abſurd than the other, in the manner they argued upon it. He would reſt the deciſion on the merits of the point to be decided; and as men would ſee thoſe more or leſs clearly in proportion to their greater or leſs degrees of information, it followed that the majority was not the moſt likely to be in the right. If twenty perſons of ordinary capacity were to decide on a queſtion by a mere majority, was it a certain rule that the majority would be right? By no means. If to theſe twenty as many more are added, would the certainty be greater? It would be leſs; for as the number was augmented, the deficiency of deliberative judgment, the moſt eſſential quality, would be greater. If, therefore, the plan of theſe reformers, who ſaid that nothing but a mere majority ought to govern, were to be carried, the nation muſt be undone. Applying this argument to the caſe of the revolution—was it not notorious that the revolution was produced by the minority, and yet that event had received univerſal applauſe? Mr. Windham, after many other obſervations to the ſame effect, concluded with being againſt the motion.

Mr. Erſkine now roſe to ſpeak for the motion which he had ſeconded. He reminded the houſe, that the very republican form of government which now exiſted in America, from the imitation and ſpirit of which had ariſen all the confuſion now to be ſeen in France, had all ariſen out of the very corruption of the houſe of commons in Great Britain. The ſpeech of his hon. friend (Mr. Grey) contained the moſt explicit diſavowal of that wild ſyſtem of univerſal repreſentation of the people ſo earneſtly deprecated by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham). If his arguments were wrong in the opinion of the majority, ſtill it was poſſible he might be right upon the ſenſe of the thing itſelf; for the hon. gentleman had taken great pains to convince them, that a majority were not always in the right.—But, in fact, we never had any ideas of univerſal repreſentation: ours was originally feudal repreſentation; it began with the conqueſt, and Providence had brought us to a happy ſtate in that reſpect. It was only lately that the houſe of commons had degenerated from their genuine character. At the time to which he alluded, the crown had no influence ſuch as it had at preſent in that houſe, becauſe the crown had no means of ſeducing the members of it from the due execution of their duty, and for that reaſon they met for the purpoſe of maintaining the principles of the people, and of ſpeaking always the voice of the people. This was the caſe even in the times of Charles II and James II, becauſe the people, not having the ſame rights to defend as now, the commons, without influence from the crown, were then the organ of the public voice, and therefore they held the principles of a popular aſſembly of that day. But when the rights of the people became enlarged at the revolution, it became the buſineſs of the crown to interfere with its influence, and accordingly corruption crept in ſtep after ſtep, until at laſt it was known to ſpeak a language different on many occaſions from the language of the people. What he maintained, he ſaid, was this, that, in conſequence of the influence of the crown, ariſing out of the vaſt increaſe of the revenue, and the patronage which attended the application of it, and cauſes of that nature, a general corruption followed in that houſe, which had been highly prejudicial to the intereſt of the people at large; for the members of that houſe, a vaſt majority of them, generally ſpeaking, voted without regard to the proſperity or adverſity of the people, and often for ſome time in defiance of the expreſs directions of the people, merely in obedience to the will of the crown.—It had been ſaid, that the American war was not a proper inſtance for his arguments, becauſe that war was with the conſent of the people of this country. But if it were, that was not the fault of the people: it aroſe from the corruption of that houſe; for the good people of this country were naturally led to follow the example ſet them by government. That houſe gave them the tone, and deluded the people into that fatal error; for they had been always taught to believe, that the determination of that houſe was always formed upon a due regard to the public good, and, therefore, they naturally followed the example ſet them by thoſe whom they thought their honeſt repreſentatives; and having worked upon the public by this artifice, they then turned round, in anſwer to thoſe who

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who endeavoured to expoſe their meaſures, by ſaying it was the will and choice of the people of this country. This a corrupt body of men would follow as long as they found it convenient to follow it. Sometimes, the public would be able to ſee the deluſion, and their temper would have an effect upon the conduct of a miniſter, who in tenderneſs for his own ſtation might perhaps diſcontinue a deſtructive meaſure. But had this any effect upon the majority of the houſe, certainly not. Of the truth of this we had many recent examples. The Ruſſian armament, for inſtance: did the ſenſe of the people againſt that fooliſh project leſſen the majority in its favour in that houſe? Not a ſingle vote; nor would the houſe have changed its opinion to this time, if the miniſter had not given his permiſſion to the majority to change their minds. The Catholics of Ireland alſo, ſhould be noticed upon this argument. Was it the majority of parliament, of its own accord, that did theſe much injured perſons ſomething like juſtice? Not at all: nothing was done for them in parliament until leave was given from the crown to proceed upon that ſubject. Theſe conſiderations juſtified him in maintaining, that the houſe of commons in this, and in a ſiſter kingdom, were under the influence of the crown, and that nothing for the good of the public would be done by them, but from the ſuggeſtion of the executive power, and that they had not been for many years, as they ought to be, under the controul of the people, and what they were inſtituted for by the conſtitution of England.—Alluding to an objection which had been urged to the motion, he aſked, if the houſe would refuſe the juſt and reaſonable demands of the people, on pretence that, if theſe were granted, they would then demand what was unjuſt and unreaſonable? Juſt ſo a former houſe of commons acted toward America. Grant the Americans, it was ſaid, the repeal of the obnoxious acts, and they will make further demands. The houſe refuſed to concede at all, and America was loſt. If they had then made reaſonable conceſſions, the Americans would have been ſatisfied. They would have eſtabliſhed no republic; they would not have infuſed into the French, principles of which the French were not qualified to make a right uſe; and all the evils which we deplored in the French revolution, would have been prevented. But the houſe perſiſted in the American war, two years after the people had ſeen the folly of it, and wiſhed it at an end. He had the authority of the earl of Chatham for ſaying that it was the corruption of that houſe, purſuing a ruinous war in ſpite of the people, which loſt America. He had the authority of the chancellor of the exchequer himſelf, who, in his firſt motion for reform, argued from this, as the greateſt practical abuſe. If the conduct of the houſe had then been ſuch as that of a fair repreſentation of the people ought to have been, what would have now been the condition of the world? We planted America in the better days of our conſtitution, and gave her every where the model which we ourſelves admired. Her houſes of aſſembly were parliaments; her governors were monarchs. Had we continued to treat her with the ſame kindneſs, ſhe would have remained at this day connected with Great Britain; or, if ſeparated from us, ſeparated by ſuch gentle means and with ſuch a love for monarchy that ſhe would have never thought of erecting a republic. But as corruption grew at home, its baleful influence was exerted to oppreſs and alienate America. France, with no love for the principles of liberty, but merely from rivalſhip to us, eſpouſed her cauſe, and what the corruption of our government began, the corruption of another completed. The French troops ſent to America caught the infection of liberty; the French at home reaſoned on the principles which they were aiding America to aſſert, that they might not appear ſo ſtupefied in the eyes of the world, as to be fighting for what they did not underſtand; and by theſe means, and this reaſoning, was that ſpirit of republicaniſm ſet afloat in France, which, being ill underſtood, and worſe acted upon, had ſince produced ſuch lamentable effects.—It ſhould be remembered, that we were not now in the ſtate of forming ſociety anew; we were not like the French ſetting about a total change of government, legiſlation, and juriſprudence: we were only endeavouring to preſerve, by reſtoring to its genuine principles, our conſtitution of king, lords, and commons; and had no ſuch difficulties as theirs to fear.—No time could be more proper for this eſſential reform than the preſent; for ſince his hon. friend laſt year gave notice of his motion, the anarchy that had prevailed in France had made all ranks of men ſo cautious, that far from puſhing things to deſperate extremities, or going beyond what their repreſentatives ſhould point out to them, they would follow with careful and even with

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with timid ſteps. If the houſe refuſed to make the experiment, and ſuch a ſpirit of diſaffection as ſome gentlemen loved to dwell upon were abroad, the conſequence might indeed be dangerous. It was by comparing the actual abuſes of our own with the ſpeculative perfections of other forms of government, that diſcontent and diſaffection were moſt likely to be nouriſhed. Take away the cauſe and the effect would ceaſe. But, it was ſaid, the houſe of commons, as now conſtituted, attended to the intereſts of the people. So would the king, ſo would the peers, if there were no houſe of commons, well knowing that the power of government was founded on opinion, and that when the intereſts of the people were too obviouſly neglected, government could not long ſtand. It was ſecurity for a ſteady and unvarying attention to the intereſts of the people that was the object aimed at; and this could only be obtained by making the houſe of commons what it ought to be.

Several gentlemen roſe to ſpeak, and ſeveral called out adjourn: upon which Mr. Stanley moved to adjourn the debate.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid he wiſhed the queſtion to be as ſpeedily decided as poſſible, but as, from unavoidable circumſtances, the debate had begun at a late hour, and many gentlemen were deſirous of delivering their ſentiments upon it, he ſhould have no objection to adjourn the debate. The queſtion of adjournment was put, and the houſe divided; ayes 181, noes 109.

[To be continued.]

AFFAIRS OF FRANCE,

Continued from Page 310.

IN the evening of April 13, the debate was noiſy and tumultuous beyond deſcription. Marat was denounced as an inſtigator to maſſacre. He, on the other hand, ſpoke loudly of his patriotiſm, of his republican ſpirit, of his love for the people. He even hinted, that he would ſoon convince the convention that the people were alſo attached to him. A ſcene of the utmoſt tumult now followed—'He threatens to excite the people to inſurrection,' was exclaimed from every ſide of the hall. After a debate of ſome hours, a decree of arreſt was paſſed againſt him, and the committee of legiſlation was ordered to make their report on this ſubject. General Miranda was ordered to be delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. But, the next day, Petion moved for the repeal of this decree. He obſerved, that this general, a victim to Dumourier, was ſacrificed only by him, for having had the courage to denounce him four days before his treachery was unveiled. During the diſcuſſion of this motion, the deputies were thrown into great commotion; and Albite, Robeſpierre the younger, and ſome others, cried out, that the convention wiſhed to ſave all conſpirators. This was loudly applauded by the *galleries*, and ſome of the ſpectators even inſulted the members who ſupported Petion's motion. Vengeance being loudly called for from all quarters of the convention againſt this inſult offered to the national repreſentation, a new tumult aroſe, and the preſident ordered one of the ſerjeants to turn out all the citizens who were denounced on this account. After a violent debate, the convention paſſed to the order of the day on the motion of Petion, and referred that of ſeveral others on the ſame ſubject to the committee of war.

A letter from the commiſſioners to the army at Valenciennes having ſtated, that the Auſtrian general having ſent a letter to general Dampiere (the contents of which, and his anſwer, they had not yet ſeen) Robeſpierre propoſed, that no letters which might in future come from the generals of the enemy ſhould be read. On a motion by Danton, the convention declared, in the name of the French people, that they would not interfere, in any manner, in the government of foreign powers; but that they would rather bury themſelves in the ruins of their country, than ſuffer any foreign power to interfere with the conſtitution which they wiſh to form for themſelves. They farther decreed death againſt any who ſhould propoſe a negotiation with the enemy, for the purpoſe of modelling the conſtitution agreeable to their ſuggeſtions, or recommend offering any terms whatever to ſuch nations as would not firſt acknowledge the ſovereignty, unity, and indiviſibility of the republic, founded upon liberty and equality.

In ſeveral days ſpent in tumultuous debates, in which the galleries took, as uſual, the unbecoming freedom of applauding or hiſſing their repreſentatives, nothing important occurred. On the 17th and 18th of April, the convention decreed nineteen

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articles of the rights of man. But whatever relates to the new conſtitution will more properly be noticed, whenever the whole is completed, and, we may add, *accepted*; which laſt circumſtance may, perhaps, depend on the iſſue of the civil war now raging between the royaliſts and the patriots in Britany, &c. On the 20th, a decree of accuſation againſt Marat was adopted. It was as follows:

'The convention, after having heard the report of the committee of legiſlation, conſiders that Marat is convicted of having in his (printed) publications, excited murder, carnage, the degrading and diſſolving the convention, and the eſtabliſhment of a power deſtructive of liberty—therefore decrees Marat is impeached; and ordains that he ſhall be carried before the revolutionary tribunal.'

On the 24th, a body of citizens, petitioners, appeared before the aſſembly: they announced that Marat had been acquitted by the tribunal extraordinary; and they begged permiſſion to defile through the aſſembly, to ſhew the repreſentatives of the people their joy to find Marat *innocent!* Permiſſion being granted, they entered without arms, in great numbers, of both ſexes; and, as many as could, took poſſeſſion of the unoccupied ſeats, the tribunes and citizens, crying loudly, 'Long live the Republic!—Long live the Nation!—Long live Marat!' At the head of the citizens were the gendarmes, and the municipal officers. At length Marat arrived, and proceeded to take his ſeat: he had on his head a crown, which he himſelf took off; he was embraced by all the citizens, women, and deputies; after which he mounted the tribune, and made the following ſpeech: 'Citizens, you ſee a repreſentative of the people whoſe rights have been violated, but juſtice has been done him; I ſwear anew to eſpouſe the cauſe of equality, liberty, and of the people.' He was loudly applauded. The right ſide, or minority of the aſſembly, had entirely left the hall.

On the 25th of April, the convention received intelligence, that the Spaniards had invaded Rouſſillon, that they had been joined by the male contents of the village of St. Lawrence, and had defeated the few troops that oppoſed them. On the 29th, deputies from the department of Maine and Loire announced, that 'an extent of country of fifty leagues in length, and eighteen in breadth, was poſſeſſed by the rebels.'—Other advices, from different quarters, announced the ill ſucceſs of the generals of the republic, and the very ſerious and alarming aſpect which the revolt began to aſſume.

On the 30th of April, a letter from Cuſtine was read, informing the convention that he had ſhot ſome of his ſoldiers who had been guilty of plundering, as an example to the reſt.

Gaudet complained that no reſpect was paid to the convention at Paris, and moved that the place of their ſittings ſhould be removed to Verſailles on the Monday following; in this he was ſupported by a great number of members; one however objected to naming any particular day, but moved that the next time the tribunes diſturbed their debates the deputies ſhould unite and go to Verſailles, if neceſſary, ſword in hand.

Marat moved, that a reward of 200,000 livres and a civic crown, ſhould be given to whomſoever ſhould take any one of the four emigrant ci-devant princes of France, dead or alive: if emigrants, their free pardon to be included.

On the 1ſt of May, a deputation from the ſuburbs of St. Antoine appeared at the bar, and challenged the convention with having promiſed every thing and performed nothing: the orator of the deputation then pointed out the means of ſaving the country; all his propoſitions tended to plunder the rich, and inveſt the ſovereign power in the mob; and he declared, that on a refuſal to adopt thoſe meaſures, they would declare themſelves in a ſtate of inſurrection, in which they ſhould be joined by many more. The preſident, alarmed, without putting the queſtion, invited the deputation to the honour of the ſeſſion; in conſequence of which it was moved, that a vote of cenſure ſhould be paſſed on him, and a violent debate enſued, which was interrupted by ſome diſagreeable accounts from St. Domingo.

Commiſſioners having been ſent to Corſica, to arreſt general Paoli, who was charged with *inciviſm*, the convention received a letter from them on the 4th of May, intimating, that they thought it unſafe to attempt that meaſure at preſent.

On the 7th and 8th of May, farther advices were received of the great progreſs of the inſurgents, who had taken the towns of Breſſure, Thouars, and Laudun, deſtroyed the tree of liberty, and hoiſted the white flag.

[To be continued.]

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STATE PAPERS.

NUMBER I.

The Prince de SAXE COBOURG's ſecond Addreſs to the French.

THE declaration which I made from my head-quarters at Mons, dated the 5th of April 1793, is a public teſtimony of my perſonal ſentiments to reſtore, as ſoon as poſſible, peace and tranquillity to Europe. In it I manifeſted, in a ſincere and open manner, my particular deſire that the French nation might have a ſolid and durable government, founded on the unſhaken baſis of juſtice and humanity, which might enſure peace to Europe, and happineſs to France.

Now that the reſult of this declaration is ſo oppoſite to the effects it ought to have produced, and which proves but too plainly that the ſentiments which have dictated it have been miſunderſtood, it only remains for me to revoke it entirely, and to declare formally, that the ſtate of war which ſubſiſts between the court of Vienna and the combined powers and France, is from this moment unhappily renewed.

I find myſelf, therefore, forced, by the predominating influence of the circumſtances which the moſt guilty men perſiſt in directing to the overthrow and deſtruction of their country, to annul entirely my former declaration, and to make known, that a ſtate of war ſo unfortunate being renewed, I have given the neceſſary orders for commencing it, in concert with the allied powers, with all the energy and vigour of which victorious armies are capable.

The ceſſation of the armiſtice is the firſt hoſtile ſtep that the unfortunate combination of events has forced me to take. There will therefore only ſubſiſt, of my former declaration, the inviolable engagement, which I again renew with pleaſure, that the moſt exact diſcipline will be maintained by my army upon the French territory, and that every breach thereof will be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour.

The ſincerity and loyalty, which at all times have been the principle of my actions, oblige me to give to this new addreſs to the French nation, all the publicity of which it is ſuſceptible, to leave no doubt of the conſequences that may reſult from it.

Given at the head-quarters at Mons, the 9th of April 1793.

The Prince de COBOURG.

NUMBER II.

Manifeſto of her Imperial Majeſty the Empreſs of RUSSIA, relative to the Partition of POLAND.

I Michael Krechetnicoff, general in chief, ſenator, general-governor of Tula, Kaluga, and the countries newly annexed from the Poliſh republic to the Ruſſian empire, commander of all the armies there, &c. hereby make known, by the ſupreme will and command of my moſt gracious ſovereign, her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, to all the inhabitants in general of the countries now united for ever to the Ruſſian empire from the Poliſh republic.

Her imperial majeſty has hitherto taken in the affairs of Poland a part that has always been tending to the intereſt of both empires. It has not only been unſucceſsful, but proved a fruitleſs burden; and her endeavours to maintain peace and freedom among her neighbours, have been attended with innumerable loſſes.

Thirty years experience have evinced this, in the numerous internal diſputes which have diſtracted the Poliſh republic. Her imperial majeſty has viewed their ſufferings, in the countries and cities bordering on her empire, with great grief, conſidering them as deſcended from the ſame race, and profeſſing the holy Chriſtian religion.

Even at this moment, ſome unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, have not been aſhamed to approve the government of the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, and to requeſt their aſſiſtance to involve their country alſo in bloody civil wars.

The true Chriſtian religion, and the well-being of the inhabitants of the abovementioned countries, would ſuffer from the introduction of ſuch deteſtable doctrines, which tend to annihilate all the bonds of ſociety, to overthrow all ſafety, property, and proſperity. Theſe enemies of peace, following the deteſtable plan of the mob of rebels in France, propagate their doctrines throughout Poland to the utmoſt of their power, which would deſtroy for ever their own and their neighbours happineſs.

From theſe conſiderations, her imperial majeſty, my moſt gracious miſtreſs, as well to indemnify herſelf for her many loſſes, as for the future ſafety of her empire and the Poliſh dominions, and for the cutting

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cutting off at once, for ever, all future disturbances and frequent changes of government, has been pleased now to take under her sway, and to unite for ever to her empire, the following tracts of land, with all their inhabitants; namely, a line beginning at the village of Druy, on the left bank of the river Dwina, at the corner of the border of Semigallia; thence extending to Neroch and Dubrova, and following the border of the voiwodship of Vilna to Stolptsa, to Nesvij, and then to Pinsk; and thence passing Kunish, between Viskero and Novegreble, near the frontier of Gallicia; thence to the river Dniester; and, lastly, running along the river, till it enters the old border of Russia and Poland at Jergetick. In such manner, that all the cities and countries, within this line of demarcation, the new border of Russia and Poland, shall, henceforward, for ever, come under the sceptre of the Russian empire, and the inhabitants of all ranks whatever, be subjects thereof.

I being appointed by her imperial majesty governor-general of these countries, by her supreme order have to assure, in her sacred name, and in her own words to all her imperial majesty's new subjects, and now my beloved countrymen, that her most gracious majesty is pleased, not only to confirm and ensure to all the free and public exercise of their religion, and full security of property and possession, but to unite and to affiliate them under her government, for the fame and glory of the whole Russian empire; an example of which is to be seen in her faithful subjects the inhabitants of White Russia, now living in full peace and plenty under her wise and gracious dominion. Further, that all and every one of them shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of her old subjects, and that from this day every denomination of the inhabitants enters on the full participation of these benefits through the whole extent of the Russian empire.

Her imperial majesty expects from the gratitude of her new subjects, that they being placed, by her bounty, on an equality with Russians, shall, in return, transfer the love of their former country to the new one, and live in future attached to so great and generous an empress.

I, therefore, now inform every person, from the highest to the lowest, that, within one month, they must take the oath of allegiance before the witnesses whom I shall appoint; and if any of the gentlemen, or other ranks, possessing real or immoveable property, regardless of their own interest, should refuse to take the oath prescribed, three months are allowed for the sale of their immoveables, and their free departure over the borders; after the expiration of which term, all their remaining property shall be confiscated to the crown.

The clergy, both high and low, as pastors of their flocks, are expected to set the example in taking the oath; and in the daily service in their churches, they must pray for her imperial majesty, for her successor the great duke Paul Petrovitz, and for all the imperial family, according to the form which shall be given them.

In the above-mentioned solemn assurance concerning the free exercise of religion and undisturbed possession of property, it is understood that the Jews living in these countries united to the Russian empire, shall remain on the former footing, protected in their religion and property; for her majesty's humanity will not permit them alone to be excluded from the benefits of her kindness, under the protection of God: so long as they continue to live in peace, and pursue their trades like faithful subjects, law and justice shall be administered, in the name of her imperial majesty, in the proper places with the utmost strictness and equity.

I have further thought it needful to add, by order of her imperial majesty, that the troops shall, as in their own country, be under the strictest discipline. Their taking possession, therefore, of the various places, and changing the government, should not in the least alter the course of trade or living; for the increase of the happiness of the inhabitants in all parts is the intention of her imperial majesty.

This manifesto shall be read in all the churches on the 17th of this present month of March, registered in all the municipal books, and nailed up in proper places, for the general information; and that full credit may be given to it, I have, in consequence of the powers entrusted to me, signed it with my hand, and affixed the seal of my arms, at the head-quarters of the army under my command at Polonna. (Signed)

MICHAEL KRECHETNICOFF.

NUMBER III.

Manifesto of his PRUSSIAN MAJESTY relative to the Partition of POLAND.

WE, Frederic William, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, &c. make known to the respective states, bishops, abbots, voiwodes, castle-keepers, starosts, chain-

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chamberlains, and country judges; the knighthood, vaſſals, and nobles, the magiſtrates and inhabitants of the cities, the countrymen, and all the remainder of the ſpiritual and ſecular inhabitants of the voiwodſhips of Poſen, Gneſen, Kaliſh, Sira lia, the city and p ovince of Cracow, the province of Sandomir, the province of Cujavia, the province of Dobrzyn, the province of Lentſchitz, the province of Cujavia, the province Doorzyn, the voiwodſhips of Rawa and Plotzk, &c. in the circle of the boundaries, as likewiſe the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, hitherto in the poſſeſſion of the crown of Poland, our gracious will, royal grace, and all ſorts of good, and give them the following moſt gracious notice:

It is univerſally known that the Poliſh nation never ceaſed to afford to the neighbouring powers, and chiefly to the Pruſſian ſtate, frequent reaſons of juſt diſcontent. Not ſatisfied, (contrary to all rules of a good neighbourhood) with hurting the Pruſſian territory, by frequent invaſions, with moleſting and ill-uſing the ſubjects on this ſide the frontiers, and with almoſt continually refuſing them juſtice and lawful ſatisfaction; this nation have, beſides, always buſied themſelves with pernicious plans, which muſt needs attract the attention of the neighbouring powers. Theſe are matters of fact which could not eſcape the eye of an attentive obſerver of the late occurrences of Poland; but what chiefly excited the ſerious conſiderations of the neighbouring powers is, the ſpirit of rebellion continually increaſing in Poland, and the viſible influence which was obtained by thoſe abominable exertions, by which all civil, political, and religious ties would have been diſſolved, and the inhabitants of Poland expoſed to all the tremendous conſequences of anarchy, and plunged into miſeries, the end of which could not be foreſeen.

If in every country the adoption and ſpreading of ſuch deſtructive principles is always attended with the loſs of the tranquillity and happineſs of its inhabitants, its deſtructive conſequences are the more to be dreaded in a country like Poland, ſince this nation have always diſtinguiſhed themſelves by diſturbances and party ſpirit, and are powerful enough of themſelves to become dangerous to their neighbours by theſe diſturbances.

It would certainly militate againſt the firſt rules of a ſound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preſervation of tranquillity in our dominions, if, in ſuch a ſtate of things in a neighbouring great kingdom, we remained inactive ſpectators, and ſhould wait for the period when the faction feel themſelves ſtrong enough to appear in public; by which our own neighbouring provinces would be expoſed to ſeveral dangers, by the conſequences of the anarchy on our frontiers.

We have, therefore, in conjunction with her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, and with the aſſent of his majeſty the Roman emperor, acknowledged, that the ſafety of our ſtates did require to ſet to the republic of Poland ſuch boundaries which are more compatible with her interior ſtrength and ſituation, and to facilitate to her the means of procuring, without prejudice of her liberty, a well-ordered, ſolid, and active form of government, of maintaining herſelf in the undiſturbed enjoyment of the ſame, and preventing by theſe means the diſturbances which have ſo often ſhaken her own tranquillity, and endangered the ſafety of her neighbours.

In order to attain this end, and to preſerve the republic of Poland, from the dreadful conſequences which muſt be the reſult of her internal diviſions, and to reſcue her from her utter ruin, but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the deſtructive doctrines which they are bent to follow; there is, according to our thorough perſuaſion, to which alſo her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias accedes, no other means, except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our ſtates, and for this purpoſe immediately to take poſſeſſion of the ſame, and to prevent, in time, all misfortunes which might ariſe from the continuance of the reciprocal diſturbances.

Wherefore we have reſolved, with the aſſent of her Ruſſian majeſty, to take poſſeſſion of the above-mentioned diſtricts of Poland, and alſo of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, to the end of incorporating them into our ſtates.

We herewith publicly announce our firm and unſhaken reſolution, and expect that the Poliſh nation will ſoon aſſemble in the diet, and adopt the neceſſary meaſures to the end of ſettling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the ſalutary end of ſecuring to the republic of Poland an undiſturbed peace, and preſerving her inhabitants from the terrible conſequences of anarchy. At the ſame time, we exhort the ſtates and inhabitants of the diſtricts and towns which we have taken poſſeſſion of, as already mentioned, both in a gracious and ſerious manner, not to oppoſe our commanders and troops

ordered

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ordered for that purpoſe, but rather tractably to ſubmit to our government, and acknowledge us from this day forward as their lawful king and ſovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient ſubjects, and to renounce all connection with the crown of Poland.

We doubt not that all whom this may concern, will attend to it with obedience; but in caſe, and contrary to all expectation, ſome one or other ſtate and inhabitants of the ſaid diſtricts and towns ſhould refuſe to obey the contents of this, and not take the oath of allegiance, nor ſubmit to our government, or even attempt to oppoſe our commanders and troops, ſuch perſon or perſons have unavoidably to expect that the puniſhments uſual in ſuch caſes, ſhall be inflicted upon them without any diſtinction.

In witneſs whereof we have ſubſcribed this patent with our own hand, and cauſed our royal ſeal to be ſet to it, to be publiſhed in due place, and to be publicly printed.

Done at Berlin, the 25th of March 1793.

FREDERIC WILLIAM, (L. S.)

THE THEATRE.

ON Friday, May 10, a new muſical Entertainment called The MARINERS, was performed for the firſt time, at the King's theatre, Haymarket. It is the production of a gentleman of the corporation of London; who has more than once diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his public oratory. The characters were thus repreſented:

Mr. Indigo, Mr. Suett; Mizen, Mr. Banniſter, jun. Henry, Mr. Dignum; Clover, Mr. Sedgwick; Charles, Mr. Bland; Flintbourg, Mr. Wewitzer; firſt Seaboy, Miſs de Camp; ſecond Seaboy, Maſter Walſh; Truſty, Mr. Maddocks; Landlord, Mr. Burton; Cauſtic, Mr. Hollingſworth; Chequer, Mr. Fawcett: — Sophia, Mrs. Crouch; Suſan, Miſs Collins; Bell, Miſs Heard; Julia, Miſs Menage.

Mr. Indigo, a wealthy old man, has retired to an eſtate on the weſtern coaſt of England, and has a child (Julia) under the care of Sophia, an orphan daughter of a relation. Harry Welling, his nephew, taking a fancy to Sophia, diſpleaſes him, and is ſent to Liſbon to divert his affections. Charles Indigo, his ſon, is in the army, and is ſecretly in love with Suſan, one of the daughters of a neighbouring farmer. It is about the time of Harry's expected return from Liſbon that the piece opens, when the veſſel is ſhipwrecked on the coaſt near his uncle's houſe; and two of the ſeaboys ſupplicate aſſiſtance at Clover's houſe, who immediately goes to their relief, and ſaves Harry Welling's life. Mizen, one of the mariners, has ſought relief at the houſe of Mr. Indigo, who ſoon diſcovers it to be the ſhip by which his nephew was expected, but finding that all are ſaved, goes to the club in the neighbouring village, who are in great anxiety about the landing of the French. The ſecond act opens with the inhabitants learning the military exerciſe of their neighbour Flintbourg the farrier, who prides himſelf upon having ſerved formerly in the wars in Germany. Sophia now learns from Mizen that Henry is ſafe, and waits in the garden for his wonted ſignal. Mizen in his way from Sophia intercepts Charles Indigo endeavouring to force Suſan Clover to a poſt-chaiſe, and reſcues her. Henry is ſcarcely in the garden with Sophia, before the return of Mr. Indigo, who, warm from his club, is on his knees to Sophia, when his ſon Charles ſurpriſes him, and Harry avails himſelf of that ſituation to come forward. This diſcovery forwards his intereſt with his uncle, who conſents to his union with Sophia, and ſends for Clover and his family to make up a dance; Fanny, who had been diſguiſed as a ſeaboy to follow her lover Mizen to ſea, now diſcovers Mizen to be ſafe, when he returns with Suſan to the cottage, and unable longer to conceal her diſguiſe from him, diſcloſes the ſecret. Charles finding his ſcheme of running off with Suſan fruſtrated, propoſes marriage, and thus a triple alliance is concluded and celebrated by mirth and feſtivity in Mr. Indigo's houſe, which concludes this little piece, which was well received by a numerous and genteel audience.

On Saturday, May 11, a new muſical Farce, called SPRIGS of LAUREL, was performed at Covent-garden theatre. The embarkation of the guards for Holland, under the command of the duke of York, furniſhed ſome little acts of military ardour and ſome amorous incidents, of which the writer of this farce (Mr. O'Keeffe) has availed himſelf.

Its texture is ſlight: but the dialogue has humour; the muſic is characteriſtic; and the alluſions to the ſpirit and occurrences of the times, are acceptable and popular.

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CONTINENTAL ADVICES.

Dantzic, April 2.

IN consequence of the preliminary capitulation agreed on between our magistrates and lieut.-general Von Raumer, the Prussian troops took possession of the gates and advanced works of this fortress on the 27th of March. During the surrender, a part of the garrison revolted. Supported by the mob, they took possession of the inner ramparts, and discharged their cannon and small arms on the Prussian troops. But this insurrection was quelled in a few hours, with the loss of fourteen men killed on both sides; and the imprisonment of the ringleaders, and other salutary regulations, have effected a complete restoration of tranquillity. Nor have we any thing to fear even from the surrender of the city itself, which is to follow in a few days, because the guns have been removed from the inner ramparts, and the Polish garrison is completely disarmed.

Tournay, May 3. On the first instant, the French attacked the advanced posts of the left wing of the combined army, but were repulsed in all their attempts. On the same morning, the French also attacked the advanced posts on the center, but were there likewise repulsed. They suffered in these several engagements a considerable loss both of men and cannon.—*Lond. Gaz.*

Extract of a letter from colonel sir James Murray, bart. adjutant-general to the forces under the command of his royal highness the duke of York, to Mr. secretary Dundas, dated Tournay, May 10, 1793.

In consequence of the movements of the enemy, which gave reason to expect an attack upon the Austrian and Prussian posts, his royal highness determined to march in the morning of the 8th to their support. He arrived about six o'clock at the camp of Maulde, with the brigade of guards, and a battalion of the tenth regiment of Hanoverian infantry. The Prussian general was by this means enabled to reinforce himself, at St. Amand and the adjoining wood, with the troops which had occupied that important position.

The attack commenced about seven o'clock. It was directed against the posts occupied by general Clairfait, which extend from the Scheld to the Abbaye de Vicogne, and the Prussian corps which defends the wood in the front of the high road, leading from that place to St. Amand.

To these points were directed the whole efforts of the French army, which had been previously reinforced by all they could bring together from every quarter. General Knobelsdorff, having been under the necessity of sending a considerable part of his troops to support the Austrians at the Abbaye de Vicogne, his royal highness, about five o'clock, left two battalions in the camp at Maulde, and marched with the Coldstream, the flank battalion, and that of the third regiment, to his support. When the battalion of the Coldstream, which was upon the left, arrived, the enemy had nearly reached the road; they already commanded it, to a great degree, by their fire: the guns attached to the battalion were placed upon it, and, by a well-directed and well-supported fire, kept the battery which was opposed to them in check, and did considerable execution.

The battalion advanced into the wood, attacked and drove the enemy before them: in going forward they became unfortunately exposed to the fire of a battery, from which they suffered severely. They fell back to their position at the edge of the wood, which they maintained for the rest of the day, notwithstanding a heavy cannonade; the enemy made no attempt to approach them. Nothing can exceed the spirit and bravery displayed by the men and officers of the battalion upon this occasion; nor is less praise due to the alacrity and intrepidity with which the other battalions advanced into action. They took different positions in the wood, where they were at times exposed to a severe cannonade, from which, however, they received little injury, the direction of the fire being in general above them. There were seen this morning between forty and fifty of the French lying dead upon the spot upon which the fire of the Coldstream and of its guns had been directed. Major-general Lake commanded the battalions which went into action; and his royal highness declared that he was much indebted to him for his exertions.

The importance of the service rendered by his majesty's troops upon this day has been acknowledged, in the strongest and most explicit terms, by the generals of the different armies; and if by their timely co operation the enemy were prevented from advancing upon the high road, it

cannot

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cannot be doubted that they contributed, in a very great degree, to ſecure the fortune of the day.

At the Abbaye de Vicogne and the village of Raimes the action continued, with almoſt equal and unremitting violence, till eight o'clock in the evening: general Clairfait was every where ſucceſsful in maintaining his ground; the enemy, however, though baffled and defeated in their purpoſe, remained in the woods within a very ſmall diſtance of his poſts. During the action they cannonaded the Pruſſian camp near St. Amand.—I am not exactly informed what meaſures they took in order to keep the prince of Cobourg in check, but it appears that nothing of moment paſſed in that quarter.

Upon the following day, the 9th, there was little firing, and it was not known what might be the intention of the enemy. His royal highneſs thought it therefore proper to let the troops remain till the evening at St. Amand and Maulde: every thing being quiet, and intelligence having been received that the troops oppoſed to general Knobelſdorff were retreating, they began their march from Tournay, but he was ſtopped at the village of Maulde by a meſſage from general Clairfait, informing him that the enemy had erected batteries all along his front, as well as upon ſome part of general Knobelſdorff's, which, if they were allowed to complete and to poſſeſs, it would become extremely difficult for him to maintain his poſition. His royal highneſs immediately ſtopped the march of the troops, and went himſelf to St. Amand, where he was met by general Clairfait and general Knobelſdorff. It was agreed that the Auſtrians and Pruſſians ſhould aſſault the whole of the batteries at day-break, while his royal highneſs retained poſſeſſion of the camp of Maulde.

This was done accordingly, and had the deſired ſucceſs. The enemy had withdrawn their cannon in the night; but they were entirely driven from the batteries, ſeveral killed, and upward of 100 priſoners taken, with a very inconſiderable loſs. Thus defeated upon every occaſion, the enemy ſeem to have entirely abandoned their deſign: the body which came from Liſle, has fallen back upon Orchies. There was firing to-day at one of general Clairfait's poſts, but nothing which had the appearance of a ſerious attack. By the account of deſerters and priſoners, they loſt 4,000 men upon the 8th.—General Dampiere is ſaid to have received a wound, of which he is ſince dead.

The troops arrived this evening in their former quarters.

The Auſtrians had upward of 500 killed and wounded, and the Pruſſians 300, on the 8th.—*Lond. Gaz.*

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Whitehall, May 27.

CAptain Craufurd, aide de camp to his his royal highneſs the duke of York, arrived here yeſterday evening, with a diſpatch from ſir James Murray, bart. adjutant-general to the forces under the command of his royal highneſs, of which the following is a copy.

Sir, Famars, May 25, 1793.

I am happy to have the honour of informing you, that the combined forces, under the command of the prince of Saxe Cobourg and of his royal highneſs, have defeated the enemy, and driven them from the ſtrong camp of Famars.

A body of ſixteen battalions, viz. the brigade of Britiſh, two battalions of Hanoverian guards, two battalions of Hanoverian grenadiers, and eight battalions of Auſtrian infantry, with ſix ſquadrons of Britiſh light dragoons, four of Hanoverian and eight of Auſtrian cavalry, with a great proportion of heavy artillery, aſſembled very early in the morning of the 23d, under the command of his royal highneſs. They were to arrive at day-break upon the Bank of the Ronelle, near the village of Ortie, to eſtabliſh bridges to paſs the river, and turn the right of the enemy. Another column, of nearly equal force, under general Ferraris, was deſtined to attack the works which had been thrown up upon the right bank of the Ronelle, and, after carrying them, to ſecond the operations of his royal highneſs as circumſtances might direct: a column, under the command of general Colloredo, was employed to obſerve Valenciennes; another, under general Otto, to cover Queſnoy. The enemy attempted an attack upon the latter, in which they were repulſed, with the loſs of three pieces of cannon: two were taken by a detachment of huſſars. A thick fog occaſioned ſome delay in the advance of the troops. Upon their approach to the Ronelle ſeveral batteries were opened from the oppoſite ſide, but

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but from such a distance as to produce little effect.

They were answered and kept in awe by the Austrian and Hanoverian heavy artillery. After some time spent in cannonading, two divisions of hussars passed the river without opposition at a ford in the village of Mersche. His royal highness ordered the brigade of guards, two battalions of Austrian infantry, six squadrons of British, and two of Hanoverian light cavalry, to pursue the same route, in order to take the batteries in flank, and secure a passage for the rest of his troops. This movement had the desired success; the enemy retreated from all their posts, falling back upon a redoubt which they had thrown up upon the commanding heights behind the village of Famars.

General Ferraris, after cannonading some time, attacked, upon this side, and carried the entrenchments by assault. The troops of the different nations displayed the utmost firmness and intrepidity in this arduous undertaking. The British troops, who had this opportunity of distinguishing themselves, were the brigade of the line, viz. the 14th and 53d regiments, with the battalion formed from their light infantry and grenadier companies, commanded by major-general Abercromby *. I inclose a return of their loss. Seven pieces of cannon and near 200 prisoners were taken in the redoubts. Some squadrons of French cavalry appearing at this time, and threatening the flank of the infantry, though superior in number, they were attacked with the greatest valour by the regiment of Hanoverian garde de corps. The contest was of the severest kind: the squadrons mixed with one another, and the French were defeated, though not without considerable loss to the garde de corps; the regiment had, upon that and other occasions, three officers killed, one taken, and four wounded, and 67 killed and wounded, non-commissioned officers and privates. The rest of the Hanoverian troops lost about 35 men killed and wounded.

His royal highness advanced with a part of the troops to a hollow way, within a small distance of the works; but observing, from the disposition of the enemy, that they could not be carried at that time without considerable loss, from which no proportionable benefit would arise, he thought it better to defer the attack till next morning at day-break, approaching and turning them in the night.

The enemy, apprehensive of the consequences of such a movement, abandoned the works as soon as it was dark, and withdrew into Valenciennes. This important position is now occupied by his royal highness, who has been joined by the rest of his column.

It appears that the French generals, foreseeing they could not defend the passage of the Ronelle, and unwilling to risk the event of a decisive engagement in so confined a situation as that between the Ronelle and the Scheld, made early preparation for retreat. They passed the Scheld, and were seen marching toward Denain. Captain Craufurd, aide de camp to his royal highness, observing a column of baggage, which was proceeding toward the river, took two squadrons of the 11th regiment of light dragoons, though the convoy was at that time rather in the rear of their own works, and attacked and dispersed the troops who escorted it, killed and wounded between fifty and sixty, took fifty-six prisoners, and eight waggons and thirty horses. The enemy advanced in force from the camp, and attempted to cut off the detachment; they however effected their retreat with the loss of only three men killed, and three horses. The enterprize and good conduct of captain Craufurd upon this occasion, as well as the behaviour of the men and officers of the 11th regiment of light dragoons, has been highly approved of by his royal highness.

General Clairfait, upon his side, attacked and carried the heights of Anzain, a post of the utmost consequence, which, to a certain degree, overlooks the citadel of Valenciennes, and which completes the investment of the place.

In this manner, with a loss of men, which must be deemed very inconsiderable when compared with the importance of the object which has been attained, have the enemy been obliged to abandon a position upon which they had placed great reliance, which they had occupied long, and fortified with care, and to leave Valenciennes and Condé to their fate.

In the variety of attacks which took place, I cannot at this moment state with precision the loss upon either side: that of the combined armies is very small upon this side of the Scheld, not above 250 men killed and wounded: that of general Clairfait's corps by Anzain was more considerable than any other, and equal perhaps to

* The Hanoverians were the 4th and 10th regiments, and third battalion of grenadiers. Lieutenant-general Walmoden, commanded the British and Hanoverians.

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the whole. That of the enemy was unqueſtionably much greater.

Captain Craufurd, who carries this letter, will explain any further particulars of which you may be deſirous to be informed. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JAMES MURRAY.

The right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

Return of the killed and wounded of the ſecond brigade of the Britiſh infantry, commanded by major-general Abercromby, in the action of the 23d of May 1793.

One drummer, one rank and file, killed; two ſerjeants, and twelve rank and file, wounded.

HISTORICAL CHRONICLE.

APRIL 29.

ONE of the lieutenants belonging to the Edgar, of 74 guns, detached from rear-admiral Gell's diviſion of the Mediterranean fleet, arrived at the admiralty on Saturday morning, with diſpatches from the admiral, containing advices of the capture of the General Dumourier French privateer, which, after cruiſing in the Bay of Biſcay, for ſome days, fell in with a Spaniſh regiſter-ſhip from Porto Bello, freighted with dollars and gold ingots. The latter ſhip had fallen a prize to the enemy, and was within a few hours of Breſt when firſt ſeen by admiral Gell. On ſignal being made to chace, the dexterity of Engliſh ſeamanſhip ſoon cut off the proſpect of the enemy to reach a French port.

On the general Dumourier being boarded, there were found in her 685 cheſts of dollars, beſide ſome valuable packages, to the amount of between two and three hundred thouſand pounds; and on board the re-captured regiſter ſhip, there remained property to an amount that make the whole of her cargo little ſhort of one million. The dollars, which were taken out of her were removed principally to lighten and aſſiſt her ſailing. Both ſhips have been brought in by the Edgar. This capture was made off cape Finiſterre, in lon. 22. W. lat. 44. N.

MAY 9.

Yeſterday, Mr. Ridgway, bookſeller, was brought into the court of king's bench, to receive ſentence for the publication of three libels of which he had been convicted; namely, The Jockey Club, Paine's Addreſs to the Addreſſers, and the Rights of Man; when the court ſentenced him to be impriſoned two years in Newgate for the firſt; at the expiration of which to be impriſoned another year, and to pay a fine of 100l. for the ſecond; and for the third, the farther impriſonment of one year, with another fine of 100l.—Mr. Symonds was then ſentenced to pay a fine of 100l. for having publiſhed The Jockey Club, and to be impriſoned one year in Newgate, from the expiration of his former ſentence of two years for the publication of the Rights of Man; and for the Addreſs to the Addreſſers, he was ſentenced to the farther impriſonment of one year, and another fine of 100l. After which, he was to find ſecurity for five years, for his good behaviour, himſelf in 500l. and two others in 250l. each. Mr. Ridgway was likewiſe to find the ſame ſecurity.

MAY 14.

Yeſterday Robert Mackreth, eſq. M.P. was brought to receive the ſentence of the court of king's bench, for having ſent a challenge to ſir John Scott, the attorney-general; when the court ſentenced Mr. Mackreth to ſix weeks impriſonment, and to pay a fine of 100l.

MAY 15.

Yeſterday morning, from half paſt four to near ſix o'clock, 21 waggons, loaded with the treaſure from on board the Spaniſh regiſter ſhip taken by the Dumourier privateer, and retaken by a frigate of admiral Gell's fleet, arrived at the Tower, under an eſcort of a detachment of horſe, and accompanied by ſome naval officers, and Britiſh tars. They were received by the governor, officers, and garriſon under arms, and conducted to the parade with drums beating, colours flying, and the whole band of muſic playing. The Britiſh flag flew triumphantly over the tri-coloured one of France upon every waggon, and a vaſt concourſe of people lined the roads and ſtreets.

MAY 16.

His majeſty has granted a free pardon to Mary Bryant, otherwiſe Broad, the woman who eſcaped from Botany Bay along with ſeveral male convicts.

MAY 17.

Yeſterday was held the anniverſary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy; at which were preſent, the right hon. the

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lord-mayor, his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, president; his grace the archbishop of York; lords Thurlow and Fielding; bishops of London, Peterborough, Litchfield & Coventry, Lincoln, Salisbury, St. David's, Glocester, Carlisle, Bristol, and Exeter; aldermen Clarke, Wright, Gill, Pickett, Boydell, Skinner, Glynn, and Langston; sheriffs Tebbs and Brandon; sir William Dolben, sir Richard Kaye, and George Byng, esq. with many of the clergy and gentry. The sermon was preached by the rev. Griffith Griffith, A. M. rector of St. Mary le Bow, London, domestic chaplain to his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, from the epistle to the Galatians, chap. vi. ver. 2. 'Bear ye one another's burthens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.'

Collection at the cathedral on	l.	s.	d.
Tuesday - -	92	5	0
Ditto yesterday - -	181	0	0
Ditto at Stat. hall, yesterday	578	6	6
	851	11	6

On the 10th instant, the trial at the bar in the court of exchequer, Dublin, John Flood, esq. versus the provost and fellows of Trinity college, was determined in favour of Mr. Flood. By this decision a property of 4000l. per annum reverts to that gentleman, which by the will of the late Henry Flood, esq. had been bequeathed to cultivate the study of the Irish language.

MAY 24.

Plymouth, May 21. On the 12th inst. the Surprise cutter privateer of London, of twelve guns, fell in with a French East Indiaman, mounting twelve guns, with forty-two men, whom she engaged for two hours and a half, when the Resolution lugger privateer, of Guernsey, captain Le Lacheur, of fou teen guns, also came up, and engaged her, which continued for five hours longer; during which time the French fought desperately, but were at length obliged to strike to the privateers in sight of the French coast; and she is this evening arrived with the Surprise, and safe at anchor in Hamoaze. She is valued at 150,000l.

Portsmouth, May 22. This forenoon the following ships, under the command of lord Hood, sailed from Spithead for the Mediterranean, viz.

Victory 100 guns, Bedford 74, Berwick 74, Robust 74, Leviathan 74, Captain 74, Ardent 64, St. Alban's 64, Phaeton 38, L'Aimable 32, Juno 32, Castor 32, Mermaid 32, Tartar 28, Amphitrite 24, Vulcan 14, Conflagration (fireship) 14, Weazel 12, Tisiphone 12, Dolphin (hospital-ship) Camel (storeship.)

Also sailed under their convoy the following East Indiamen; the Prince William Henry, Dundas; Lord Thurlow, Thompson; William Pitt, Mitchell; Barwell, Welladvice; Earl of Oxford, White; Osterley, Foy; Fort William, Simpson; London, Grant; Glatton, Drummond; Houghton, Hudson; Marquis of Lansdown, Tolme; Pigot, Ballantyne; Hillsborough, Brown; Ceres, Stevens; and the Earl of Abergavenny, ———.

MAY 28.

Yesterday, Mr. John Frost was convicted before the court of king's-bench, of having uttered certain seditious words, at the Percy coffee-house, on the 8th of November last; namely, 'I am for equality and no king: the constitution of this country is a bad one;' and for having added, on being asked whether he meant no king in England, 'Yes, no king in England.'

WEST INDIES.

Kingston, Jamaica, February 2. The Providence frigate, captain Bligh, and the Assistance brig, captain Portlock, are arrived here from Otaheite, whence they sailed on the 19th of last July. Captain Bligh could gain no intelligence of the mutineer Christian and his accomplices.

BIRTHS.

HER imperial majesty, a son and heir, named Ferdinand Charles Leopold Joseph Francis Marcellin.

Lady Eleanor Dundas, a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

SIR William Wake, bart. to miss Gambier, daughter of the late admiral Gambier.

Henry Berkeley Portman, esq. to the hon. miss Lucy Dormer, daughter of lord Dormer.

Captain Gage, brother to viscount Gage, to miss Milbanke, daughter of J. Milbanke, esq. of Wimpole-street.

Viscount Missington, son of the earl of Portmore, to lady Mary Elisabeth Bertie, only daughter to the duke of Ancaster.

Captain Sproule, of the royal artillery, to miss Louisa Halliday, youngest daughter of the late Simon Halliday, esq. of Westcomb-park, Kent.

DEATHS.

HON. miss Fairfax

Sir Michael Malcolm, bart.

Lady of sir Berney Brograve, bart.

Thomas Brograve, esq.—second son of Sir Berney Brograve, bart.

John

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John Chetwynd Talbot Chetwynd, earl Talbot.

Lady Ducie.

PROMOTIONS.

RIGHT hon. Robert Hobart—a privy-counſellor.

John earl of Chatham, Charles George lord Arden, Samuel lord Hood, hon. John Thomas Townſhend, Alan Gardner, John Smyth, and Charles Small Pybus, eſqrs.—Lords of the admiralty.

Hon. Ann Murray, and the hon. Marjery Murray, daughters of the late viſcount Stormont—to rank as the daughters of earls.

John earl of Chatham, Charles George lord Arden, Samuel lord Hood, Alan Gardner, John Smyth, Charles Small Pybus, and Philip Affleck, eſqrs.—Lords of the admiralty.

John Smith Burges, eſq.—a baronet.

William earl of Darlington—Lord lieutenant of Durham.

Francis Baring, eſq.—a baronet.

William lord Auckland of the kingdom of Ireland—Baron Auckland of Weſt Auckland, in the county of Durham.

Right hon. lieutenant-general Robert Coninghame—Commander in chief in Ireland.

BANKRUPTS. From the GAZETTE.

APRIL 27.

DIgory Foreſt, of Abington-ſtreet, wine-merchant.

John Wadley, of Brewer-ſtreet, Golden-ſquare, cheeſemonger.

William Hunt, of Hackney, wheelwright.

James Nowlan, of Church-row, Aldgate, ſoap-boiler, (trading under the firm of Megrah and Nowlan.)

Ephraim Hetherington, of Capel-court, Bartholomew-lane, merchant.

John Badger, of Bolton-in-le-moors, Lancaſhire, machine-maker.

Samuel Dutton, and Joſeph Hopley, of Liverpool, woollen-drapers.

Alexander Murray, of South-ſhields, Durham, baker.

John Cowie, of Parliament-ſtreet, feedſman.

Richard Blake, of Briſtol, inſurance-broker.

William Wheeler, of Bath, carpenter.

Thomas Thorn, and Thomas Scariſbrick, of Liverpool, merchants.

Thomas Boulton, of Aldgate, innholder.

Charles Baker, of Romſey, in Hants, oil-leather-dreſſer.

Richard Wilſon, of Ribcheſter, in Lancaſhire, cotton-manufacturer.

Henry Cooke, of Briſtol, merchant.

Henry Woodroffe, of Southampton, carpenter.

Mark Warcupp, of South Audley-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare, dealer.

Baron Abraham, of Heneage-ſtreet, Duke's-place, merchant.

Robert Fiſher, and Henry Bragg, of Whitehaven, Cumberland, merchants.

Thomas Clifford, of Blackdown-mill, Lallington, in Warwickſhire, mealman.

William Jackſon, and Thomas Payne, of Coventry, ribbon-manufacturers.

George Witty, of New Malton, in Yorkſhire, horſe-dealer.

Benjamin Tucker, of Briſtol, builder.

Samuel Kent, and Robert Fabian, of Cowes, Iſle of Wight, ſhip-builders.

Samuel Liveſley, of Liverpool, bricklayer.

Charles Clement, of Sheffield, in Yorkſhire, merchant.

George Richardſon, of Mount-pleaſant, Middleſex, coach carver.

APRIL 30.

John Colhoun, of Rood-lane, Fenchurch-ſtreet, coal-merchant, (carrying on trade in the firm of Brown and Colhoun.)

William Dixon, of Worceſter-ſtreet, Southwark, victualler.

Thomas Allan, of Chatham, in Kent, ſhopkeeper.

John Yeates, of Henrietta-ſtreet, Covent-garden, linen-draper.

Richard Williamſon, of Wood-ſtreet, Cheapſide, druggiſt.

Alexander Scott, of Charles-ſtreet, St. Mary-le-bonne, linen-draper.

John Jardine, of Chicheſter, in Suſſex, linen-draper.

Henry Briant, of St. George, Middleſex, wharfinger.

William Jonathan Eade, of Wood-ſtreet, ironmonger.

Richard Seymour Burges, of South-ſtreet, Middleſex, coal-merchant.

Joſeph Day, of Kirby-ſtreet, Hatton-garden, Birmingham-factor.

Henry Fletcher, of Upton-upon-Severn, in Worceſterſhire, cornfactor.

Harry Priddey, of Droitwich, in Worceſterſhire, ſalt-merchant.

Patrick Brennan, of St. Anne, Limehouſe, ſoap-boiler.

John Lathy, of Honiton, in Devonſhire, ſergemaker.

James Wiles, of Frampton-upon-Severn, in Glouceſterſhire, ſhopkeeper.

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Edward Clode, of Newgate-ſtreet, umbrella-maker.

Thomas Mitchell, of Hatton-court, Threadneedle-ſtreet, merchant.

George Watſon, of Briſtol, merchant.

John Hoad, of Fareham, Hants, taylor.

Joſeph Child, of Romſey Extra, Hants, maltſter.

James Kelſon, of Briſtol, linen-draper, (ſurviving partner of Edward Hoare, deceaſed, carrying on buſineſs under the firm of Edward Hoare, and Co.)

James Shaw, and Thomas Ridley, of Daventry, in Northamptonſhire, bankers.

Joſeph James, of Studley, in Warwickſhire, ſhopkeeper.

John Grundy, of Horwich, in Lancaſhire, whitſter.

John Finch, of Kerſey, in Suffolk, yarn-maker.

MAY 4.

John Hawkins, of Gracechurch-ſtreet, woollen-draper.

John Roderick Smith, of Wellcloſe-ſquare, liquor-merchant.

Samuel Lay, of Cold-harbour, St. Leonard, Shoreditch, cowkeeper.

John Cheavens, of St. Catherine-lane, victualler.

John Mortimer, of Baſinghall-ſtreet, factor.

Stephen Barber, and Samuel Barber, of Freeman's-court, Cornhill bill-brokers.

Joſeph Bell, of Bunhill-row, watch-maker.

George Sargent, of College-hill, looking glaſs-manufacturer.

Robert Fergiſon, of Hammerſmith, taylor.

John Boyes, of Portſmouth, mercer.

George Hodſon, of Cheſter, ſoap-boiler.

Thomas Bonſal, of Blackman-ſtreet, Southwark, upholſterer.

Matthew Heath, of Rocheſter, in Kent, innholder.

Abraham Abraham, of Pool, merchant.

Richard Carter, of Briſtol, cutler.

George James, of Briſtol, carpenter.

Joſhua Collier, of Mark-lane, oilman.

William Richardſon, of Newcaſtle-ſtreet, in the Strand, upholſterer.

Charles M'Carthy, of Briſtol, jeweller.

Robert Evered, of Thames-ſtreet, boulting-cloth-weaver.

William Strother, of Canterbury place, Lambeth, coal merchant.

Richard Roper, of the Minories, linen-draper.

William Horwell, of Broad-ſtreet, Bicomſbury, cheeſemonger.

William Patten, of Oxford-ſtreet, haberdaſher.

Edward Wardell, of Guildford, in Surry, wine-merchant.

Henry Davenport, of Yarwell, in Northamptonſhire, merchant.

John Wingate, of Briſtol, woolſtapler.

William Burford, of Minchinhampton, in Glouceſterſhire, clothier.

Mary Brandwood, of Great Bolton, in Lancaſhire, ſhopkeeper.

Robert Jones, of Briſtol, carpenter.

Thomas Jones, of Birmingham, grocer.

John M'Candliſh, of Manchеſter, dyer.

Hugh Robins, of Sidmouth, in Devonſhire, merchant.

MAY 7.

Thomas Zenogle, of Milk-ſtreet, linen-draper.

Thomas Chriſtie, of New-ſtreet, Covent-garden, haberdaſher.

Benjamin Taylor, of Lombard-ſtreet, watch-maker.

Robert Jameſon and Thomas Jameſon, of Ironmonger-lane, merchants.

Arthur Maxwell, of Richmond, Surry, mariner.

William Argent, of Colcheſter, Eſſex, baize-maker.

John Hughes, of St. Catherine's, proviſion factor.

William Stanton, of Shrewſbury, timber-merchant.

Jacob Lea, of Longport, in Staffordſhire, potter.

Francis Boyer, of the Haymarket, vintner.

Thomas Weatherburn Eden, of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, upholſterer.

Thomas Pope the younger, of Briſtol, carpenter.

William Clark, (partner with William Morris and James Steele) of Ewood, Hallingden, Lancaſhire, callico-printer.

William Morris, (partner with James Steele and William Clark) of Manchеſter, callico-printer.

John Leadley, of Wakefield, in Yorkſhire, ſhopkeeper.

James Albon, of Bocking, in Eſſex, ironmonger.

Philip Chell, of Manchеſter, machine-maker.

William Banton, of Manchеſter, linen-draper.

John Cottingham, of Wigan, Lancaſhire, cotton-manufacturer.

MAY 11.

Webſter Gillman, of Rocheſter, Kent, bookſeller.

Caleb Withall, of Oxford-ſtreet, hardwareman.

John Bell, of the Strand, bookſeller.

George

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George Johnſon, of Mount-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare, hoſier.

John Carleton, of Holbeck-hall, in Weſtmorland, cotton-ſpinner.

John Fowler, of Coventry, leather-ſeller.

Edward Evans, of Kennington-croſs, St. Mary, Lambeth, carpenter.

Alexander Chriſtall and James Church, of Hanover-ſtairs, Rotherhithe, ſail-makers.

Joſeph Thomas Lockyer, and James Wilder Bream, of Taviſtock-ſtreet, linen-drapers.

John Jones, of Greenwich, plumber.

John Hall, of Coventry-ſtreet, Piccadilly, man's-mercer.

Paul Maylor, of New Broad-ſtreet, merchant.

Thomas Roukin, of Wellingborough, in Northamptonſhire, baker.

Richard Jellicoe, of London-wall, upholſterer.

Joſeph Jackſon, and Francis Trench, of Liverpool, merchants.

William Morris, of Mancheſter, and William Clark, of Ewood, near Mancheſter, callico-printers.

Thomas Barry, of Glouceſter, ſhoemaker.

John Wookey, of Long Aſhton, in Somerſetſhire, dealer in calamine.

Joſeph Lakin, of Hanley, in Staffordſhire, grocer.

Alexander Wilſon, of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, auctioneer.

John Whitby, of Cheſter, wharfinger.

Abraham Goſnay the younger, of Wakefield, in Yorkſhire, butcher.

John Hughes, of Mancheſter, builder.

John Vincent, of Mancheſter, merchant.

Edward Ambroſe, of Uſk, Monmouthſhire, ſhopkeeper.

Ezekiel Evans, of Briſtol, builder.

George Cavill, of Briſtol, builder.

Edward Stephens, of Briſtol, plumber.

Solomon Meredith, of Briſtol, draper.

MAY 14.

Thomas Davis, of Tottenham-court-road, carpenter.

Nathaniel Okey, of Conduit-ſtreet, dealer.

Samuel Ireland, of St. Clement Danes, merchant.

John Southby Bridge, of London, merchant.

Iſaac Hancock, of Briſtol, cheeſe-factor.

William Seyer, of Briſtol, merchant.

John Richardſon, of Holborn, linen-draper.

Richard Marſhal, of Hapton, Lancaſhire, cheeſemonger.

Iſaac Webb Horlock, William Anderſon, and Caleb Jones, of Bath, bankers.

John Hammond, of Whitechapel, cornfactor.

Robert Henderſon, of Barbican, brandy-merchant.

Thomas Wadſon and Edward Cureton, of Higler's-lane, Lambeth, japan-manufacturers.

William Webb, of Newington, Surry, coachmaker.

Jonas Spencer, of Barnley, Lancaſhire, ſhalloon-maker.

John Cole, of Clifton, Glouceſterſhire, builder.

Jacob Jacobs, of Aylburton, in Glouceſterſhire, ſhopkeeper.

John Robſon the younger, of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, pulley-maker.

MAY 18.

William Lovering, of Dorſet-ſtreet, Spitalfields, carpenter.

Abraham Illingworth, of Stockport, in Cheſhire, cotton-manufacturer.

Edward Madew, of Henley in Arden, Warwickſhire, innholder.

Nathaniel Lawrence, of Birmingham, wine-merchant.

John Moon, of Langford, in Somerſetſhire, tanner.

Oates Mann, of Greetland, in Yorkſhire, worſted-manufacturer.

Richard Brooke, of Mirfield, in Yorkſhire, cornfactor.

John Milner, of Halifax, in Yorkſhire, bookſeller.

William Dunn, and Iſaac Thomas Wheeler, of Briſtol, haberdaſhers.

Thomas Davies, and John Huſband, of Briſtol, builders.

Thomas Lewis, and Thomas Mitchell, of Briſtol, builders.

Samſon, Avard, Thomas Lewis, and Thomas Mitchell, of Briſtol, builders.

William Panter, of Manſell-ſtreet, Goodman's-fields, and St. Dunſtan's-hill, Tower-ſtreet, broker.

Matthew Emerſon, of Shepherd's-market, St. George, Hanover-ſquare, ſtable-keeper.

George Balfour Conran, of St. George, Hanover-ſquare, druggiſt.

James Barbar, of New Surry-ſtreet, Surry, taylor.

Matthew Haynes, of Holborn, mercer.

John Leigh, of Strood, in Kent, navy-agent.

William Jones, of Queen-ſtreet, Cheapſide, warehouſeman.

Edward

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Edward Phillips, of Clerkenwell, white-ſmith.

Thomas Dawſon, of Wych-ſtreet, in the Strand, woollen-draper.

Thomas Newman, of Exeter-change, in the Strand, optician.

William Wakduck, of Buſh-lane, ſkinner.

William Derrick, of Weſtmorland-buildings, Aldersgate-ſtreet, watchmaker.

William Shuttleworth, Thomas Gurnill, and John Mew, of Ruſſia-row, Milk-ſtreet, wholeſale linen-drapers.

John Jeremy, of Taviſtock-ſtreet, Covent-garden, linen-draper.

Robert Brown, and John Kernan, of the Old City-chambers, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, merchants.

John Humphreys, of Colcheſter, in Eſſex, linen-draper.

John Archibald Stevenſon, of Phœnix-row, Black-friars-road, tea-dealer.

Iſaac Iſaacs Bing, of Manſell-ſtreet, Goodman's-fields, merchant.

Edward Meredith, of Briſtol, dealer.

George Craik, of Hermitage-ſtreet, St. George in the Eaſt, ſail-maker.

Michael Davis, of the out pariſh of St. James, Glouceſterſhire, builder.

MAY 21.

John Spiller, of Prince's-ſtreet, Spital-fields, dyer.

William Armitage, of Charles-ſtreet, near the Middleſex-hoſpital, furniſhing ironmonger.

Ralph Haſſell, of Hales Owen, Salop, miller.

Thomas Millington, of Stepney, wine-merchant.

Robert Bakewell, of Nottingham, hoſier.

John Johnſton, of Kennington-lane, Lambeth, victualler.

Lyon Solomons, and Iſaac Solomons, of Langthorne-court, Little Bell-alley, near Coleman-ſtreet, furriers.

William Coles, of Swan-yard, Newington, Surry, farrier.

Samuel Goodwin the younger, of Rainow, Cheſhire, cotton-manufacturer.

Samuel Simpſon, and William Hooper, of Holborn, glaſſmen.

William Jones, of Briſtol, iron-dealer.

Benjamin Dealtry, of Rawcliff, Yorkſhire, butcher.

MAY 25.

Webſter Gillman, Thomas Etherington, and Ambroſe Etherington, of Rocheſter, bookſellers.

James Paddey, of Street Forge, and Martin Paddey, of Warmingham Forge, in Cheſhire, ironmakers.

John Langford, of Tuſton-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, painter.

John Buttreſs the younger, of Wood-ſtreet, Spitalfields, ſilk-manufacturer.

John Smith, of Kimbolton, Huntingdonſhire, woolſtapler.

Henry Wilcock, of Woodplumpton, in Lancaſhire, miller.

George Silveſter, of Weſt Bromwhich, Staffordſhire, buckle-maker.

William Saunders, of Glouceſter, currier.

James Webb, of Manchester, merchant.

Marmaduke Drake the elder, of Lee-Gate, Kirkby Mallamdale, in Yorkſhire, drover.

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ALBERT HALLER.

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MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* ALBERT DE HALLER, *M. D.*

With a fine Portrait of that celebrated Phyſician and Philoſopher.

ALBERT DE HALLER, an eminent phyſician and philoſopher, was born at Bern, on the 16th of October, 1708. He was the ſon of an advocate of conſiderable eminence in his profeſſion. His father had a numerous family, and Albert was the youngeſt of five ſons. From the firſt period of his education, he ſhowed a very great genius for literature of every kind: to forward the progreſs of his ſtudies, his father took into his family a private tutor, named Abraham Billodz; and ſuch was the diſcipline exerted by this pedagogue, that the accidental ſight of him, at any future period of life, excited in Haller very great uneaſineſs, and renewed all his former terrors. According to the accounts which are given us, the progreſs of Haller's ſtudies, at the earlieſt periods of life, was rapid almoſt beyond belief. When other children were beginning only to read, he was ſtudying Bayle and Moreri; and at nine years of age he was able to tranſlate Greek, and was beginning the ſtudy of Hebrew. Not long after this, however, the courſe of his education was ſomewhat interrupted by the death of his father; an event which happened when he was in the thirteenth year of his age. After this he was ſent to the public ſchool at Bern, where he exhibited many ſpecimens of early and uncommon genius. He was diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge in the Greek and Latin languages; but he was chiefly remarkable for his poetical genius: and his eſſays of this kind, which were publiſhed in the German language, were read and admired throughout the whole empire. In the ſixteenth year of his age he began the ſtudy of medicine at Tubingen, under thoſe eminent teachers Duvernoy and Camerarius; and continued there for the ſpace of two years, when the great reputation of the juſtly celebrated Boerhaave drew him to Leyden. Nor was this diſtinguiſhed teacher the only man from whoſe ſuperior abilities he had there an opportunity of profiting. Ruyſch was ſtill alive, and Albinus was riſing into fame. Animated by ſuch examples, he ſpent all the day, and the greateſt part of the night, in the moſt intenſe ſtudy; and the proficiency which he made, gained him univerſal eſteem both from his teachers and fellow-ſtudents. From Holland, in the year 1727, he came to England. Here, however, his ſtay was but ſhort; and it was rather his intention to viſit the illuſtrious men of that period, than to proſecute his ſtudies at London. He formed connections with ſome of the moſt eminent of them. He was honoured with the friendſhip of Douglas and Cheſelden; and he met with a reception proportioned to his merit from ſir Hans Sloane, preſident of the royal ſociety. After his viſit to Britain, he went to France; and there, under thoſe eminent maſters, Winſlow and Le Dran, with the latter of whom he reſided during his ſtay in Paris, he had opportunities of proſecuting anatomy, which he had not before enjoyed. But the zeal of our young anatomiſt was greater than the prejudices of the people at that period, even in the enlightened city of Paris, could admit of. An information being lodged againſt him to the police for diſſecting dead bodies, he was obliged to cut ſhort his anatomical inveſtigations by a precipitate retreat. Still, however, intent on the farther proſecution of his ſtudies, he went to Baſil, where he became a pupil to the celebrated Bernoulli.

Thus improved and inſtructed by the lectures of the moſt diſtinguiſhed teachers of that period, by uncommon natural abilities, and by unremitting induſtry, he returned to the place of his nativity in the twenty-

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ſixth year of his age. Not long after this, he offered himſelf a candidate, firſt for the office of phyſician to an hoſpital, and afterward for a profeſſorſhip. But neither the character which he had before he left his native country, nor the fame which he had acquired and ſupported while abroad, were ſufficient to combat the intereſt oppoſed to him. He was diſappointed in both; and it was even with difficulty that he obtained, in the following year, the appointment of keeper of a public library at Bern. The exerciſe of this office was indeed by no means ſuited to his great abilities: but it was agreeable to him, as it afforded him an opportunity for that extenſive reading by which he has been ſo juſtly diſtinguiſhed. The neglect of his merit which marked his firſt outſet, neither diminiſhed his ardour for medical purſuits, nor detracted from his reputation either at home or abroad. And ſoon after he was nominated a profeſſor in the univerſity of Gottingen, by king George II. The duties of this important office he diſcharged, with no leſs honour to himſelf than advantage to the public, for the ſpace of ſeventeen years; and it afforded him an ample field for the exertion of thoſe great talents which he poſſeſſed. Extenſively acquainted with the ſentiments of others reſpecting the economy of the human body, ſtruck with the diverſity of opinions which they held, and ſenſible that the only means of inveſtigating truth was by careful and candid experiment, he undertook the arduous taſk of exploring the phænomena of human nature from the original ſource. In theſe purſuits he was no leſs induſtrious than ſucceſsful, and there was hardly any function of the body on which his experiments did not reflect either a new or a ſtronger light. Nor was it long neceſſary for him, in this arduous undertaking, to labour alone. The example of the preceptor inſpired his pupils with the ſpirit of induſtrious exertion. Zinn, Zimmerman, Caldani, and many others, animated by a generous emulation, laboured with indefatigable induſtry to proſecute and to perfect the diſcoveries of their great maſter. And the mutual exertion of the teacher and his ſtudents, not only tended to forward the progreſs of medical ſcience, but placed the philoſophy of the human body on a more ſure, and an almoſt entirely new, baſis. But the labours of Dr. Haller, during his reſidence at Gottingen, were by no means confined to any one department of ſcience. He was not more anxious to be an improver himſelf, than to inſtigate others to ſimilar purſuits. To him, the Anatomical Theatre, the School of Midwifery, the Chirurgical Society, and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Gottingen, owe their origin. Such diſtinguiſhed merit could not fail to meet with a ſuitable reward from the ſovereign under whoſe protection he then taught. The king of Great Britain not only honoured him with every mark of attention which he himſelf could beſtow, but procured him alſo letters of nobility from the emperor. On the death of Dillenius, he had an offer of the profeſſorſhip of botany at Oxford; the ſtates of Holland invited him to the chair of the younger Albinus; the king of Pruſſia was anxious that he ſhould be the ſucceſſor of Maupertius at Berlin. Marſhal Keith wrote to him in the name of his ſovereign, offering him the chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Halle, vacant by the death of the celebrated Wolff. Count Orlow invited him to Ruſſia, in the name of his miſtreſs the empreſs, offering him a diſtinguiſhed place at St. Peterſburgh. The king of Sweden conferred on him an unſolicited honour, by raiſing him to the rank of knighthood of the order of the polar ſtar; and the late Joſeph II. emperor of Germany, honoured him with a perſonal viſit.

Thus honoured by ſovereigns, revered by men of literature, and eſteemed by all Europe, he had it in his power to have held the higheſt

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rank in the republic of letters. Yet, declining all the tempting offers which were made to him, he continued at Gottingen, anxiously endeavouring to extend the rising fame of that medical school. But after seventeen years residence in that university, an ill state of health rendering him less fit for the duties of the important office which he held, he solicited and obtained permission from the regency of Hanover to return to his native city of Bern. His fellow-citizens, who might at first have fixed him among themselves, with no less honour than advantage to their city, were now as sensible as others of his superior merit. A pension was settled upon him for life, and he was nominated at different times to fill the most important offices in the state. These occupations, however, did not diminish his ardour for useful improvements. He was the first president, as well as the greatest promoter, of the Economical Society at Bern; and he may be considered as the father and founder of the Orphan hospital of that city. Declining health, however, restrained his exertions in the more active scenes of life, and for many years he was confined entirely to his own house. Even this, however, could not put a period to his utility: for, with indefatigable industry, he continued his favourite employment of writing till within a few days of his death; which happened in the seventieth year of his age, on the 12th of December 1777.

His Elementa Phisiologiæ and Bibliotheca Medicinæ, will afford, to latest posterity, undeniable proofs of his indefatigable industry, penetrating genius, and solid judgment. In his youth, during a residence of some time at Bienne in 1723, he composed several pieces in the epic, dramatic, and lyric styles; his genius being awakened by the romantic scenery of the country to poetical enthusiasm. At this period, he was so entirely absorbed in his favourite study, that, on a fire breaking out in the house in which he studied, he rushed into his apartment, and rescued his poetry from the flames, leaving his other papers, with little regret, to destruction. Afterward, when a more mature age had ripened his judgment, he was frequently heard to say, that he had preserved from the flames those compositions which he then thought the finest productions of human genius, in order, at a future period, to consign them to destruction, as unworthy of his pen *. In the sequel, however, he was more successful in his poetical effusions. In 1729, he composed his poem on the Alps; a poem as sublime and immortal as the mountains which are the subject of his song. He likewise wrote some ethic epistles on the Imperfection of human Virtue, on Superstition and Infidelity, on the Origin of Evil, and on the Vanity of Honour; various Satires, Doris, a Pastoral on his first wife, and his much admired Elegy on her death. It is a convincing proof of Haller's versatile genius and extraordinary mental powers, that he should have so eminently excelled in poetry, which, except in his early youth, he never considered otherwise than as an amuse-

* Many of his biographers have confounded these two facts; and, from a natural proneness to exaggeration, have asserted, that at Bienne, Haller, with a greatness of mind above his years, burned his poetical compositions, from a strong conviction, that poetry tended to alienate his mind from the severer studies: whereas, the very contrary happened. He saved his poetical pieces in preference to his other papers, and burned them afterward, because they would have disgraced his reputation: although, as juvenile productions, they were not wholly without merit. I have in this instance preferred the authority of his particular friends, Balthasar and Tscharner, to his other biographers, who had not such opportunities of obtaining the truth. Besides, as a confirmation of their evidence, Haller did not intermit his poetical studies; and wrote at Tubingen his Morgen-gedanken and Sehn-Sucht, which are the earliest specimens he ever gave to the public. *Coxe's Travels into Switzerland, Vol. II, p. 253. Note.*

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ment, either to ſooth him under afflictions, and in the bed of ſickneſs, or to conſole him for the envy and neglect of his contemporaries. The ſoundeſt German critics place Haller among the moſt eminent of their poets; and conſider ſublimity as the grand characteriſtic of his writings. They acknowledge, that he improved the harmony and richneſs of his native tongue; that he poſſeſſed the higheſt powers of invention and fancy; great originality both in his ideas and language; that he is the true colouriſt of nature; that he founded the depths of metaphyſical and moral ſcience; that he equally excels in pictureſque deſcriptions, in ſoft and delightful imagery, in elevated ſentiments, and philoſophical preciſion. A few ſupercilious critics have reproached his poetry with occaſional obſcurities; and accuſe him of having introduced a new language affectedly averſe to the common modes of diction. Cold criticiſm may cenſure; but twenty-two ſucceſſive editions of his German poems, and the tranſlation of them into the principal languages of Europe, prove, that they poſſeſs the great aim of poetry, that of pleaſing and intereſting the reader. And it may be remarked with truth, that although Haller's ſtupendous labours in erudition and ſcience render his poetical talents of inferior account; yet that if he had confined himſelf to poetry, that alone would have immortalized his name. His writings have likewiſe greatly enriched the ſcience of botany. He was not leſs diſtinguiſhed as a philoſopher, a phyſician, a botaniſt, a naturaliſt, and a poet, than beloved as a man; and he was not more eminent for his knowledge in every department, than for his piety to God and his benevolence to mankind. To his other writings, he added, in the German tongue, 'Letters to his Daughter, on the Truth of the Chriſtian Revelation;' he publiſhed an extract from Ditton's 'Truth of the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt,' which he acknowledges to have firſt cleared any doubts he might entertain on that ſubject. He avows, at the ſame time, that he received infinite ſatisfaction from the ſtudy of the New Teſtament, becauſe he was never more certain of holding converſe with the Deity, than when he read his *will* in that divine book. In 1775, he finally gave to the public, alſo in the German language, 'Letters concerning ſeveral late Attempts of Freethinkers yet living againſt Revelation.' In this work the author examines and refutes the objections to Chriſtianity, advanced in ſo lively and dangerous a manner by Voltaire in his Queſtions ſur l' Encyclopedie. 'If this latter publication,' adds Sennebier, 'may be conſidered as an Index to the Doubts and Arguments againſt the Chriſtian Religion, the work of Haller may be entitled an Index to the Anſwers in favour of the ſame Revelation, to be conſulted by thoſe who wiſh impartially to diſcuſs both ſides of this important queſtion.' When learning and philoſophy, inſtead of being employed in ſupporting ſceptical tenets by artful ſophiſtry, thus lend their united aſſiſtance to the cauſe of religion, they then truly become an honour to the poſſeſſor, and a benefit to ſociety.

Even this great and good man was not exempt from a too anxious ſolicitude for his welfare in a future ſtate. That depreſſion of ſpirits, which ought juſtly to be conſidered as the effects of diſeaſe, and the warmth of his imagination, conſpiring perhaps with the narrow principles of Calviniſm, in which he had been educated, led him to reflect rather on the *juſtice* than the *mercy* of the Deity, and to bewilder himſelf in the endleſs mazes of predeſtination and grace. In one of his deſponding fits, he compared himſelf, as uncertain of ſalvation, to a man placed on the edge of a precipice without any ſupport, and expecting every inſtant to fall. At another moment, animated with a paſſion for ſcience, he breaks out, in a letter to his friend Bonnet, into the following exclamation,

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tion, expreſſive of his regret to quit a world which he had improved by his diſcoveries, and which he might ſtill further illuminate by his zeal and application. 'O my poor brain, which muſt return to duſt; and all the knowledge and information which I have been collecting with ſuch unwearied labour, will *fade away* like the dream of an infant!'

Theſe little weakneſſes of a great mind, overpowered by conſtitutional irritability, and ſtruggling againſt early prejudices, are more intereſting to the man who feels and reſpects the imperfections of human nature, even in its moſt exalted ſtate, than the moſt pompous and exaggerated accounts of *unerring* wiſdom, or *uniform* virtue which never exiſted. And it is a pleaſing ſatisfaction to learn, that reaſon and religion roſe ſuperior to the gloomy deipondency of ſickneſs; and that Haller met death with the calmneſs of a philoſopher, and the faith of a Chriſtian. In the laſt letter which he wrote, a few days before his deceaſe, he ſpeaks indeed of the tremendous grandeur of eternity, but with hopes rather than with fears; and looks back upon his paſt life with ſatisfaction: amid a few complaints uttered on his painful ſufferings, he mentions his country with the moſt ardent affection, and offers up his laſt prayers for its preſervation and welfare.

He continued his literary labours, and preſerved his ſenſes and compoſure to the laſt moment; he beheld his end approaching without fear and regret; 'My friend,' ſaid he, to the phyſician who attended him, 'I die, my pulſe is ſtopped,' and then expired. He died on the 12th of December 1777, in the ſeventieth year of his age.—Thus lived, and thus died, the great Haller; a man to whom Michaelis, the eminent orientaliſt, juſtly applies an obſervation which had been made on the genius of Ariſtotle; 'Neque cælo, neque terrâ, neque mari quicquam relinquere voluit incognitum, indole præterea adeo mirabili, ut ad ſingula natum præcipuè dicas *.'

In his perſon Haller was tall and majeſtic, of a ſerious and expreſſive countenance; he had at times an open ſmile, always a pleaſing tone of voice, uſually low, and ſeldom elevated, even when he was moſt agitated. He was fond of unbending himſelf in ſociety, was on thoſe occaſions remarkably cheerful, polite, and attentive; he would converſe with the ladies on faſhions, modes of dreſs, and other trifles, with as much eaſe as if he had never ſecluded himſelf from the world.

Mr. Bonnet informed Mr. Coxe, that Haller wrote with equal facility the German, French, and Latin tongues; that he was ſo well acquainted with all the European languages, except the Ruſſian, Poliſh, and Hungarian, as to ſpeak with the natives in their reſpective idioms. When he converſed on any ſcience or ſubject of literature, his knowledge was ſo extenſive, that he ſeemed to have made that his particular ſtudy. His profound erudition in every branch of ſcience, is well known to all who are converſant with his works; but the variety of his information, and the verſatility of his talents, are are thus delineated by a perſon † who was his particular friend. 'He poſſeſſed a fundamental knowledge of natural hiſtory; was well read in hiſtory both ancient and modern, univerſal and particular; and uncommonly verſed in the ſtate of agriculture, manufactures, trade, population, literature, and languages of the reſpective nations of Europe: he had read with attention the moſt remarkable voyages and travels; and was particularly converſant in the late diſcoveries which tend to illuſtrate the geography of the globe. He had

* He left nothing unexplored, either in the heavens, on the earth, or in the ſea, and was of ſuch a wonderful capacity that he ſeemed born for the immediate object of his purſuit.

† Tſcharner Lobrede, &c. page 87.

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even perused many thousand novels and plays; and possessed such an astonishing memory, that he could detail their contents with the utmost precision.

As it was his custom to make extracts, and to give his opinion of every book which came into his hands, as well for his own private use, as for the Gottingen Review *, he read most new publications, and so eager was he usually in the perusal, that he laid them upon the table even when he was at dinner, occasionally looking into them, and marking those parts with a pencil, which he afterward extracted or commented upon. He was accustomed to make his remarks on small pieces of paper, of different sizes, which he placed in order, and fastened together; a method he learned from Leibnitz.

He derived from nature extreme sensibility, or rather irritability of temper, which is ever the child of genius. He spoke therefore from his own experience, when, in a letter to Voltaire, he thus expressed himself: —'Providence holds with an equal hand the balance of human happiness. He has loaded you with riches, he has loaded you with glory; but misfortune was necessary, and he preserved the equilibrium by giving you sensibility. If my wishes could take effect, I would bestow upon you that tranquillity which flies at the approach of genius, which is inferior to genius in relation to society, but far superior in regard to ourselves: then the most celebrated man in Europe should be at the same time the most happy.'

He was always impatient under sickness as well from his extreme susceptibility of pain, as because he was precluded in that situation from his literary occupations. He was fond, therefore, of taking violent remedies, more calculated to remove the immediate effects of pain, and to check his disorder, than to cure it radically. In his latter years he accustomed himself to opium †, which, operating as a temporary palliative, only increased his natural impatience. This restlessness of temper, which occasionally disturbed his tranquillity even in his younger days, and in the full flow of his health and spirits, was considerably heightened by the advances of age, and the disorders which shattered his frame toward the close of his days.

His correspondence in every period of his life was extensive, punctual, and carried on in the English, French, German, Latin, and Italian languages.

Haller was three times married, first to Marianne Wytsen, in 1731, who died in 1736. 2. To Elisabeth Buchers, in 1738, who died in childbed the same or the following year; both natives of Bern. 3. In 1739, to Amelia Frederica Teichmeyer, a German lady, who survived him. He has written and published the lives of his two first wives. He left eight children, four sons and four daughters, all of whom he lived to see established. His eldest son, Gotlieb Emanuel, who was born in 1735, followed his father's example in dedicating himself to the service of his country, and to the pursuits of literature. He was elected member of the great council, and obtained various employments under government, particularly the bailliage of Nyon, in which situation he died in 1786. He distinguished himself as an author by various publications tending to illustrate the history and literature of Switzerland, and particularly by his Schweitnerbibliothek, or Swiss library, in six volumes 8vo. of which he lived to publish only the first. In this work, deservedly esteemed for its method

* Haller reviewed, as his department for that literary journal, all publications on history, medicine, anatomy, natural history, and several miscellaneous works, particularly those which appeared in Italy.

† Zimmerman informs us, that he took daily so large a quantity as eight grains. Ueber de die Einsamkeit, page 216. ed. Leipsi. 1784.

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and accuracy, the indefatigable author enumerates all the books which treat of Switzerland, in all languages, and all the works published by the Swiss on all subjects. He even descends to the minutest articles which have appeared in reviews and journals; and in most instances, where the publication deserves detail, analyzes the contents, corrects the errors, and gives his opinion on the merits of the performance.

ON ANCESTRY.

THE following sentiments on this subject, which were written long before the violent spirit of democracy threatened to overturn all that is venerable in society, appear to be not very unseasonable at the present period, although we trust that the fury of a levelling principle has considerably abated.

Ancestry, however slighted by some, and industriously decried by others, has been in all former times esteemed and revered. But in this refined and innovating age, when it is the mode to profess a licentiousness of sentiment, even in the most sacred and important concerns; it is not so much to be wondered at, that there are not wanting a set of men, who, from a levelling disposition, speak evil of dignities and distinctions, and have, in particular, aimed at extirpating that respect which is paid to birth. Genealogies, or as they more sneeringly call it, Pedigree, they have earnestly endeavoured to abolish by ridicule; a few leading men of this cast have not failed to make a number of proselytes, not so much from their arguments, as from the humour of the present century, in exploding every thing, from which our predecessors derived any innate satisfaction or enjoyment, as superstitions, antiquated, or absurd, and from a fond, but far from generally a *true* conceit, industriously propagated by their aforesaid preceptors, that every generation grows wiser and wiser. It would be well if this were true; it would be well if in our growing wisdom, we abolished nothing belonging to our ancestors, without substituting something better in its room. But it is to be feared, that where we abolish we leave a blank, and where we find fault we propose no remedy.

The discountenancing of ancestry, however, is so far from a proof of our being wiser than formerly, that many must be of opinion it is a direct proof to the contrary. For is there any one benefit it will be productive of? Will it either tend to reform the vices of the present or any future generation? Will it augment and exalt the few virtues extant among us? Will it extirpate voluptuousness and effeminacy, or restore the hospitality and martial bravery, for which we were anciently so renowned? No; it is certainly highly consistent with the policy of every government and state, to inculcate and countenance family honour. It is essential to the preserving of that scale of gradation, requisite in every well-ordered political body; for if all distinction and degree be dissolved, government can never long exist; and it is somewhat to be doubted, when once a levelling spirit prevails, if the unequal distribution of fortune alone will be sufficient to keep the multitude in subordination. Nothing will more promote a spirit of emulation, than the respect paid to family reputation. It was in a considerable degree, that this heightened the valour of the ancient English. They well knew, that the estimation of merit was not confined to the short period of their own lives, but their good or evil actions, would transmit some degree of honour or infamy to their descendants. It was then that family vied with family, which should produce the greatest number of heroes and warriors. This was their incentive to magnanimity, hospitality, and many other virtues which they possessed. It was this thirst after family renown, with the recollection of the example of their ancestors, that animated them in the bittere[illegible]

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bittereſt conflicts, and occaſioned them to meet death rather with tranſport than reluctance. The hiſtories of many noble families, both extant and extinct, among us, will ſufficiently verify this aſſertion; ſuch as the Percies, Howards, &c. And there is no truth more obvious, than that if men will not act greatly for the enhancing of their family honour, to which they have ſo cloſe an affinity, they ſeldom will for the good of their country; for the more diffuſed their connexions become, in general, the leſs intereſted will they think themſelves, and conſequently the leſs tenacious will they be of the public welfare. Thus, when it ſhall no longer be accounted of any conſideration to be born of anceſtors, who have eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any worthy acts of public utility; but the man of yeſterday, by the poſſeſſion of opulence, however oppreſſively or fraudulently acquired, ſhall be held in equal reverence and repute; emulation will inevitably ſubſide, and the deſire of fame, which has been the ſource of ſo many achievements, will in a manner be extinguiſhed; for every one will then live uninfluenced by the conduct of his progenitors, and equally unawed by any odium, which infamous actions might deſervedly leave upon record.

But if the Almighty (as we are told in the decalogue) viſits the ſins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation, and on the contrary, ſhews mercy and favour to the iſſue of the virtuous; why are not the deſcendants of the one, and of the other to be duly diſtinguiſhed among men? Birth, on the one hand, is not to be too highly and immoderately eſteemed; we ſhould conſider, that the moſt illuſtrious families, could they be traced to their origin, were at firſt obſcure, and not diſtinguiſhed from the common race of mortals; and that, however mortifying it may be, many of the greateſt families that ever exiſted, after gradually riſing from obſcurity to the greateſt eminence, wealth, and power, and after having been conſpicuous a few centuries, have again as progreſſively dwindled into extinction. Many ſuch there were, the names of which alone only now remain, which all perſons converſant in the hiſtory and antiquities of Europe muſt allow. And how many thouſand families of a ſecond claſs have there been, who, after furniſhing for five, ſix, ſeven or eight hundred years, a long ſucceſſion of knights and gentlemen, have, after ſuch various periods of time (and often a much leſs) dropt into oblivion, either by a total ceſſation of deſcendants, by the alienation of their eſtates (through prodigality, profuſion, and exceſs) or by ſome other human contingency. Empires and kingdoms have hitherto had an origin, meridian, and period to their glory and continuance; and ſhall families, which are only ſo many limbs of ſtates and governments, expect to have a more protracted duration? No; there ſeems to be nothing human deſigned for us to pride ourſelves too highly upon; thoſe therefore only delude themſelves, who, inſtead of an humble and due deportment, aſſume haughtineſs and arrogance.

As to the influence of blood, or the qualities inherent from deſcent, though they are not to be inſiſted upon as infallible, yet they are not to be treated as wholly chimerical, by any candid or rational perſon. The advocates of this ſay, it is ſo very apparent, even in animals, that they wonder any one will diſpute it; and many are the arguments made uſe of, which are admitted or diſputed, as they happen to agree with the principles or prejudices of the perſons contending; but that which ſeems at once to ſurmount every objection that can be made is, that we ſeldom fail to ſee the infirmities and maladies of human nature entailed on poſterity. Madneſs, chronical diſeaſes, violent and inordinate paſſions, and the various evils of intemperance, are uſually tranſmitted from the parent to his offspring; why

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then may we not presume from hence to infer, that many valuable and amiable endowments are as often derived from birth? An inherent generosity and benevolence have been the distinguishing characteristics of some families, and various other virtues of others. Children often more resemble their parents by a parity of manners and conduct, than in the external similitude of their persons. This has been observed in orphans and posthumous issue, where neither paternal example nor precept could have been the immediate cause of it. Certain it is, that as there are no general rules without exceptions, so there are many men, who, without the advantages of birth, are possessed of the most valuable qualifications; and, on the contrary, there are many of a distinguished rank, of the most profligate and odious dispositions; but these last are of an unthinking, inconsiderate kind, who, by being immerged in a continual succession of sensual gratifications, never suffer themselves to reflect at all, or trouble themselves about those which have gone before, or shall come after them.

But where persons have been observed to be filled with a just and due veneration of the virtues of their predecessors, I believe they have seldom been known very glaringly to deviate therefrom; but to imitate, if not improve upon them, has been a plan they have continually kept in view. Nay, I am persuaded, that next to religion, nothing has so strongly actuated thinking men, nor indeed produced so many good and brave men, as their being inspired with a desire of keeping up to the examples of their forefathers.

Such a spirit, therefore, (however visionary its basis) is nationally requisite to be cherished, particularly among a military people. And many are of the opinion, that it would be more consonant to the epithet our modern pamphleteers assume of being publicly beneficial, if they were properly to inculcate and enforce it, instead of advancing any thing derogatory thereto. Nothing is to be gained by checking the ambition of a family name; for that can never be acquired by deeds that are not honourable. Men of family, who disgrace their ancestors, are more severely punished than they could be by a positive law. They are punished by the severity of public opinion, and by the contempt of their equals as well as their inferiors, which take from them all the dignity that they would have otherwise enjoyed by the indisputable right of hereditary succession. Nothing can be so dangerous to character, as for a man of family to practise injustice, cruelty, or vice. His rank, while it places all his vices at full length, so greatly aggravates their enormity, that he becomes the most contemptible and wretched of all men, not being able to shelter his vices under that obscurity which common men enjoy.

But sophistry cannot eradicate our natural prejudices, or persuade us to think contemptuously of ancestry. The antiquary and the historian delight to trace a name through an illustrious train of possessors. If we travel, we look with profound respect on the mansions of our ancient families; and a thousand pleasing associations rush into our minds. Who can survey the remains of an ancient castle, without thinking of times of pure virtue, undaunted valour, and disinterested patriotism? 'In surveying this proud monument of feudal splendour and magnificence,' says an eminent antiquary, 'the very genius of chivalry seems to present himself, amid the venerable remains, with a sternness and majesty of air and feature, which show what he once has been, and a mixture of disdain for the degenerate posterity that robbed him of his honours. Amid such a scene, the manly exercises of knighthood recur to the imagination in their full pomp and solemnity; while every patriot feeling beats at the remembrance of the generous virtues, which were nursed in those schools of forti-

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tude, honour, courteſy, and wit, the manſions of our ancient nobility.'

The contemplation of what is great and venerable, can only be indulged when the mind is led back through the various progreſs of an ancient and illuſtrious family. The barbarity of a levelling principle can never take root in a mind accuſtomed to reflect, and ſtored with the knowledge of antiquity. The contempt of former days is the contempt of ignorance; and to deſpiſe hereditary virtues and name is a proof that the origin is mean and obſcure, and the ſentiments ſelfiſh and groveling. Let me conclude this ſubject with the following paſſage from Dr. Johnſon's Journey to the Weſtern Iſlands. In beauty and ſublimity it appears to me, to ſurpaſs any thing which even *he* has written:

'We were now treading that illuſtrious iſland *(Icolmkill)* which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence ſavage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the bleſſings of religion. To abſtract the mind from all local emotion would be impoſſible, if it were endeavoured, and would be fooliſh, if it were poſſible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our ſenſes; whatever makes the paſt, the diſtant, or the future, predominate over the preſent, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends be ſuch frigid philoſophy, as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wiſdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whoſe patriotiſm would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whoſe piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.' P. S.

An Account of the Method of making ICE *at* Benares. *In two Letters to* William Marſden, *Eſq. F. R. S. from* John Lloyd Williams, *Eſq.*

DEAR SIR,

AS the method of making ice in this country, where the thermometer, during part of the year, ſtands at from 95 to 100° in the ſhade, has ſomething peculiar in it, I truſt the following deſcription of the proceſs will not be unacceptable.

You know that ice is made in India during the months of December, January, and part of February; but I believe it has generally been conſidered as neceſſary to the congelation of the water, that it ſhould have been boiled. However, I can now aſſure you, as a fact within my own obſervation for theſe nine years paſt, that a large quantity of ice has been made at this place every year, without any preparation whatever; and I have often ſeen ice of an inch and quarter thick, notwithſtanding I do not conceive that the atmoſphere, at that time, was ſufficiently cold to produce the effect; for I have frequently placed a thermometer, with the naked bulb on the ſtraw, amid the freezing veſſels during the night, and on inſpecting it between five and ſix o'clock in the morning (at which time the ice-makers informed me the cold was moſt intenſe) I never found it below 35°. I have even ſeen ice, of a conſiderable thickneſs, formed when the thermometer was not lower than 40 degrees.

The method of making ice at Seerore, near Benares, is as follows.

A ſpace of ground of about four acres, nearly level, is divided into ſquare plats, from four to five feet wide. The borders are raiſed, by earth taken from the ſurface of the plats, to about four inches; the cavities are filled up with dry ſtraw, or ſugar-cane haum, laid ſmooth, on which are placed as many broad ſhallow pans, of unglazed earth, as the ſpaces will hold. Theſe pans are ſo extremely porous, that their outſides become moiſt the inſtant water is put into

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into them; they are ſmeared with butter on the inſide, to prevent the ice from adhering to them, and this it is neceſſary to repeat every three or four days; it would otherwiſe be impoſſible to remove the ice without either breaking the veſſel, or ſpending more time in effecting it than could be afforded, where ſo much is to be done in ſo ſhort a time. In the afternoon theſe pans are all filled with water, by perſons who walk along the borders or ridges. About five in the morning, they begin to remove the ice from the pans; which is done by ſtriking an iron hook into the centre of it, and by that means breaking it into ſeveral pieces. If the pans have been many days without ſmearing, and it happens that the whole of the water is frozen, it is almoſt impoſſible to extract the ice without breaking the pan. The number of pans expoſed at one time, is computed at about 100 000, and there are employed, in filling them with water in the evenings, and taking out the ice in the mornings, about 300 men, women, and children; the water is taken from a well contiguous to the ſpot. New veſſels, being moſt porous, anſwer beſt.

It is neceſſary that the ſtraw be dry: when it becomes wet, as it frequently does by accident, it is removed, and replaced. I have obſerved water which had been boiled, freeze in a china plate; yet having frequently placed a china plate, with well water, among the unglazed pans on the ſtraw beds, I found that when the latter had a conſiderable thickneſs of ice on them, the china plate had none. I have alſo wetted the ſtraw of ſome of the plats, and always found it prevented the formation of ice. The air is generally very ſtill when much ice is formed; a gentle air uſually prevails from the ſouth-weſtward about daylight. I had a thermometer among the ice pans, during the ſeaſon of making ice, with its bulb placed on the ſtraw, and another hung on a pole 5½ feet above the ground; and commonly obſerved, that when ice was formed, and the thermometer on the ſtraw was from 37 to 42°, that on the pole would ſtand about four degrees higher; but if there was any wind, ſo as to prevent freezing, both the thermometers would agree.

I ſhall offer no opinion reſpecting the cauſes of ice being formed when the thermometer is ſo many degrees above the freezing point; but hope the ſubject will be elucidated by ſome more capable perſon. I am, &c.

Benares,
March 25, 1792. J. LL. WILLIAMS.

DEAR SIR,

IN addition to what I have already communicated to you, reſpecting the mode of procuring ice in this country, the following obſervations on that ſubject, accompanied with ſome account of the temperature of the air, and ſtate of the thermometer, may not be unacceptable.

April 30th, 1792, the thermometer, in the ſhade, being at 95 degrees, ſome water was taken up from a well, ſixty feet deep, and the thermometer being immerged in it, its temperature was found to be 74 degrees. This water was then poured into four pots, or pans, ſimilar to thoſe which, in my former letter, I mentioned as being employed in the proceſs for making ice. They were alſo ſimilar to each other in ſize and conſtruction, except that two of them were new and unglazed, and the two others old, with their pores cloſed, ſo that no moiſture could tranſpire through them. Theſe pots were then expoſed to a hot weſterly wind, in the ſhade, for the ſpace of three hours; viz. from two o'clock in the afternoon till five. Upon examining them at that time, the water in the old pots was found to be at 84 degrees, and that in the new, or porous ones, at 68. After remaining in that ſituation one hour longer, the water in the old pots roſe to 88 de-

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grees, while that in the new ones continued at 68.

May 1st, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the thermometer then being, in the sun, at 110 degrees, and in the shade at 100, the experiment was repeated, with the same pots as before. After being filled with well water, they were exposed for four hours, viz. from two o'clock till six, to a hot wind; the water in the old pots was then found to be at 97 degrees, that in the new ones at 68.

The foregoing observations on the frigorific effect of evaporation from porous vessels, will perhaps account, in some measure, for ice being formed when the thermometer, in the air, is above the freezing point. And the power of evaporation in generating cold, may be further elucidated by the following observations on the effects produced, by its means, in our houses.

May 16, 1792, at two in the afternoon,
The thermometer, in the sun, with a hot westerly wind, rose to 118°
Ditto, in the shade, but exposed to the hot wind - - 110°
Ditto, in the house, which was kept cool by *tatties* - 87°
June 7.
Thermometer, in the sun - 113°
Ditto, in the shade, and hot wind 104°
Ditto, in the house, cooled by *tatties* - - - 83°

Tatties are a kind of mat, made of fresh green bushes, or long roots, like snake-root; they are affixed to the door or window frames, and kept constantly sprinkled with water. The degree of cold produced by their means is supposed to be in proportion to the heat of the wind which passes through them, as on that depends the quantity of evaporation. I am, &c.

Benares, Oct. 1, 1792. J. LL. WILLIAMS.

Anecdote of HASSAN, *Captain Pasha, a late celebrated Turkish Admiral.*

HASSAN, captain pasha was one of the greatest men that ever commanded the Turkish fleets. Though seventy years of age, his mental and corporeal faculties seemed not the least impaired by time. In an engagement, when his ship was boarded, he and his second were principally active in clearing the decks of the enemy. A Calmouk seized him by the garment, and drew the trigger of his pistol at him, but it missed fire, and he was instantly cut down by the valiant old Mussulman. His second was almost as singular a character as he was. Their knowledge of each other arose from the following incident. The captain being informed of a sudden tumult near the seraglio, ordered his caique, and on his arrival at the place saw a crowd of riotous people, with a desperate fellow at their head. Though unarmed, he immediately rushed forward to seize him. 'Stop (said the other, presenting his pistol) I know thee, captain pasha, and know too that my life is in danger; a step farther, and thou diest.' Astonished at his temerity, but not terrified by the menace, (for the heart of Hassan was insensible of fear) he drew up, and viewing his opponent from head to foot with a countenance in the act of changing from anger to admiration: 'Bold fellow (said he) yield then, and trust to me.' At the word, the pistol dropt from the other's hand, and he threw himself at the pasha's feet, who raised him from the ground, and ever after employed him as his lieutenant. One brave man will always love another. I am told that Hassan was formerly a slave in Spain, having been taken on board an Algerine corsair. His partiality for the English nation was remarkable. In the last war, if he heard of any naval combat between us and our enemies, he never would believe we were vanquished. His high opinion extended from the nation to its representative, sir Robert Ainslie, with whom he was very intimate.

ON

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ON GIVING ADVICE.

IT has often been ſaid, that it is a very diſagreeable thing to give advice. The chances are many againſt our advice being taken, and it is very certain that our pride is irritated, when our advice is rejected. If a man were to borrow money of a friend, on pretence of diſtreſs, and immediately throw it into the river, before that friend's face, the latter would be apt to conſtrue ſuch an action into the greateſt affront. But ſcarcely leſs inſulting is the conduct of thoſe, who in every emergency, whether of an important or trifling kind, go about ſeeking advice, which they have predetermined not to take, or, in other words, borrowing wiſdom which they mean inſtantly to throw away. The humble deference with which they ſeek counſel proves it to be mere affectation; or at beſt it is paying a compliment to the underſtanding of a friend, which, like other compliments, has no ingredient of ſincerity in its compoſition. 'Theſe ſort of people,' ſays ſir Richard Steele, 'aſk opinions only out of the fullneſs of their heart on the ſubject of their perplexity, and not from a deſire of information.'

The inferior, who aſks advice of his ſuperior in underſtanding, whatever humility he may put on, has in general a ſecret reſerve in favour of his own opinion, and will take that of the other only as far as it may coincide with his own intentions. I ſay *intentions*, for the truth is, that we often reſolve to do a thing, and even bind ourſelves to do it, before we conſider of the propriety or impropriety of it, and before we have viewed it in any other light but one. Our actions are prior to our deliberations, inſtead of being the reſult of them; ſo that he who gives even the wiſeſt counſel will often have it rejected, if a reſolution has been previouſly formed independently of any ſerious conſideration of the ſubject.

Good advice, of all other inſtances of friendſhip, ſtands moſt chance of being rejected; for good advice is hoſtile to the impulſes of paſſion, intereſt, and convenience, three things which have a governing power over moſt of the actions of man. It will alſo be ineffectual, becauſe it tends to hurt the pride of him to whom it is offered; for in good advice there is a ſtriking ſuperiority, which muſt be felt and acknowledged either openly or ſecretly, and there is nothing we ſubmit to with ſo bad a grace, or indeed which we often repudiate with ſo much indignation, as the ſuperior wiſdom of one whom we have been uſed to rank as our equal, and perhaps inferior in all other reſpects.

The failure of good advice is not however to be altogether attributed to the perverſe diſpoſition of the party receiving it, or to his having, in the parliamentary phraſe, 'made up his mind,' previouſly to aſking it. Every one is not qualified to give advice. It is a very difficult thing to convey the beſt advice in a manner that ſhall be pleaſing. The truths of wiſdom are often unwelcome, and never more ſo than when they interfere with the motives of pleaſure or intereſt. To render them acceptable in ſuch caſes requires a degree of ſkill, of which a very wiſe man may be deſtitute, but for want of which the ear will be ſhut 'againſt the charmer, let him charm ever ſo wiſely.'—Many perſons have a very ungracious way of giving advice; they give it rather as a command, than as the ſuggeſtion of friendſhip and experience; and others clog it with invective, and irritate inſtead of perſuading. To call a man a fool, or a rogue, is not the way to make him wiſer or better, and to tell him that you are infinitely wiſer than himſelf, will ſeldom convince him of the fact; nor will he think that a being of ſuch a ſuperior caſt, can have ſo much of the fellow creature about him as to enter into his views, and make

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make allowance for his miſconceptions.

Dr. Johnſon ſays, that, 'It is not often that any man has ſo much knowledge of another, as is neceſſary to make inſtruction uſeful.' This is a maxim, which ſhould regulate the conduct of all who are invited to give counſel; for it is with the mind as with the body; one rule will not do for every caſe; our preſcriptions muſt vary with the cauſes and ſymptoms of the diſorder, and muſt be adapted to the varieties of the habit and conſtitution. He that treats diſorders in this judicious manner is a phyſician: he who adapts, or pretends to adapt the ſame medicine to all caſes, is a quack. If a man, who aſks whether he ought to perform a certain action, which is in itſelf bad, or imprudent, ſeems to be acted upon by ſudden paſſion, it would be in vain to perſuade him into reaſon, while his ſpirits are agitated; and it would be wrong to inveigh againſt his propoſal, becauſe that might irritate him to perform the action. With ſuch a man the beſt method would be to gain time, and a very ſmall portion of time and reflection would convince him of his error, if he were otherwiſe a man of ſenſe and worth. If not, the beſt advice would be thrown away, for the caſe of the obſtinate is hopeleſs. 'Seeſt thou a man wiſe in his own conceit? There is more hope of a fool than of him.'

In giving advice, it is neceſſary to have an intimate acquaintance with the ſecret motives of him that aſks it, as well as with the oſtenſible ones, and with his temper, conduct and character. In many caſes this cannot be attained at all; in moſt it can be attained only in a very imperfect degree. We often play the hypocrite with *ourſelves*, and how ſhall we be able to diſcover the latent ſprings of other men's actions? Some things, no doubt, may be propoſed as ſubjects for advice, which will require to be conſidered only in themſelves, and abſtractedly from any circumſtance of time, place or perſon. But in general the ſubjects of advice are of a mixed kind, admitting various views and conſiderations, and requiring the united deliberations of many. Great caution is therefore neceſſary, and a becoming deference to the opinions of others. A wiſe man will not give advice haſtily, and that not only for the reaſon juſt now aſſigned, but on another and a more important account, namely, that he conſiders himſelf as in a great degree the *cauſe* of whatever may happen in conſequence of his advice being adopted. This conſideration is a ſerious one, and where it has no weight, I ſhould ſuſpect there was not much wiſdom, and not much integrity. With the good and wiſe, however, it has its weight, and is probably one reaſon why ſuch men can rarely be brought to give opinions, without ſuch circumſtances of reſervation as to leave the matter greatly in doubt and take all reſponſibility from them. A man of feeling and foreſight trembles to adviſe in a matter of importance and perplexity. His advice, though good, may be marred by not being rightly underſtood, or a miſtake may be made in the application of it, which may lead to fatal errors. In either caſe, he muſt bear the blame, and charitable allowances are ſeldom made.

There are two kinds of men, who trifle with the world in the buſineſs of advice: thoſe who are ever obtruding their advice without being requeſted, and thoſe who are ever aſking advice, without any deſign to follow it. The firſt are the moſt tolerable; for to give advice, though impertinently, is perhaps a well-meant intention to ſerve. Though vanity may be at bottom, it bears all the appearance of an act of kindneſs; and no man, I hope, is ſo hard of heart, as not to be penetrated by a voluntary endeavour to do him good, although he may not want it. Beſides, vanity may not always be the motive; benevolence in weak minds has an awkward operation; and we know ſo little

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dle of the human heart, that we ought to conſider it as a duty to interpret men's actions favourably in every caſe, where there are not external proofs to the contrary.

But of thoſe men who are perpetually aſking advice, without any intention to follow it, we cannot ſpeak with ſo much lenity. There is in ſome men a degree of irreſolution, which prevents them from remaining an hour in the ſame opinion, and a degree of folly that they cannot compare opinions together, and take that which is beſt. I know a man of this diſpoſition, who has long been a plague to his acquaintance, and, I may add, to himſelf. On the ſimpleſt buſineſs, he goes round the circle of his acquaintance, and takes perhaps ten opinions, of which he does not follow one. What he collects from all is a hodge-podge of inconſiſtency, which he thinks is the aggregate of wiſdom, but which in event proves to be the extreme of folly. Indeed, whenever a conceited man aſks advice, you may be certain that he does not mean to follow it, unleſs it coincides with his preconceived notions. The common language of ſuch a man is—'I am reſolved to act in this or that manner, let me have your opinion.' Little good and leſs gratitude can follow the advice that is given to a man who will not take it; and as to men of wavering minds they are incapable of fixing upon any thing. Irreſolution is the bane of human action; mankind would remain in a ſtate of torpor, if they were never to act but with a mathematical certainty of ſucceſs. Truth, wiſdom, and propriety, are occaſionally ſo hid as to conceal their boundaries but in general. 'He that walketh uprightly, walketh ſurely.' It is not impoſſible, but that the wiſeſt may ſtumble upon an error and recover; the raſh and the irreſolute only are they who plunge irretrievably.

There is one affair of life, and confeſſedly an important one, in which moſt people think themſelves qualified to give advice—I mean marriage. There is nothing which ſeems a greater affront to a man's friends and acquaintances, than his forming this alliance without conſulting any of them. And yet I know not any ſubject ſo improper for advice as this. I mean not to juſtify imprudent or vicious alliances from intereſt, &c. but merely to ſay that there is ſcarcely a man in exiſtence, who will liſten to advice that interferes with his matrimonial intentions. And for a very obvious reaſon; a man does not take a wife as he does a houſe. In the latter caſe the advice of a friend, eſpecially if he be a ſurveyor, may be abſolutely neceſſary; that of a conveyancer, too, may be requiſite. If, in the opinion of the one, the houſe is in a ruinous ſtate, or in opinion of the other, the deeds are not clear, he relinquiſhes his intention of purchaſe with very little regret. But in the choice of a wife, a man generally proceeds for a very conſiderable time entirely on his opinion, and makes it his ſtudy to examine the temper, and if poſſible engage the attention of his intended, long before he will truſt any perſon with his intention. If he ſucceeds in gaining the lady's conſent, all the advice upon earth muſt be of no avail, unleſs (which for my argument it is not neceſſary to ſuppoſe) any one were to point out a defect in her character, ſufficient to juſtify his departing from his engagement.

Another reaſon why advice in this caſe is unneceſſary is, that there are a great many circumſtances, which induce a man to marry a particular lady, or to abſtain from marriage altogether, of which no perſon can be ſo proper a judge as himſelf. Notwithſtanding this, I know not how it is, but greater offence is taken when a man marries without aſking the advice of his friends, than on any other occaſion; and this, I am afraid, gives riſe to much of that tea-table ſcandal which follows moſt marriages, and which, however, to the credit of the age, does not laſt very long; for ſuch is the vaſt variety of topics of this kind, that

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that no couple, however imprudent in their union, are ever perſecuted above a fortnight or three weeks!

Rules have been laid down for giving advice, ſuch as are preſumed to render advice agreeable and effectual. I know not that theſe are neceſſary to be detailed here, for giving advice will always depend on circumſtances to which general rules will apply very uſeleſsly. To obtrude our advice can be the duty of parents and guardians only. For others it is ſufficient to give it only when it appears to be requeſted with ſerioufneſs. In giving it, the utmoſt candour and the ſtricteſt adherence to truth are neceſſary; and a manner, full of ſweetneſs and perſuaſive friendſhip, are neceſſary to render it palatable, if it militates againſt the intereſt or paſſions of the party requeſting it. Superiority muſt be laid aſide when we wiſh to conciliate. While theſe rules are adhered to, we have nothing to fear from 'giving offence.' The obſtinate are beneath contempt, and their anger always recoils on themſelves. The irreſolute may be determined by argument, and the wicked may be penetrated by truth. But we partake in the follies and crimes of thoſe whom we *flatter*; and when the welfare of a fellow creature is at ſtake, nothing can atone for want of candour, and nothing can appear more praiſe-worthy than the opinion which is given boldly, and the benevolence which operates actively.

CAIUS.

A Remarkable Account of a WIDOW *burning herſelf on the* FUNERAL PILE *of her* HUSBAND, *at* Benares, *in* Hindooſtan.

[From 'Travels in India, in 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783, by William Hodges, R. S.']

WHILE I was purſuing my profeſſional labours in Benares, I received information of a ceremony which was to take place on the banks of the river, and which greatly excited my curioſity. I had often read and repeatedly heard of that moſt horrid cuſtom among, perhaps, the moſt mild and gentle of the human race, the Hindoos; the ſacrifice of the wife on the death of the huſband, and that by a means from which nature ſeems to ſhrink with the utmoſt abhorrence, by burning. The perſon whom I ſaw was of the Bhyſe (merchant) tribe or caſt; a claſs of people we ſhould naturally ſuppoſe exempt from the high and impetuous pride of rank, and in whom the natural deſire to preſerve life ſhould in general predominate, undiverted from its proper courſe by a proſpect of poſthumous fame. I may add, that theſe motives are greatly ſtrengthened by the exemption of this claſs from that infamy with which the refuſal is inevitably branded in their ſuperiors. Upon my repairing to the ſpot, on the banks of the river, where the ceremony was to take place, I found the body of the man on a bier, and covered with linen, already brought down and laid at the edge of the river. At this time, about ten in the morning, only a few people were aſſembled, who appeared deſtitute of feeling at the cataſtrophe that was to take place; I may even ſay that they diſplayed the moſt perfect apathy and indifference. After waiting a conſiderable time the wife appeared, attended by the Bramins, and muſic, with ſome few relations. The proceſſion was ſlow and ſolemn; the victim moved with a ſteady and firm ſtep; and, apparently with a perfect compoſure of countenance, approached cloſe to the body of her huſband, where for ſome time they halted. She then addreſſed thoſe who were near her with compoſure, and without the leaſt trepidation of voice or change of countenance. She held in her left hand a cocoa nut, in which was a red colour mixed up, and dipping

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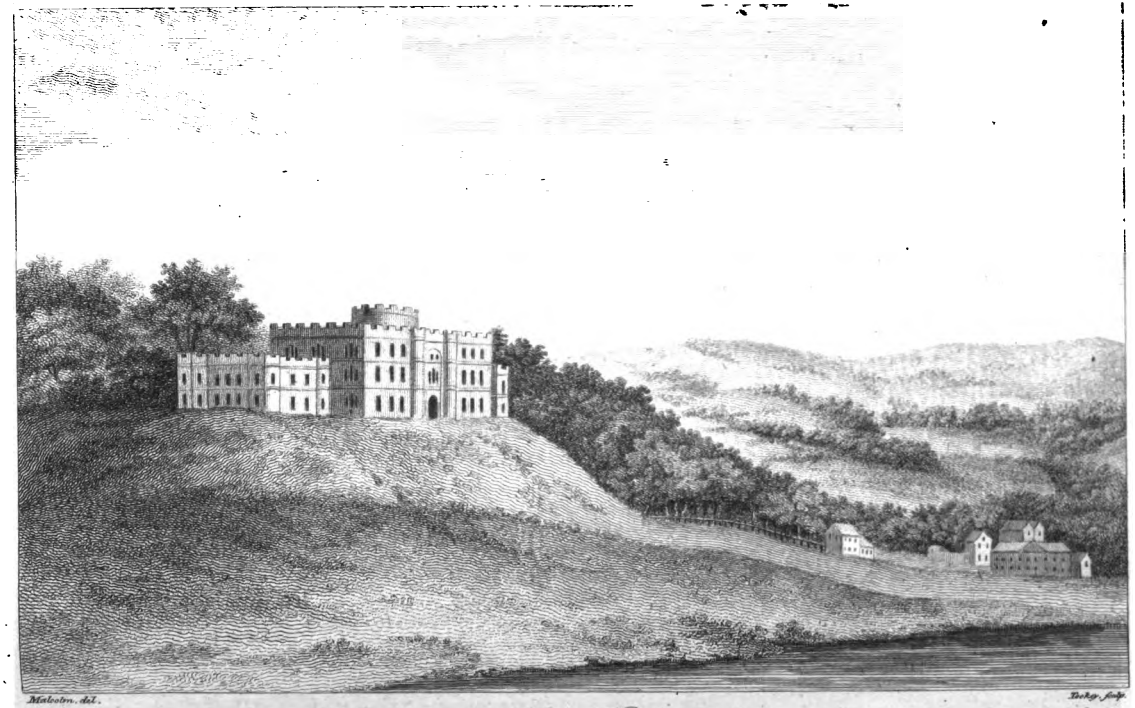

Malcolm. del. Tuthy. sculp.

Cromford Hall, Derbyshire.

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ping in it the fore-finger of her right hand, ſhe marked thoſe near her, to whom ſhe wiſhed to ſhew the laſt act of attention. As at this time I ſtood cloſe to her, ſhe obſerved me attentively, and with the colour marked me on the forehead. She might be about twenty-four or five years of age, a time of life when the bloom of beauty has generally fled the cheek in India; but ſtill ſhe preſerved a ſufficient ſhare to prove that ſhe muſt have been handſome: her figure was ſmall, but elegantly turned; and the form of her hands and arms was particularly beautiful. Her dreſs was a looſe robe of white flowing drapery, that extended from her head to the feet. The place of ſacrifice was higher up on the bank of the river, a hundred yards or more from the ſpot where we now ſtood. The pile was compoſed of dried branches, leaves, and ruſhes, with a door on one ſide, and arched and covered on the top: by the ſide of the door ſtood a man with a lighted brand. From the time the woman appeared, to the taking up of the body to convey it into the pile, might occupy a ſpace of half an hour, which was employed in prayer with the Bramins, in attentions to thoſe who ſtood near her, and converſation with her relations. When the body was taken up ſhe followed cloſe to it, attended by the chief Bramin; and when it was depoſited in the pile, ſhe bowed to all around her, and entered without ſpeaking. The moment ſhe entered, the door was cloſed; the fire was put to the combuſtibles, which inſtantly flamed, and immenſe quantities of dried wood and other matters were thrown upon it. This laſt part of the ceremony was accompanied with the ſhouts of the multitude, who now became numerous, and the whole ſeemed a maſs of confuſed rejoicing. For my part, I felt myſelf actuated by very different ſentiments: the event that I had been witneſs to was ſuch, that the minuteſt circumſtance attending it could not be eraſed from my memory; and when the melancholy which had overwhelmed me was ſomewhat abated, I made a drawing of the ſubject, and from a picture ſince painted, a plate was engraved.

In other parts of India, as the Carnatic, this dreadful cuſtom is accompanied in the execution of it with ſtill greater horror. It is aſſerted, that they dig a pit, in which is depoſited a large quantity of combuſtible matter, which is ſet on fire, and the body being let down, the victim throws herſelf into the flaming maſs. In other places, a pile is raiſed extremely high, and the body, with the wife, is placed upon it, and then the whole is ſet on fire. Whatever is the means, reaſon and nature ſo revolt at the idea, that, were it not a well-known and well-authenticated circumſtance, it would hardly obtain credit. In truth, I cannot but confeſs, that ſome degree of incredulity was mingled with curioſity on this occaſion; and the deſire of aſcertaining ſo extraordinary a fact was my greateſt inducement to be a ſpectator.—The plate, which Mr. Hodges mentions to have had engraved of this awful ceremony, is indeed a very ſtriking and intereſting repreſentation of it.

An Account of CROMFORD HALL, *in* Derbyſhire, *the Seat of the late Sir* RICAARD ARKWRIGHT, *Knight: With a Perſpective View of that noble Structure.*

CROMFORD HALL is ſituated in a village of the ſame name, in the road from Derby to Mancheſter, being fourteen miles from the former, forty-four from the latter, and 140 from London. It was built by the late ſir Richard Arkwright, who firſt brought into uſe the new cotton-mills, a capital improvement in mechanics, by which he not only raiſed himſelf, from a low origin, to diſtinction and opulence, but was the means of ſpreading

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the cotton manufactory, in a wonderful degree, through Derbyshire and the neighbouring counties. Cromford Hall stands on the side of a hill, which rises from the river Derwent, between Cromford-bridge and Matlock Baths, immediately opposite a vast perpendicular rock, with here and there a straggling tree, held by a few roots. This building has been unfortunate; for when nearly completed, it was destroyed by fire. The architect has attempted an imitation of an ancient castle. The building is an oblong square, with two projecting circular towers embattled, as is the whole structure, including the wings. There are three stories; and the windows are long, and very narrow, without the least ornament. The door-way is an arch; and from the second story springs an arch, which connects the towers. On the sides of the house, the windows are placed by threes, with a considerable space between each trio. A circular tower, or keep, rises from the centre; and, at each angle of the wings, are round towers. The slope from the hall is very precipitate, for some distance: it then becomes much more gradual, till it reaches the Derwent. A little to the left of the mansion, on the other side the river, sir Richard erected a chapel, which is to be finished according to his direction; and when it is completed, his body (now at Matlock church) is to be removed to it. This chapel is remarkably plain, and has a very singular steeple, not unlike a funnel reversed. Near the building stands the ancient and handsome bridge, with some comfortable cottages, and excellent cotton-mills. The *tout-ensemble* of Cromford, its hall, rocks, and water, is not often paralleled for truly picturesque effect. The whole appears to the greatest advantage from the Wirksworth road, where Cromford Hall seems thrown amid mountains, rocks, and precipices. In short, it is a mixture wild, grand, and awful.

ANECDOTE *of the late King of* PRUSSIA.

[From 'Watkins' Travels into Swisserland, Italy,' &c.]

I HAVE received great attention from Mr. Dietz the Prussian envoy. He recounts many pleasant anecdotes of his late sovereign, one of which I will mention to you, as it proves how tenacious that monarch was of Silesia, part of his Austrian conquest, and will give you no unfavourable idea of the present prince royal.

Frederick was much pleased with the sprightly disposition of the boy, who was often with him. One day, as he was writing in his cabinet, and the prince playing at battledore and shuttlecock behind him, the shuttlecock fell upon the paper and blotted it; at which the king bade him leave off, but probably in a tone less imperious than he used in the battles of Rosbach and Lissa, for the other recommenced his amusement, and the shuttlecock again fell upon the paper. The king took it up and put it in his pocket. The prince was for some moments silent; at length, moving gently to his uncle's side, he leaned upon his shoulder, played with his epaulette, and asked him tenderly for his shuttlecock. The king was inexorable, and continued writing; at which the boy retreated a few paces, and strutting up again with his little arms a-kimbo, stamped, and with uncommon emphasis said 'Sire, donnez-moi une reponse catagorique, voulez vous me rendre ou non mon cerf volant?—Sire, give me an expli cit answer, will you or will you not return me my shuttlecock?'

Frederick turned about with astonishment, eyed the little urchin in raptures, and snatching him to his bosom, exclaimed, 'Ah, vrai rejetton du grand electeur, on ne t'arrachera jamais la Silesie.—Ah true scyon of the great elector, from thee they'll never wrest Silesia.'

ON

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ON THE TITLE OF ESQUIRE.

THAT the honours of nobility may, even by creation, as well as natural deſcent, fall upon unworthy perſons, is a fact which it would be fooliſh to deny, becauſe it would be impoſſible; and which it would be weak to repine at, becauſe it is the fate of all inſtitutions not to be able to exclude certain abuſes. A profeſſion is not leſſened in the eyes of a ſenſible man, becauſe an unworthy perſon has been admitted into it; and with all the faults of individual noblemen, it will be found, that the inſtitution of the peerage has been the nurſe of patriotiſm and public virtue, and impreſſes the mind with a kind of ſuperior caution againſt vice, cowardice, and perfidy, which the general maſs of mankind are without. It is not, however, my intention, in the following obſervations, to interfere at all in ſpeculative queſtions on the advantages or diſadvantages of created or hereditary nobility; but to point out the abſurd abuſe of a title, which, from vanity and fooliſh complaiſance, has been ſo generally extended, as to loſe its dignity, and become almoſt a term of reproach.

The title I mean is that of *Eſquire*, appended to the name by the common abbreviation *Eſq.* Let us conſider what this title was originally, and what it legally is, and we ſhall ſoon be convinced, that the indiſcriminate uſe of it is totally without foundation upon any known law, or ſource of honour. In this part of my ſubject, I am principally, though not altogether, aſſiſted, by the learned author of 'Commentaries on the laws of England.'

Eſquires are ſaid, by Camden, to conſiſt of four claſſes. 1. The eldeſt ſons of knights, and their eldeſt ſons in perpetual ſucceſſion. 2. The eldeſt ſons of younger ſons of peers, and their eldeſt ſons in like perpetual ſucceſſion; both which ſpecies of eſquires, ſir Henry Spelman entitles *armigeri natalitii*. 3. Eſquires created by the king's letters-patent, or other inveſtiture; and their eldeſt ſons. 4. Eſquires by virtue of their offices; as juſtices of the peace, and others, who may bear any office of truſt under the crown. To theſe may be added the eſquires of the knights of the bath, each of whom conſtitutes three at his inſtallation; and all foreign, and even Iriſh peers; for not only theſe, but the eldeſt ſons of peers of Great Britain, though frequently titular lords, are only eſquires in law, and muſt be ſo named in all legal proceedings. It may be obſerved, however, that the firſt two diſtinctions, or claſſes, enumerated by Camden, have long ceaſed to exiſt: for the title of knight, gives not the title of eſquire to the eldeſt ſon, who may perhaps be a common, and often a low mechanic, and muſt, according to the ſtatute 1. Hen V. c. 5. be deſignated by his myſtery or trade, in all writs, &c.

Eſquires and *gentlemen* are confounded together by ſir Edward Coke, who obſerves, that every eſquire is a gentleman, and a gentleman is defined to be one *qui arma gerit*, who bears coat-armour, the grant of which adds gentility to a man's family. 'It is, indeed,' ſays Blackſtone, 'a matter ſomewhat unſettled, what conſtitutes the diſtinction, or who is a real *eſquire*; for it is not an eſtate, however large, that confers this rank upon its owner. But to the liſts given above, the following may be added, mayors of towns, counſellors at law, ſerjeants of the ſeveral offices of the kings court, and other officers of note. Theſe are all entitled to be called eſquires, and none others.'

The title of Eſquire, therefore, like all other titles, proceeds directly, or indirectly, from the king, as the fountain of all honour, and it can be conferred by no other perſon, nor aſſumed by any perſon from vanity or caprice. But if this be the law, how ſtrangely different is the practice of modern times! Tradeſmen and mechanics,

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chanics, of all descriptions, confer this title upon each other; and many do not even scruple to write *esquire* to their names in books of subscription. But no individual in this kingdom (his majesty only excepted) can confer any title; and if foolish custom or complaisance allow men to dub each other esquires, an equally foolish and equally well-founded custom may, in time, induce them to prefix the title *Honourable* to their names. If caprice is to govern in one thing, it may in all; for caprice is boundless, and human vanity will always furnish it with an apology.

But mechanics and tradesmen are not the only persons who assume the title *Esquire* without the right to it. The higher orders of commercial men, such as *merchants* and *bankers*, assume it with no better title; nor can the landed interest prove that they have a superior claim; for as Blackstone observes, an estate, however large, does not confer this rank upon its owner. But, in flat contradiction to those of honour, how many thousand esquires does this nation contain *! Beside persons concerned in trade, it is assumed by every man who has no visible means of living, and who therefore calls himself a *gentleman*, and is by others denominated an esquire. Even debtors in jail are frequently addressed by this title; and I recollect to have seen, in a newspaper, under the head of Old Bailey Intelligence, the 'trial of George Barrington, *Esquire*,' the most infamous pickpocket and thief that ever disgraced a good understanding. Is not this enough to sicken us against *Squireship*?

Low mechanics retired from business, and who repair to Hampstead or Hackney, to doze away the remainder of their lives in solitude, which they cannot improve, or diversions of which they cannot partake, are to a man *Esquires*.—It was said above, that persons enjoying patent places under the king, or offices of municipal administration, are entitled to the rank and title of Esquires; such as commissioners of the customs, excise, comptrollers, &c. To render this as ridiculous as possible, we find the title of *Esquire* almost always bestowed on persons who enjoy the *high office* of *stewards* to tavern dinners. Whether they enjoy this title only *durante officio*, or for life, with remainder to their eldest sons, I know not; but his majesty's gift appears to lose considerably of its value, since his privilege of conferring honours can be assumed by *Codgers*, *Odd Fellows*, and *Easy Johns*!

If the question be asked, why the title of *Esquire* is thus confounded, and rendered common to the meanest as well as the greatest, I know of no answer but by referring to *vanity*; a principle in our nature too often powerful enough to acquire the mastery over reason and common sense. There is often a very great degree of vanity in ostentatiously proclaiming the titles to which we have a right; and it is perhaps always a sign of weakness to value ourselves on names, which abstractedly imply no intellectual merit; and no superior virtue. But to assume a title to which we have no right, is an uncommon degree of arrogance; and to be proud of it, may, without any breach of Christian charity, be denominated a very great defect in the understanding. It is, indeed, a species of childishness; for we observe that children are remarkably fond of 'playing at lords, dukes, generals, and judges;' mimicking the

* The author of the Tatler, in No. 19, says; 'To the utter disgrace and confusion of the heralds, every pretender is admitted into this fraternity (of squires) even persons the most foreign to this courteous institution. I have taken an inventory of all within this city, and looked over every letter in the Post-office, for my better information. There are of the Middle Temple, including all in the buttery books, and in the lists of the house, five thousand. In the inner, four thousand. In the King's-bench-walks, the whole buildings are inhabited by Esquires only, &c.' Steele pursues the subject in a happy vein of irony, and I beg to refer my readers to the paper.

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consequence which they conceive to be attached to such elevated ranks.

To a man fond of the title of Esquire, I would perhaps address myself in terms like these: 'You have been dubbed *Esquire* by persons who have not the power to confer the title upon you. Here is one who wrote you down Esquire, because you appeared well-dress't; your title, therefore, consists in externals, and the taylor is *your* fountain of honour; here is another man who addresses you Esquire on the cover of his letter, and he wants to borrow money of you; your best method will be to address him Esquire, and refuse the request; for a title, which confers no merit, is dearly bought by a dividend of sixpence in the pound. But perhaps you may say, if a man addresses me as *Esquire*, I cannot do less than return the compliment; common politeness requires it. Very true; and depend upon it, he expects it; for he knows that common politeness will have weight with you, though common sense has none with him. But if you are yourself fond of this title, let me mention a circumstance which ought, in some measure, to lessen its charms. All titles are estimable in proportion to their superiority, as all metals are valuable in proportion to their scarcity. Now, as the title of *Esquire* is at present bestowed upon five hundred times more persons than it was thirty years ago, and is becoming every day more and more common, you may perceive that a time is approaching when it will be *universal*, and an equality of 'squireship will prevail. You will then be on a level with the mass of mankind, and your out-door clerk will be as good a 'squire as yourself. The title then will lose its value, and be as common and *contemptible* as *Master* is now in the eyes of you *Esquires*. This consideration, since it is an appeal to vanity, which is the parent of promiscuous esquires, ought to be well attended to; for what resource will then be left to you? I cannot suppose that you will become self-created Knights, or Baronets; for the law will not allow you, unless you can set up the plea of insanity or idiotism; but let me tell you, in the mean time, that by being pleased with the title of Esquire, which does not belong to you, you share very much in the temper and disposition of that self-created Knight Sir Jeffrey Dunstan.'

To all this the reply may be, that a merchant, banker, or *gentleman*, who is commonly styled *Esquire*, might be offended if any person of my way of thinking were to degrade him to plain *Master*. And this, in all probability, would be the case with many; for where a certain reverence is generally paid to a man, to withhold it marks a difference of opinion that may easily be construed into contempt or disrespect. Where there is danger that this may be the case, it may be prudent to abide by general custom, though it is impossible for an obscure individual to entertain a very great respect for a man who took it amiss that *he* did not confer a title which no man has a right to confer, and who is so weak as to be jealous of an empty name. The purpose of this paper, however, is to awaken the attention of *Esquires* to the insignificancy of the title; as men of sense they cannot be ignorant of this; but long custom may have reconciled them to it, as custom will to many absurdities; and an honest man, the moment he finds himself possessed of that to which he has no right, will resign it contentedly.

To be proud of what does not of right belong to us, is to acknowledge a principle of injustice, and of all things that men are proud of, I know not that I could have selected one so insignificant in itself as that which has been the subject of this paper. It may, indeed, be remarked, that a fondness for titles, even where regularly conferred, is often the symptom of a departure from internal worth. Where the latter shines in its fullest lustre, we seldom find a desire for external distinctions, nor can it derive the smallest aid

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aid from them. All titles will ſeem little in the eye of a philoſopher, and nothing in that of a Chriſtian. Where they exiſt without virtue and without talents, they render the want of theſe the more conſpicuous, and the individual the more contemptible. The record they bear to poſterity is that of ſplendid infamy, and eminent inſignificance. A virtuous, active, and uſeful life is beyond all title, and ſtands in need of none. And, if we conſider how uſeleſs the moſt dignified rank is to confer happineſs, ſtill more meanly muſt we think of thoſe who repine, becauſe they are refuſed a title which, in reality, confers no rank; or, if it did, cannot belong to them. The calamities of human life reſpect no diſtinctions of rank; and fallen grandeur is the moſt deplorable ſpectacle of human miſery. To be pleaſed with trifles is the province of childhood; age and maturity ought to ſet at naught petty diſtinctions, that can imply no merit, and which being ſelf-aſſumed, argue the vereſt of all ſpecies of vanity. The time is faſt haſtening, when the inſignificance of ſuch honours will make us aſhamed that we ever coveted them, and when nothing will be found of real value but the reflections of a ſpotleſs mind, that has been laudably employed in exertions of wiſdom, and acts of goodneſs, to promote the welfare and happineſs of mankind.

SIMPLEX.

MISCELLANIES:

BIOGRAPHICAL *and* CRITICAL; ORIGINAL *or* SCARCE.

Continued from Page 278.

OXFORD.

THE following is handed down to us as a ſpecimen of the logical learning which prevailed at Oxford, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. 'In king Edward II's time, as I remember (ſays my author) at which time the univerſity of Oxford was much addicted to the learning of thoſe, who by ſome were called *Nominals*, for that they were ſtrict in examining the nature and ſignification of every word, Merton College being ſeated upon the walls, and the maſter and fellows of the houſe being deſirous to walk in the meadows that lay cloſe to the walls, thought good to ſend three of their company to the king, then at Woodſtock. Where, being admitted to his preſence, one of them ſignified to his majeſty that they were ſent by the college, to demand *Licentiam faciendi oſtium*—' A licence or liberty to make a door.' The ſecond preſently interrupting him, ſaid, that he was miſtaken, for that a liberty to make a door was not a ſatisfaction to them; for ſo they might have a licence, and yet the door never made. And therefore his deſire was, to have *oſtium fieri*—' a door to be made.'—Whereunto the third replied, they were both miſtaken, for ſo it might be ſtill *in fieri*; but his petition was to have *oſtium factum*—' a door made.' Whereunto the firſt replied again, that they were not ſo unmannerly as to deſire a *door made*, for that was to demand the king to make them a door; and he therefore deſired they might have leave, '*poſſe oſtium fieri*'—' to have it in their power to make a door.' But the ſecond again oppoſing him, and the third oppoſing the ſecond, and the king growing weary, his majeſty anſwered them, that though he underſtood their requeſt, he would not give them ſatisfaction till they ſhould agree, *in modo loquendi*.' Morton, biſhop of Durham in 1633, took great pains to prove this ſtory a fabrication; yet the barbarity of the fourteenth century ſurely takes nothing from the learning of more enlightened times.

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Bishop Hinchman.

In the life of Mr. Sprint, a nonconformiſt divine of ſome note in the laſt century, he is praiſed for being very temperate and abſtemious. When this was taken notice of, at a gentleman's table, a perſon preſent, who lived in biſhop Hinchman's family, when he was biſhop of London, told him, that if he was a conformiſt, he muſt expect no great preferment; for he once heard biſhop Hinchman recommend a perſon to archbiſhop Sheldon, as one very fit for ſome eccleſiaſtical promotion. The archbiſhop ſaid, 'I believe your lordſhip is miſtaken in the man; I doubt he is too puritanical.'—The biſhop replied, 'I aſſure your grace he is not; for *he will drink a glaſs of wine freely!*'

Hading and Hunding.

Hading, king of Denmark, and Hunding, king of Sweden, tired with the fruitleſs battles they had fought againſt each other, and the profuſion of blood and treaſure ſpent to no purpoſe, reſolved upon a peace as cordial and ſincere as ever their animoſity was bitter. They ſwore a perpetual alliance, and entered into a very extraordinary agreement, that as ſoon as the one ſhould be informed of the other's death, the ſurvivor ſhould immediately lay violent hands on himſelf. After they had both reigned with great felicity for ſome years, the news came to Upſal, that Hading was no more. This was falſe; but Hunding had not patience to wait for a confirmation; he reſolved to die, and immediately prepared a magnificent entertainment, aſſembled all his officers around him, plied them with wine, and at the cloſe of the feaſt, flung himſelf into a veſſel full of hydromel, where he periſhed. The Daniſh monarch received the news with the utmoſt grief, and that he might equal his friend in generoſity, hanged himſelf in ſight of the whole court. Such is one inſtance of what, in rude ages, was celebrated as pure friendſhip!

Gagahan.

Usher Gagahan was a Roman catholic of a good family in Ireland. He was executed at Tyburn, in 1749, for filing gold. He was a very conſiderable Latin ſcholar, and editor of Brindley's edition of the Claſſics. He tranſlated Pope's Eſſay on Criticiſm into Latin verſe, and after his confinement, The Temple of Fame, and the Meſſiah, which he dedicated to the duke of Newcaſtle, in hopes of a pardon; he alſo wrote verſes in Engliſh on prince George, (our preſent ſovereign) and on Mr. Adams, the recorder, which were publiſhed in the Ordinary's account, together with a poetical addreſs to the ducheſs of Queenſberry, by one Conner, who was executed with him for the ſame crime he had been guilty of. Strange! that ſuch talents could not reſcue from an ignominious death, and for a crime that indicates no ingenuity but what may be found in the moſt ignorant mechanic.

Quintus Ennius.

Those who are in the habit of denying themſelves, to prevent impertinent intruders from hindering their time, may not be diſpleaſed with this anecdote of Ennius, the Roman poet. Scipio Naſica going one day to viſit Ennius, and the maid ſervant ſaying that he was not at home, Scipio found that ſhe had told him ſo by her maſter's orders, and that Ennius was at home. A few days after, Ennius coming to Naſica, and enquiring for him at the door, the latter called out to him, that 'he was not at home.' Upon which Ennius anſwering, 'What! do I not know your voice?' Scipio anſwered, 'You have a great deal of aſſurance; for I believed your maid, when ſhe told me, that you were not at home; and will you not believe me myſelf?' A ſtory ſimilar to this exiſts in ſome of our jeſt-books, and is given, as uſual, to ſome modern wit. We have it *original*, however, from Cicero. In a little book intitled 'Eſſays, Moral, Religious and Miſcellaneous,'

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by Mr. Highmore, a painter of conſiderable eminence, will be found a full diſcuſſion of the queſtion, 'Whether or no it be lawful and juſtifiable, on the principles of morality and religion, to ſay, and order ſervants to ſay, that we are not at home, when we are.' This is well worthy of a peruſal; but the work is ſcarce.

St. Ephrem.

The Clarendon preſs gave an edition of this author's works to the public many years ago. His learning was great, and perhaps excelled only by his induſtry. He was, however, not altogether devoid of cunning. He had an extreme averſion to the hereſies of Sabellius, Arius, and Apollinarius; the laſt of whom, as Gregory Nyſſen relates, he treated in a very extraordinary manner. Apollinarius having written two books, in which he had collected all the arguments in defence of his own opinions, and having entruſted them with a lady, St. Ephrem borrowed theſe books, under the pretence of being an Apollinarian; but before he returned them, he glewed all the leaves together. The lady, ſeeing the outſide of the books to be the ſame as before, and not diſcovering that any thing had been done to them, returned them to Apollinarius to be uſed in a public conference he was going to have with a catholic; but he, not being able to open his books, was obliged to retire in diſgrace.

Definitions.

Dr. Johnſon's dictionary is reproveable in one reſpect. Words peculiar to certain occupations are not defined from proper authorities. Mercantile words are defined, not from mercantile books, or law books, but from poets. Such as *Debenture*, *Courſe*; theſe are not explained in the mercantile ſenſe, as when we ſay, bills paid either by debenture or courſe. The word *tally* is explained by a ſet of quotations, all from poets. For *Municipal* he refers to Dryden, &c.

To *ſign* he explains from Shakſpeare, Dryden, and Taylor the divine, but without informing his readers whence the phraſe, 'to ſign a letter or paper.' is derived. In ignorant times, when few, even of the clergy could write, they made the *ſign* of the croſs, in place of their name, in confirmation of any legal deed. Hence, the phraſe *ſigning* inſtead of *ſubſcribing* a paper.

William the Conquerde.

Our readers will recognize, in the following anecdote of this prince, the origin of a very common witticiſm, which has been attributed to many of late times. William had a very ſovereign contempt for eccleſiaſtical dominion. Odo, biſhop of Baieux, the king's maternal brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and entruſted with a great ſhare of power, had amaſſed immenſe riches; and, agreeable to the uſual progreſs of human wiſhes, he began to regard his preſent eminence as only a ſtep to future grandeur. He aſpired at nothing leſs than the papacy, and had reſolved to tranſmit all his wealth to Italy, and go thither in perſon, accompanied by ſeveral noblemen, whom he had perſuaded to follow his example, in hopes of eſtabliſhments under the future pope. William, from whom this project had been carefully concealed, was no ſooner informed of it, than he accuſed Odo of treaſon, and ordered him to be arreſted, but nobody would lay hands on the biſhop. The king himſelf was therefore obliged to ſeize him; and when Odo inſiſted, that, as a prelate, he was exempted from all temporal juriſdiction, William boldly replied, 'I arreſt not the *biſhop*; I arreſt the *earl!*' and accordingly ſent him priſoner into Normandy, where he was detained in cuſtody during this whole reign, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and menaces of pope Gregory.

Duke

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Duke of Orleans.

Not the monſter that has lately expoſed himſelf to the abhorrence of all mankind, but he, who is uſually called the great duke of Orleans. The author of the memoirs of the duke of St. Simon, informs us, that the duke of Orleans' mother invented a little fable which conveys a very juſt idea of his character. The fairies, ſaid ſhe, were called to witneſs his birth. All attended, except one, who had diſappeared, and who had been unhappily overlooked. She however took it in her head to be preſent among the reſt; but before her arrival, they had endowed the child. Affronted at this neglect, the malicious imp, unable to revoke the gift of her ſiſters, reſting on her ſlender rod, pronounced theſe words with a horrid grin: 'Let him have all theſe talents, but I pronounce them uſeleſs.' From this anecdote the Spectator would have written an excellent paper. It indeed ſuggeſts many uſeful reflections on the uſe and abuſe of nature's gifts, and the proſtitution or ſuppreſſion of great talents.

Novels and Romances.

The pernicious tendency of theſe cannot, I am afraid, be doubted upon the whole. In certain ſituations of deſpair and agony, if a man or woman of ſenſibility, were to meet with the pathetic deſcriptions of fictitious writing, it might have a tendency to heighten the deſpair and drive them on to ſelf-ſlaughter. Of this, I remember an inſtance, which happened many years ago, and which I have been aſſured was a fact. A young lady of beauty, birth, and expectations, was reduced by ſome unavoidable misfortunes to a ſtate of dependence and neglect. From being the favourite of every man of ſenſe, and the flame of every fop, ſhe became, by a train of imprudencies, not criminal, a forlorn creature, and dependent on the bounty of worthleſs and proud friends. The contraſt between this and her former ſituation was too great for her ſenſibility; and, after many ſtruggles with herſelf, ſhe conceived a deſign of putting an end to her miſerable exiſtence, which, it appeared, ſhe executed in a cool, deliberate manner. Near to her, on the table, was found a volume of Orlando Furioſo, opened at the ſtory of Olympia, who, by the treachery of a friend, was expoſed to an unpitying world. I have not the leaſt doubt, that the reading of that paſſage on this occaſion heightened her deſpair, and gave her courage to proceed in her dreadful undertaking.

In general, therefore, it appears that no energies of deſcription, or pathos ought to be admitted, which have a tendency to injure that moſt natural principle, the love of mankind and of life. Where the ingratitude of mankind is introduced, it ought ever to be accompanied with ſuch comforting circumſtances as may reconcile us to a ſtate in which we are expoſed to ſuch ingratitude. And this I preſume, may be done, without leſſening our abhorrence of that worſt of vices, and without any levity to to make us think lightly of a crime that blackens our nature, and debaſes us beneath the beaſts that periſh.

John James Rousseau.

There cannot be a more difficult taſk than to convey a juſt idea of a performance, where the elocution, fire, ſenſibility, refinement, and paradoxical humour of the author of Eloiſa, conſtitute the principal ornaments and blemiſhes of this work. Rouſſeau deſpiſes the common aids of plot, incident, and contrivance, and effects all his purpoſes by mere ſtrength of genius, and variety of colouring. His attitudes are common, but they are painted with ſuch energy and grace, as cannot fail of ſtriking with all the force of novelty. Like a ſculptor, who has drawn his materials rough from the quarry, he poliſhes, and in a manner animates the clumſy marble; even the ſimple Valeſians

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become in his hands the moſt amiable people on earth. Such are the characteriſtics of the new Eloiſa.

Spirited and maſterly in all his productions, he has formed his Eloiſa on the plan of the celebrated Clariſſa, the favourite work of our countryman, the amiable Mr. Richardſon. Every one muſt acknowledge the reſemblance between the diſtinguiſhing features of the principal characters. Eloiſa is a leſs perfect Clariſſa; Clara, a miſs Howe, as fervent in her friendſhip, as witty and charming, but leſs humorous, merely becauſe the Swiſs writer is an entire ſtranger to the talent we expreſs by the word humour. It is indeed the higheſt encomium on Mr. Richardſon, that he has been deemed worthy the imitation of a writer of Rouſſeau's eminence, and that he ſtill remains unrivalled in copying nature, although he may perhaps be greatly excelled in deep reflection, the finer tints that diſcriminate genius, and certain magic powers peculiar to Rouſſeau, of conjuring into a ſingle expreſſion the ſubſtance of volumes. Richardſon's diffuſe manner will always be an objection, though chiefly with ſuperficial readers, and with thoſe who are accuſtomed to the flimſy traſh of circulating libraries; and his principles, as a Chriſtian, are more favourable to virtue than thoſe of Rouſſeau.

[To be continued.]

PROPOSAL FOR A NEW UNIVERSITY.

To the EDITOR *of the* UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH it may be ſuppoſed, with ſome appearance of juſtice, that the two Univerſities, the ſchools of Weſtminſter, Eton, Wincheſter, Harrow, and the numberleſs ſmaller academies which crowd the vicinity of the metropolis, with the vaſt number of ladies' boarding-ſchools, are quite ſufficient for all the purpoſes of education, yet I humbly preſume that another academy is ſtill wanting for certain ſtudies, not taught in theſe others. Education, like every thing elſe, muſt follow the manners of the times: and if the latter undergo any material change, ſo muſt the former. The great defect in our univerſities and ſchools is, that what is taught is very ſeldom practiſed, and that what every body thinks it neceſſary to practice is not, as far as I can diſcover, taught in any of them.

The genteeler ſciences, which it is neceſſary to bring into public life, are no where taught in our ſchools; while, on the contrary, our ſons and daughters ſpend a great deal of time and money in acquiring Greek, Latin, philoſophy, hiſtory, muſic, &c. which they either do not chooſe to carry, or are incapable of carrying to any profitable account. But where have we an academy for teaching the polite and uſeful arts of killing time, ſpending money, living faſhionably? There are no rules laid down for theſe, or any of the branches of them, not ſo much as how to gallop a horſe to Epſom Downs, or play a game of whiſt on a Sunday evening. Yet you muſt be convinced, that theſe form the buſineſs of the lives of many thouſands who, I am ſorry to ſay it, conduct the ſaid buſineſs in a very awkward and bungling way, being left to imitate thoſe who are as clumſy as themſelves, and having no regular inſtructions, and no courſe of lectures to guide and direct their humble endeavours.

For theſe reaſons, ſir, I beg leave to propoſe that an academy, or perhaps, I ſhould rather ſay, An Univerſity, be built and endowed by public ſubſcription, with ſuitable profeſſorſhips to teach every ſcience, and branch of a ſcience, connected in any degree with genteel life. This edifice, which I would have conſtructed on the moſt magnificent plan, ought to ſtand in, or as near the metropolis as poſſible, and that for the very

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reaſon why other univerſities are built as far from it as poſſible: It ought to be as near as can be to the places of public amuſement, and be even in the very centre of the temples of faſhion and pleaſure. But as in magnitude and extent this univerſity would exceed all others, ſo, like thoſe of Oxford and Cambridge, I would propoſe that it ſhould be divided into ſeveral Colleges and Halls, each of which to contain Profeſſors and Lecturers on ſome grand ſcience of the *beau monde*, ſuch as *Demoivre* College, *Hoyle* College, *Brookes'* College, *Stable* Hall, *Newmarket* College, &c.

Demoivre College, for inſtance, ſhould embrace the wide field of chances and calculations, proper for every given caſe of hazard, dice, &c. The Demoivre Profeſſor ſhould be a man whoſe qualification is, that he has been a member of one of the houſes of St. James'-ſtreet, at leaſt twenty years; that in that time he has demoliſhed (including his own) above fifty fortunes, and has ruined nearly one hundred heirs before they came to their eſtates. The purpoſe of his lectures ſhould be to explain all the various methods, at preſent known only to the happy few, by which cards, dice, pharoah, &c. ought *not* to be played. With him, and in the ſame college, I would join a Pathologic Profeſſor, or one who ſhould give lectures on the paſſions, teaching by what means we may ſuppreſs our own, and every poſſible indication of them, and how we may beſt irritate and profit by thoſe of others. That this is a neceſſary branch of the gaming art, none will diſpute; but that it is very little practiſed among novices, is a fact to which all knowing ones will readily ſubſcribe. In fact, bringing a young man into the genteel world, before he has acquired this, is as abſurd, as to ſend a child to ſchool before it can ſpeak, or to Oxford before it can read.

The *Hoylean* profeſſorſhip would be by no means a *ſinecure*. The doctor's buſineſs would be to teach the elements and rules of whiſt, quadrille, and every known game down to Caſſino.—Theſe lectures might be illuſtrated by experiments, and proper prizes awarded to the ſtudents, when they came to perform their leſſons. A gold medal, for example, to the party who won the game, at one deal; a ſilver one, if at two deals, and ſo on. This college, like all the others belonging to the new univerſity, might be attended by females as well as males. No harm whatever could happen from this; for it has been obſerved, with truth and propriety, that the more univerſal gaming becomes, the more dull and ſtup'd the animal paſſions are, and the more indifferent the ſexes are to one another. The number of beautiful ſpinſters in high life, affords a proof of this. Even thoſe who are, from ſome whim or other, joined in matrimony, know that their huſbands prefer a night at Brookes' to their beds.

The *Newmarket* College would undoubtedly be very much frequented, even by tradeſmen and ſhopkeepers, who, in their frequent viſits to Epſom and Aſcot, often have cauſe to regret their ignorance of the buſineſs of the turf, and their inability to acquire any knowledge, otherwiſe than by experience, which is ſo ſlow a method, that a man may be completely *done up* before he has recovered from the ſimple ſtate of a *green horn* or *cake*, which are names given to perſons juſt beginning the ſcience. The purpoſe, therefore, of this college would be to explain, in a regular courſe of lectures and *diſcoveries*, the whole art and myſtery, not only of winning, (for that is not always deſirable) but even of loſing. Theſe terms, *win* and *loſe*, have no determinate meaning, and are very often apt to be confounded by the young and ignorant, who do not know, that the owner of a loſing horſe is often the moſt fortunate man on the ground. *How to loſe* will, indeed, form a very large part of the inſtructions of this college, however, ſimple it may appear, and however

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eaſy ſome may think it is to give a horſe a pail of cold water when he is hot, or to ſhoe him with a ruſty nail. In this courſe of lectures, too, a ſyſtem of polite language ſhould be taught, adapted to the polite company which the pupil is moſt likely to meet with in his practice; namely, grooms, ſtable boys, ſharpers, and pickpockets of all ranks. I need not add, that betting, hedging, forfeiting, &c. in all their branches, muſt be taught by the moſt experienced maſters.

The expenditure of one's fortune is an object of confeſſed importance, and the great *deſideratum*, is to know how to do it in the moſt genteel and expeditious manner. Much of this will, no doubt, be learned in the college I have already mentioned. But ſomething remains behind. My Univerſity will, therefore, give a courſe of lectures on the vanity of riches, their inſufficiency to make men happy, our inability to carry them with us to the grave, and the wiſdom, of parting with them long before we go there. This courſe will embrace a variety of ſubjects, no leſs intereſting than entertaining; ſuch as giving concerts; building *gratis* playhouſes; entertaining, clothing, and feeding paraſites, buffoons, and led captains. It will likewiſe include that very neceſſary accompliſhment, the art of *keeping*.

On this laſt account, if upon no other, theſe lectures would be, no doubt, very much attended by that claſs of ſpirited men, who are called *daſhing* tradeſmen, and who have tenanted with their miſtreſſes many of the new ſtreets built lately in the vicinity of the metropolis. Why their miſtreſſes do not live at home may be accounted for, partly, becauſe the gentlemen are ſomewhat afraid of their wives, and partly, becauſe they are a great deal more afraid of their neighbours. For it muſt be acknowledged, that tradeſmen in general are not reconciled, even yet, to a man who keeps an expenſive miſtreſs, and wives are ſtill leſs (no doubt owing to prejudice) reconciled to living in the houſe with a miſtreſs. Perhaps theſe fooliſh ſcruples will be done away, when my univerſity has been fully eſtabliſhed, and its inſtructions have had their effect on the manners of the public.

Another ſcience which might be taught at this univerſity, and which really wants very much to be explained, is the ſcience or myſtery of living upon nothing, and yet abounding in every thing. This appears to be quite a paradox, and ſuch it once appeared to myſelf; but I am now convinced that there is ſuch a ſcience, and that it has often, particularly of late, been reduced to practice. A very communicative gentleman, who frequently ſits at Guildhall, for the whimſical purpoſe of aſking *daſhing* tradeſmen how they lived, aſſures me that he has known many a man keep a town houſe and country houſe, furniſhed with coſtly plate, fine pictures, magnificent furniture, horſes, carriages, give grand entertainments, and owe ten or twenty thouſand pounds, without ever having been worth fifty ſhillings that he could in honeſty call his own. To acquire ſuch an art as this would ſurely be very deſirable; that it has been acquired, appears from matter of fact, and that it has not been *perfectly* acquired, but has occaſionally failed, is certainly owing to the want of ſuch a ſeminary as I now have the honour to propoſe.

In the beginning of this paper, I mentioned *killing of time* as a neceſſary accompliſhment. As it is impoſſible to detail all the different ſciences, which might be taught in the New Univerſity, I ſhall confine myſelf to a few remarks on Killing Time, hoping that I ſhall then have ſaid enough to convince any unprejudiced perſon of the expediency of my plan.

Time is the great enemy of many thouſands; they are therefore at perpetual warfare with it, but for want of inſtructions, they are ſeldom ſucceſsful. Thoſe inſtructions ought to include the various weapons uſed in this war, ſuch as lying in bed till noon,

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noon, frequenting auctions without bidding for any thing, and particularly *shopping*. This laſt conſiſts of viſiting a number of ſhops, obliging the ſhopkeeper to take down a variety of ſilks, muſlins, laces, &c. which may be rejected in various ways, and all of which muſt be rejected in one way or other. For example, this you don't like becauſe it is too fine, and that is objectionable, becauſe it is not fine enough. One is too dear, and not worth the money, and another is too cheap to be worth any thing at all. One is very pretty, but you have ſomething very like it, and another is cheap enough, but it is ſo monſtrous ugly! One is beautiful, but it would not laſt; and another is ſo ſtout, that it would outlive the faſhion. To one you have no objection at all, but are not ſure that ſir John would like it, and another is equally agreeable, but —you will call another time!

Public amuſements, joined to routs, card-parties, &c. may ſerve to complete the time-killing ſyſtem, all of which may be explained at full length. —I have now, ſir, laid before you a rough draught of my plan for a new Univerſity. It will differ in one reſpect from all others; *they* paſs from theory to practice; *this* will try if practice can be reconciled with theory, or, in other words, if our faſhionable vices and follies will bear the reflection of ſuch cool moments as a Univerſity affords. The practice, ſuch as it is at preſent, is but a clumſy imitation; or, it is being led blindfold and having our eyes opened—too often—juſt before they are to be ſhut for ever.—If in this ſketch it is ſuppoſed that there is more of ſeverity than the ſubject demands, let it be remembered there is not more of aſſertion than experience will juſtify. The cry of *public* diſtreſs has been raiſed, and many have availed themſelves of it, to ſkreen their private extravagance and vice; but they ought to be told, that public calamity is not unfrequently the puniſhment of private licentiouſneſs, and that public folly is the aggregate of individual folly. I am, ſir, &c.

A PROJECTOR.

A Curious ACCOUNT *of certain* ROYAL DISBURSEMENTS *at the Commencement of the Fourteenth Century.*

AN extraordinary inſtance of the rude manners of our country in ancient times, appears from the following extract from a curious and authentic manuſcript, a copy of which is in the poſſeſſion of an eminent antiquary. This manuſcript contains, among other things, the private expences of that weak, miſguided, and unfortunate monarch, Edward the ſecond; by which it appears, that croſs and pile, or toſſing up heads and tails, as it is now called, was a favourite royal diverſion in thoſe remote times of rude ſimplicity. The following tranſlation from the old French, in which it is written, may afford ſome entertainment, to thoſe who are fond to contemplate human life under the various aſpects which it exhibits, according to the difference of ages or the difference of countries:

'Item, paid to the king himſelf, to play at croſs and pile, by the hands of Richard de Mereworth, the receiver of the treaſury—Twelve-pence.

'Item, paid there to Henry, the king's barber, for money which he lent to the king, to play at croſs and pile—Five ſhillings.

'Item, paid there to Peres Barnard, uſher of the king's chamber, money which he lent to the king, and which he loſt, at croſs and pile, to Monſieur Robert Wattewylle—Eight-pence.

'Item, paid to the king himſelf, to play at croſs and pile, by Peres Barnard, two ſhillings, which the ſaid Peres won of him.'

METRO-

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METEOROLOGICAL JOURNAL, May 1793.

D.	H.	Baro.	T. out	T. in	Hyg.	C.	Wind.	Weather, &c.
1	7	29,29	50	55	50	4	SW 4	. little wet at times
	2	29,28	55	56,5	46,5	4	SW 3	. gentle rain at times
2	7	29,39	49	54	49.5	4	SW 2	. frequent ſhowers
	2	29,50	53,5	56,5	49	4	SW 2	. hail and rain. ſhowers
3	7	29,17	44	53.5	47	1	W 1	hazy. more cloudy
	2	29,18	56	57	42	4	W 2	, little rain at times
4	7	29,32	44,5	54	50	3	W 1	hazy : cloudy
	2	29,28	56	57	42,5	5	SW 1	: little rain
5	7	29,92	51	55	50	4	WSW 2	. little rain at times
	2	30,08	56,5	56,5	41,5	3	NW 2	
6	7	30,32	46,5	53	46	2	NNW 1	
	2	30,31	59	58	40	4	N 1	. more cloudy : little wet
7	7	30,19	47	55	47	5	N 1	. little rain at times
	2	30,17	53,5	56	47,5	4	NE 1	. little rain. wind E. fine
8	7	30,17	46,5	52	53	h	E 1	. little wet
	2	30,13	54	56	46,5	4	SSE 1	. little rain. wind S : rain
9	7	30,08	48	53 5	51	5	SSW 2	little rain : fine
	2	30,13	58,5	58	45	3	W 2	. little wet at times
10	7	30,21	48	55	49	4	WSW 1	: ſmall ſhowers
N	2	30,18	58,5	56,5	46,5	4	S 1	. fine night
11	7	29,81	52,5	56	50	3	S 1	
	2	29,81	62	58,5	46	3	SE 1	. little rain. wind E
12	7	29,93	55	58,5	52	1	NE 1	hazy
	2	29,96	69	63	47	3	NE 1	
13	7	29,94	63	56	52	h	NNE 1	. more wind and fine
	2	29,94	69	64,5	15	2	NNE 3	
14	7	30,14	52,5	57,5	45	1	N 2	
	2	30,19	62	61,5	39	2	N 3	. leſs wind
15	7	30,22	52,5	58,5	44,5	1	NW 1	. more cloudy
	2	30,21	61,5	62	43	4	NNW 2	. clear night
16	7	30,29	48,5	56	46	1	N 1	
	2	30,24	61	60	38	2	N 1	. cloudy. fine night : cloudy
17	7	30,12	55	59	50	5	NW 1	
	2	30,02	61,5	62	44,5	4	WNW 1	. much rain : fair
18	7	30,02	52,5	59,5	50	5	N 1	. fine. cloudy : little rain
	2	30,16	60	61	45	5	NNE 2	. little wet
19	7	30,09	47,5	52	45	5	N 1	. little wet
	2	30,08	48	54,5	44	4	N 2	. fine
20	7	30,13	46	55	47	1	N 1	
	2	30,13	58	58	40	2	N 1	
21	7	30,19	49	55	46,5	1	N 1	
	2	30,19	65,5	60,5	42	2	NNE 2	. cloudy night
22	7	30,26	48,5	56,5	45	5	NNE 1	. fine
	2	30,26	58,5	58,5	50	2	N 2	. cloudy eve
23	7	30,26	48,5	56	48	4	NNE 1	. fine
	2	30,24	64	60	40	3	NE 1	. hazy night
24	7	30,23	49,5	57	47	h	NNE 1	
	2	30,21	56	58,5	44	4	N 2	. fine
25	7	30,30	47	55	46	1	N 2	
F	2	30,30	60	58,5	37	2	N 1	. cloudy eve : fine
26	7	30,29	50,5	55,5	40,5	1	N 1	: cloudy
	2	30,26	61	63,5	37	5	NNW 1	. fine
27	7	30,23	48,5	57	44,5	4	N 1	
	2	30,15	67	52	50	4	N 2	. fine night
28	7	30,01	53	59,5	46	5	WNW 1	. fine
	2	29,93	62,5	62	41	4	NNW 1	. fine
29	7	29,89	48,5	56	43	4	NW 1	. fine
	2	29,88	54,5	59	36	3	NW 2	
30	7	29,86	45,5	54,5	40	1	WNW :	
	2	29,96	56	57,5	34,5	3	NNW 1	
31	7	30,18	46,5	54	41	2	WNW 1	hazy. cloudy
	2	30,20	56	57	47	4	WNW 1	. fine

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OBSERVATIONS *on the* DISEASES *in* May 1793.

THOUGH this month, on the whole, proved tolerably healthy, yet the ſmallpox was rather frequent; for this being generally conſidered as the ſeaſon moſt favourable to inoculation, it ſpread from that cauſe, and there were many inſtances of rather a confluent ſort (even under inoculation) yet the ſymptoms were on the whole mild, and free from malignancy: with thoſe who had been inoculated, a redneſs of the ſkin, accompanied with a ſmall raſh, very commonly attended the eruption, and proved, as is uſually the caſe, an indication of a mild diſeaſe.

The ſcarlet fever, which commenced laſt month in the neighbouring villages, continued to make its progreſs toward the metropolis; however, it was rare there, but ſhould the weather become warm, we may expect it to be frequent. The *urticaria*, or nettle-raſh, prevailed very much, but in its uſual mild ſtate, ſo as to require no medical aſſiſtance. Apoplexy now and then occurred, as alſo paralytic and rheumatic affections, but not ſo frequently as to deſerve particular notice.

Curious PARTICULARS *of the* NATIVES *in the* Duke *of* York's Iſland, *in the* South Pacific Ocean.

[From Captain Hunter's Hiſtorical Journal of the Tranſactions at Port Jackſon and Norfolk Iſland.]

ON the 27th of March 1791, captain Hunter left Sydney Cove, in New South Wales, on board the Waakſambeyd, a Dutch veſſel, in order to procure a ſupply of proviſions, for the ſettlement, from Batavia. On the 22d of May, after having paſſed by Norfolk Iſland and the weſt ſide of New Caledonia, and diſcovered Stewart's Iſlands in lon. 163. 18. E. lat. 8. 26. S. E. and Lord Howe's Group in lon. 159. 14. E. lat. 5. 30. S. they touched at the Duke of York's Iſland, between that Group and the S. E. point of New Ireland: 'On the 23d, many canoes came off, with every appearance of a friendly diſpoſition. We gave them,' ſays captain Hunter, 'a few trifles, and they ſeemed to inſiſt on making a return for every thing they received; cocoanuts, yams, and bananas, were held out on the point of a long ſpear, or pole, for they ſeemed afraid to touch the ſhip; the boat which was ſounding endeavoured to make them underſtand that we wanted water, and ſhewed a ſmall keg, intimating by ſigns that they wanted it filled; the people in one of the canoes went to the boat, received the keg, went immediately on ſhore, filled it, and brought it back to the boat: the officer then gave them another ſmall keg, which he meant as a preſent, but it was immediately ſent on ſhore by another canoe: in the mean time, a breeze ſprung up, the boat ſteered along ſhore, and the ſhip followed: the people who had taken the laſt keg, after having filled it, followed our boat with the utmoſt ſpeed, came up with her and delivered it. This I thought a ſtriking proof of the honeſty of theſe people, and it will particularly appear ſo, when it is conſidered, that the keg was hooped with iron.

'As we ran round the weſtern ſide of the iſland, we obſerved a ſmall bay or cove, into which the boat went, followed by many canoes, and an immenſe multitude of people on the ſhore. We ſhortened ſail to give the boat time to examine it; ſhe very ſoon returned, and Mr. Keltie informed us that there was anchorage in

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in the bay; we immediately made ſail into it, and at noon of the 23d, anchored in twenty-one fathoms ſoft ground, with ſome looſe patches of coral; here we were within a cable and a half of the beach. In the afternoon, we ſent the boats armed to look for freſh water; a vaſt multitude of the natives were by this time aſſembled on the ſhore, and the bay was filled with canoes; in conſequence of which we got the ſhip's guns loaded and ready (ſhe mounted ſix three-pounders); but although they were exceedingly clamorous, they were ſtill apparently well diſpoſed; they ſhewed the officer in the boat how to find water by digging holes in the ſandy beach, in the manner frequently practiſed in the Weſt-Indies; we followed their advice, and ſunk a caſk in the ſand; the water flowed into it, but was too much mixed with the ſea water to be uſed. Some of the natives, however, afterward pointed out another place, from which the freſh water iſſued in a conſiderable ſtream, out of chaſms in the rocky face of a high bank: this diſcovery ſet our people upon farther ſearches, and they found ſeveral ſuch diſcharges from the ſide of the bank, enough to anſwer our purpoſe, if the natives remained quiet and friendly.

'This buſineſs I was particularly deſirous we might be able to effect, without being under the neceſſity of convincing them of our ſuperiority in arms. The firſt day was ſpent in endeavouring to ſhew them, that we were deſirous of a friendly intercourſe with them, and that we wanted nothing but water, which they could well ſpare: however, on diſcovering that water was to be had, we were of courſe determined to have as much as might be neceſſary for our purpoſe, and by ſuch means as might be found neceſſary and effectual. This firſt night there was a very ſtrict look-out kept, as well by the natives as by us; they had a regular watch-word, which they ſung out in a very pleaſing and muſical manner, and it was anſwered by thoſe on the next poſt, and ſo all round the ſkirt of the wood. The next morning we loaded one boat with empty caſks, and had the other armed, to lie off the ſhore and cover the people employed filling water; the ſhip's guns were loaded with round and grape ſhot, and were within leſs than two cables length of the watering-place; twelve men, with ſmall arms, attended on ſhore with the waterers. The watering buſineſs was now begun, and might have ſatisfied the natives what our buſineſs was there; however, their numbers increaſed to ſuch a degree, all armed, and they were ſo very troubleſome, that very little work could be done in the watering. An old man, who was powdered all over with a white powder, and who ſeemed to poſſeſs great authority and influence among his countrymen, diſpoſed them to be more and more troubleſome; preſents were offered him, but he rejected every thing with a very ſurly and determined air; in ſhort, he ſeemed reſolved that we ſhould not fill water, or remain upon their territory; he carried every appearance of an intention to diſpute the point by force; every means were uſed to pleaſe this old fellow; but without effect; at laſt ſome ſtones were thrown from a ſling, but this was not done until the principal part of the natives had retired to ſome diſtance from the place where our people were employed; the men who were armed for the protection of the waterers, ſtood the whole time with their arms ready to fire at a moment's notice, and the natives, ignorant of what the muſquets were, had certainly taken them for clubs. Some of the ſtones, which they threw, came with the force of a ſhot from a gun among the ſailors. The conſequence of this unmerited attack was, that the officer was obliged to fire, the covering boat fired, and a few ſhot were fired from the ſhip: at this time, there were thirty or forty canoes about the ſhip, full of people; their terror and conſternation at the noiſe, and probably the effect of the guns, was ſuch, that many leaped

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from their boats overboard, and swam under water as far as they were able; such guns as were fired from the side on which the canoes were, were pointed well over them, being more intended to intimidate than destroy. This firing occasioned a general dispersion of the natives, and the filling of water was carried on with ease and expedition; we received on board that afternoon about seven tons. The next morning, before the boats went on shore, we fired a few grape shot into the woods, and the boats landed without seeing any of the natives; at the same time we warped the ship within a cable's length of the watering-place, and secured her head and stern for covering the party on shore; the covering boat was directed to fire whenever any of the natives were seen in the woods over the watering party, which, in the course of the day, they had frequent occasion to do; many canoes came into the bay this day, but kept at an awful distance, holding up green boughs as a signal of peace and amity; to some we made signs to go away; to others, who ventured a little nearer, we shewed signs of friendship, and made them perfectly understand, that our firing was occasioned by their slinging of stones among our people, who were watering: after these hostilities, our watering went on without the smallest interruption, except that the covering boat had occasion sometimes to fire a few muskets into the woods over the watering place. In four days we completed our water, and on the last evening, as the sailors were coming from the shore, a number of the natives from the woods right above the watering place, came down to the beach with green boughs in their hands, bringing with them cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, &c. accompanied by a song of friendship: they seemed earnestly to wish for a reconciliation, and took every means in their power to testify their concern for what had happened; a boat was sent on shore to meet them, with a green branch in the bow, and the boat's crew were desired to spread open their arms when they came near the breach, to shew they were well disposed to peace. When the boat landed, the natives retired back a little, but not out of sight; having piled up upon the beach their peace-offering, which consisted of yams, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, and some other articles: on the top of this pile was laid a small living male and female dog, with their mouths and feet tied: (they appeared to be of the small terrier kind) in the middle of the heap was stuck in the sand, a young tree of the palm kind, upon a branch of which were hung a number of braded lines, like what is called by seamen, *sennit*, and much of the same colour, being made of the bark of a particular tree: what this could mean we were wholly at a loss to comprehend, unless, as the head of this young tree was designedly bent down by the lines above-mentioned, it was meant as a token of submission; be that as it might, they received the boat's crew, &c. with every demonstration of a true concern for what had happened; and I fear and believe they had much cause to be sorry, for I think some must have lost their lives by the grape shot from the ship. It is much to be regretted, that after having seen us employed in getting what we wanted, in doing which every person was completely employed, and not the most distant appearance of insult, or any sort of provocation had been offered them, they could not desist from hostility until some kind of offence had been offered, a circumstance which, during the whole time, was most particularly guarded against in those employed on shore: but from an ignorance of the effect of our arms, and from their very superior numbers, they were inclined to be insolent and troublesome; our sailors on shore were so very few, when compared with their numbers, that it became absolutely necessary to resent the first unprovoked offence which they

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gave, and thereby to convince them, before it might be too late, that although their numbers far exceeded ours, their real force was very inferior. After peace had been re-eſtabliſhed on ſhore, the conk ſhell was ſounded, which is the ſignal whereby they aſſemble conſiderable numbers; and in a very ſhort time, they appeared coming from all parts of the wood round the bay, and were met by thoſe who had been the means of bringing about a reconciliation, with a ſong of friendſhip, in which the whole joined, and which was really harmonious and very pleaſing: the canoes crowded the bay from different parts of the iſland, and were as familiar as ever, except that they would not now venture on board, which many had done before this quarrel: every boat brought a green bough, that was conſpicuouſly held up; they alſo brought many things to barter, and were pleaſed with ſuch trifles as we had to give them in return. They are, I believe, the only people in thoſe ſeas, who do not ſet a value upon iron work, in preference to any other thing; beads or looking-glaſſes they were not much pleaſed with, but rags of white linen, ſtrips of ſcarlet cloth, or any thing of colours, they were very anxious to have: nails they would not accept at all.

'The natives of the Duke of York's Iſland are a ſtout, robuſt, well made people, of a light copper colour; I ſaw none who could be called black; they go entirely naked; the hair is woolly, but it is ſo managed by ſome ſort of greaſe or ointment, and a white or red powder with which they dreſs it, that it hangs on ſome like ſo many candle wicks, or rather like the thrums of a new mop reverſed, or turned upſide down; they are generally as fully powdered as a beau dreſſed for an aſſembly; ſome have their hair of a yellow, ſun-burnt colour, others quite red, as if powdered wholly with the true marechal; none are ſeen with the hair of its natural colour. This yellow or red appearance, I believe, may be occaſioned by this univerſal method of powdering, for the powder ſeems to be made from burnt ſhells, or coral, and is really a kind of lime; they generally carry a ſmall goard or box filled with it about them, and when they are hoſtilely diſpoſed, they frequently take a quantity of this powder into the hollow of the hand, from which, with a ſtrong blaſt from the mouth, they blew it before them; and at a ſmall diſtance it has exactly the appearance of firing gun-powder, and no doubt is meant as a token of defiance. This practice is certainly uſed by the people of New Guinea, for captain Cook takes notice of it when his boat landed on that coaſt near Cape Walſh, and ſays, that he ſuppoſes thoſe people have ſome method of producing fire in that ſudden manner. He alſo obſerves, that they had a bamboo or hollow cane from which fire and ſmoke was obſerved to iſſue; but I am diſpoſed to think, that the conjecture of having ſeen fire could only have been occaſioned by the appearance of ſmoke, which we naturally ſuppoſe to have proceeded from fire, for it is probable that fire and ſmoke being projected ſuddenly from any confined engine, would occaſion ſome degree of exploſion, although it is alſo probable that the gentlemen in the Endeavour's boat might not have been near enough to hear it: however, after all, there is much reaſon to believe, that what captain Cook ſaw upon that coaſt was the very practice uſed here, where we ſaw it in a much nearer interview, as ſome of our people had it blown in their eyes. Their chief, upon hoſtile occaſions, powdered his body all over, ſo that it was no difficult matter to diſcover him; they alſo upon ſuch occaſions painted their faces red; ſome had marks upon their arms and ſhoulders, occaſioned by ſcarifying thoſe parts in long ſtripes, and letting the ſore riſe above the ſurface of the ſkin; they frequently wore a bone or reed thruſt through the ſeptum of the noſe, and, like the natives of Lord Howe's

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Howe's Group, had alſo holes cut through the wings of the noſe, into which were fixed ſhort pieces of hollow reed, as ladies wear wires to keep the ears open when newly bored; into theſe hollows or rings they occaſionally ſtuck long pieces of reed, which are no doubt conſidered by them as ornamental. The men in general were well looking people, but ſuch of their women as I ſaw were very ordinary. The weapons uſed by the people of this iſland were lances of different kinds, ſome were made of a kind of ebony, or hard wood, about ten feet long, frequently ornamented with feathers of different colours at the upper end; others were made of bamboo, pointed with hard wood; the lance is thrown by hand, but they had not the uſe of the throwing ſtick, like the natives of New South Wales: they alſo, in their quarrels, uſed the ſling for throwing ſtones, which appears to be made of ſome tough dried leaf, ſeveral times doubled; the ſtrings were manufactured from ſome ſoft, ſilky, and fibrous plant; they throw a round hard pebble, of which they generally carried a ſmall net full about them; the ſtones were about the ſize of a ſmall fowl's egg, and flew with much force, and great exactneſs from the ſling: they had alſo a long unhandy kind of club. They uſed, in fiſhing, a fiſhing ſpear, ſmall ſeine nets, and hooks and lines; their hooks were of tortoiſe-ſhell, from which circumſtance there can be no doubt but they have either turtle in their neighbourhood, or the tortoiſe upon the iſland. They had a kind of muſical inſtrument, with which they ſometimes, in their canoes alongſide, endeavoured to amuſe us; it was compoſed of a number of hollow reeds of different lengths, faſtened together, but they did not ſeem to be very expert in proportioning their lengths, or tuning them to harmony: ſound, not concord, ſeemed to be all they expected from it; they blew into the mouth of the different reeds by drawing the inſtrument acroſs their lips, and in that manner they produced ſounds: their vocal muſic was far more harmonious, although there was not much variety in it. Thoſe who were conſidered as people of diſtinction were always to be found in a better ſort of boat than common; and I obſerved, that when any canoe came near the ſhip with people of diſtinction on board, the higher ranks were always to be known by a man ſitting in the middle of the boat, who held a wooden inſtrument in his hand, reſembling in ſhape a common paddle, but handſomely carved and painted, with its handle finiſhed ſomething like the hilt of a ſword.

'When thoſe people were diſpoſed to be kind and friendly, they frequently ſung out in one particular tone, in which, if there were five hundred together, the niceſt ear could not diſcover one to differ in the tone or particular note; and immediately after they all mimicked the barking of a dog: this was meant by them as a *certain proof* of their friendly diſpoſition. Before we had cauſe to quarrel with them many came on board and were ſhaved, an operation with which they were much pleaſed.

'This iſland, by its appearance from the ſea, I judged to be about ten miles long, in a ſouth ſouth-weſt and north-north-eaſt direction; it is not high, nor can it be called low land, but appears, when near it, of moderate height and flat: it is well covered with wood, and along the ſea ſhore were to be ſeen many huts of the natives, which were ſmall and neatly made; they were chiefly built of bamboo, and generally ſituated under the ſhade of a grove of cocoa-nut trees, with a fence or railing before them, within which the ground was well cleared and trodden, which gave their little habitations a very neat and cleanly appearance: I examined while we lay there ſeveral neat and well fenced incloſures, in which were the plantain, banana, yam, ſugar cane, and ſeveral other articles, which they ſeem to take ſome pains

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to cultivate, In ſhort, from what we could diſcover in the little time we remained there, I may venture to pronounce the iſland a perfect garden, as far as it can with propriety be called ſo in the hands of a people, who, no doubt, truſt chiefly to nature, and who are ignorant of the means of aſſiſting her, in the improvement of thoſe advantages, which ſhe has ſo bountifully beſtowed upon them.

'Although our time here was ſo ſhort, we had an opportunity of knowing that this iſland produced cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, bananas, ſugar-cane, beetle-nut, mangos, bread-fruit, and guavas. There are alſo dogs, hogs, and the common fowls, and ſome ſpices, (the nutmeg I ſaw.) Moſt of the natives chew the beetle, and with it uſed the chenam and a leaf, as practiſed in the Eaſt Indies; by which the mouth appeared very red, and their teeth, after a time, became black.

'Their canoes were neatly made, and of various ſizes, with an outrigger to balance them. I ſent the carpenter of the Sirius on ſhore, to examine the different kinds of timber; he reported to me, that he found one tree which was hard, and had ſomething like the appearance of ebony, but was not quite ſo black; all the others he tried were ſoft and ſpongy, like the palm or cabbage tree.

'The ſoil I think for richneſs beyond any I ever ſaw; it exceeded Norfolk Iſland in that reſpect: I had a man with me who had been upon that iſland from its firſt ſettlement, and who had cleared and cultivated land there; he aſſured me that this was ſuperior to any he had ever opened at that iſland.

'On the 27th in the morning, we prepared for ſailing; before we got under way, two Engliſh pointers, male and female, which had been given to the maſter of the ſhip at Port Jackſon, were ſent on ſhore, and given to a party of the natives, who ſeemed highly delighted with them; a cock and hen were alſo given to them. At ten o'clock we ſailed out of the bay. This bay was named Port Hunter; its latitude is 4° 7′ 30″ ſouth, and longitude 152° 42′ eaſt; although it is not large, it is convenient and ſafe at this ſeaſon; it lies on the north-weſt part of the iſland, and you may anchor in any part of it, from twenty-five to fifteen fathoms, but the ſhoal-water has the worſt ground: in twenty fathoms it is ſoft, with looſe patches of coral; the watering place is on the eaſt ſide, but as the tide flows up to the place from whence the freſh water iſſues, it is beſt to fill from half ebb to half flood. The water is ſo exceedingly ſoft, that there were ſome among us who were ſo prejudiced againſt it that they believed it brackiſh; a quality I own which I never could diſcover in it; I was therefore of opinion that this prejudice could only proceed from knowing that the ſalt water was ſo very near it at high water time; ſuch opinions were not however confirmed from experience, as we never felt any inconvenience from it. The tide here ſeemed to riſe five or ſix feet, but the exact period of high water was not noticed, we had ſo much buſineſs to do.'

An Account of the FLOATING GARDENS *in the Lake of* Mexico.

WE are informed by the abbé Clavigero in his hiſtory of Mexico, that when the Mexicans were brought under ſubjection to the Colhuan and Tepanecan nations, and confined to the miſerable little iſlands on the lake of Mexico, they ceaſed for ſome years to cultivate the land, becauſe they had none, until neceſſity and induſtry together taught them to form moveable fields and gardens, which floated on the waters of the lake. The method which they purſued to make thoſe, and which they ſtill practiſe, is extremely ſimple. They plait and twiſt willows and roots of

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of marſh plants or other materials together, which are light, but capable of ſupporting the earth of the garden firmly united. Upon this foundation they lay the light buſhes which float on the lake; and over all, the mud and dirt which they draw up from the bottom of the ſame lake. Their regular figure is quadrangular; their length and breadth various; but generally they are about eight perches long, and not more than three in breadth, and have leſs than a foot of elevation above the ſurface of the water. Theſe were the firſt fields which the Mexicans owned after the foundation of Mexico; there they firſt cultivated the maize, great pepper, and other plants neceſſary for their ſupport. In progreſs of time, as thoſe fields grew numerous from the induſtry of the people, there were among them gardens of flowers and odoriferous plants, which were employed in the worſhip of their gods, and ſerved for the recreation of the nobles. At preſent they cultivate flowers and every ſort of garden herbs upon them. Every day of the year, at ſun-riſe, innumerable veſſels, loaded with various kinds of flowers and herbs, which are cultivated in thoſe gardens, are ſeen arriving by the canal, at the great market-place of that capital. All plants thrive there ſurpriſingly; the mud of the lake is an extremely fertile ſoil, and requires no water from the clouds. In the largeſt gardens there is commonly a little tree, and even a little hut to ſhelter the cultivator and defend him from rain or the ſun. When the owner of a garden, or the *Chinampa* as he is uſually called, wiſhes to change his ſituation, to remove from a diſagreeable neighbour, or to come nearer to his own family, he gets into his little veſſel, and by his own ſtrength alone, if the garden is ſmall, or with the aſſiſtance of others, if it is large, he tows it after him, and conducts it wherever he pleaſes with the little tree and hut upon it. That part of the lake where thoſe floating gardens are, is a place of infinite recreation, where the ſenſes receive the higheſt poſſible gratification.

An Affecting ACCOUNT *of the* SUFFERINGS *of M. St.* Meard, *from the 22d of Auguſt to the 4th of September* 1792, *on the 2d and 3d of which Month were perpetrated the dreadful Maſſacre of the Priſoners at* Paris.

THE pamphlet from which this account is extracted, is entitled, 'My Agony of Thirty-eight hours; or, a Relation of what occurred to me, what I ſaw, and what I heard, during my Detention in the Priſon of the Abbey St. Germain; from the 22d of Auguſt to the 4th September: by Jourgniac St Meard, heretofore Captain-commandant of the King's Regiment of Infantry.'—M. St. Meard's firſt chapter contains what paſſed during the fourteen hours that he was before the municipal committee of inſpection. This committee had cauſed M. St. Meard to be arreſted on the 22d of Auguſt. He was brought to the town-houſe at nine o'clock in the morning of that day, and remained there until eleven at night. Two perſons, apparently members, ordered him to be conducted into the hall, and while one of them, overcome with fatigue, fell aſleep, the other, after telling him 'that they were all equal,' and deſiring him to be ſeated, commenced his examination. It appeared, from the interrogatories, that he was ſuſpected of having ſerved with the emigrants on the frontiers, and alſo of having conducted a newſpaper, entitled Le Journal de la Cour & de la Ville.

The ſecond chapter relates to what paſſed during ten days that M. St. Meard was confined in the priſon of the Abbey. Three ſoldiers, on his examination being cloſed, carried him to

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to this prison; and soon after his arrival he was introduced into a large hall, which had formerly served as a chapel, and where he beheld nineteen persons lying upon beds composed of mats. The one assigned to him, had been occupied by M. Dangremont, whose head had been cut off two days before. That very afternoon, when they were about to sit down to table, M. Chantereine, colonel of the king's body guards, stabbed himself three different times with a knife, after having exclaimed, 'We are all destined to be massacred—My God, I am about to fly to thee!' He died in ten minutes afterward.—On the 23d, M. St. Meard employed himself in composing a memorial, in which he unmasked the turpitude of his denunciators; (accusers) he afterward found means to send copies of it to the minister of justice, the committee of inspection, the section in which he had resided, and to all those who might interest themselves in his behalf.—About five o'clock, M. Durosoi, editor of the Gazette de Paris, was brought in. He embraced M. St. Meard, and then presented him with the following note, which he had just received from a lady greatly attached to him. 'My friend, you must prepare yourself for death; you are condemned, and to-morrow—my heart is ready to burst; but you know what I promised you. Adieu!'—While he read this billet, the eyes of Durosoi were full of tears; and when he had concluded, that unfortunate gentleman cried out, 'Alas! she will suffer infinitely more than myself.' Next day his head was cut off at the guillotine. On the 25th, the commissaries of the prison permitted an evening paper to be introduced, and on this occasion, M. St. Meard read a paragraph, which, to his inexpressible sorrow, accused him of being the editor of an aristocratic journal. At midnight, a municipal officer entered and inscribed their names, and time of confinement, upon a register. On the 28th and 29th, a number of carriages arrived with more prisoners. On the 30th, at eleven o'clock at night, a person of about eighty years of age, who proved to be M. Cazotte, author of the poems of 'Olivier, le Diable amoreaux, &c.' was introduced into their apartment. The ridiculous gaiety of this old man, and the mode of his address, which was after the eastern manner, helped to divert the prisoners, whom he attempted to persuade, by means of the history of Cain and Abel, that those in confinement were infinitely more happy, than they who enjoyed their liberty. He appeared to be exceedingly vexed that they did not seem to believe him; and, notwithstanding this, actually endeavoured to demonstrate to them, that their present situation was merely an emanation of the apocalypse.—On the 1st of September, three prisoners were liberated, who were much more astonished at their arrest, than at their deliverance from the Abbey, as they were the most zealous patriots in their respective sections.

The third chapter contains what M. St. Meard calls, 'The Commencement of my Agony of Thirty-eight Hours.'—On Sunday, the 2d of September, the jailor served up their dinner before the usual time; and this circumstance, together with his frightened air and haggard eyes, seemed to presage some sinister event. About two o'clock he returned again: the prisoners surrounded him, and asked a thousand questions, but he remained deaf to all their entreaties, and, after having carefully collected the knives which they had lately made use of, and ordered the nurse of a wounded officer to retire, he himself took his leave of them. In half an hour more, the frightful noise made by the people in the street was considerably augmented by the drums, by the firing of three pieces of cannon, and by the alarm bell, which rang in every quarter of the capital. The fears of the prisoners were greatly increased by the cries of the populace, who surrounded several coaches filled with persons

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perſons intended for the Abbey, and exclaimed, that all the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics that had been penned up there, were maſſacred. Toward four o'clock, the piercing cries of a man, who was hacked in pieces by the cuts of a ſabre, attracted the inhabitants of this dreary manſion toward the window, from which they perceived ſomebody lying dead on the pavement; a few minutes after, another was killed in the ſame manner, and ſeveral more in ſucceſſion.

'It is impoſſible,' ſays M. St. Meard, 'to expreſs the horror of that deep and gloomy ſilence which reigned during theſe executions, and which was only interrupted by the cries of thoſe who were ſacrificed, and by the blows of the ſabre which fell upon their heads! The moment that they were murdered, a low and hollow murmur took place, reinforced by the ſound of "vive la nation!" which was a thouſand time more frightful to us than the former ſilence. In the interval between one maſſacre and another, we heard it uttered under our windows—"Not one muſt eſcape; they muſt all be killed, more eſpecially thoſe in the chapel, where there are none but conſpirators!"—It was of us that they ſpoke, and I believe that it will be entirely uſeleſs to obſerve, that we more than once envied the happineſs of thoſe, who were ſhut up in the moſt gloomy dungeons.'

At five o'clock, the name of M. Cazotte, who had been removed to another apartment, was called out. The moment that this venerable old man had left the priſon, his daughter, a young woman of about nineteen years of age, precipitated herſelf upon the neck of her father, and the people affected with this inſtance of filial affection, demanded and obtained his pardon.—At ten o'clock on Monday morning, the abbe l'Enfant, confeſſor to the king, and the abbe de Chapt-[illegible] had appeared in the gallery of the council, now converted into a priſon, and after announcing to their companions that their laſt moment was faſt approaching, invited them to aſſemble around them, in order to receive their benediction. On this, they inſtantly fell on their knees, by a kind of inſtantaneous impulſe, and complied with the requeſt of theſe two venerable old men, who were maſſacred in half an hour after.—The priſoners then ſelected ſome of their companions, to repair to a turret which overlooked the ſtreet, in order to inform them of the manner in which the victims were put to death. Theſe on their return related, that ſuch as held their hands up ſuffered greater torment than thoſe who preſented themſelves boldly to the executioner: this hint they all determinted to profit by. Two things contributed greatly to comfort M. St. Meard, the firſt was a dream, during which he fancied that he was tried and abſolved by the people; the ſecond, a converſation with one of the national guards, whoſe favour he had acquired, by addreſſing him in his own provincial dialect.—At two o'clock in the afternoon, the priſoners received ſome water from the jailor, for the firſt time in twenty-ſix hours, an omiſſion on his part, which a federate would have avenged with his blood, but for the interpoſition of the ſufferers.—After the death of a young officer, who appears to have endured great torture, on account of the bluntneſs of the executioner's ſword, the people, who had hitherto been greatly agitated, became calm, and ſeveral voices cried out mercy! mercy! This circumſtance ſeemed to infuſe a glimmering of hope into the minds of thoſe confined in the chapel. At ten o'clock, they were marſhalled two and two, and conducted toward the tribunal where they were to be re-examined; ſuch indeed was M. St. Meard's good fortune, that by the kindneſs of the centinel, before-mentioned, he was permitted to be preſent at two trials, a circumſtance which contributed not a little to his advantage. After an agony of thirty-ſeven hours, infinitely more horrible than death, a wicket was opened, his name

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name called out, and three men having seized him, he was dragged forward in order to receive his sentence.

The fourth chapter of this affecting account is entitled, 'The last Crisis of my Agony;' which he thus relates: 'By means of the light of two torches, I perceived the terrible tribunal, which was about to pronounce either life or death upon me. The president, dressed in a grey coat, and having a sword by his side, was leaning against a table covered with papers, pens, ink, pipes, and bottles. This table was surrounded by ten persons, either sitting or standing, two of them were in waistcoats and aprons; others slept upon the benches. Two men whose shirts were stained with blood, and whose hands were armed with sabres, guarded the door, while an old turnkey kept his hand upon the bolt. The moment that I was brought before this bloody and expeditious court, in presence of which the best protection was to be entirely destitute of any, and where all the resources of the imagination were of no effect, provided they were not founded upon truth, two of my guards took hold of my arms, while the third seized me by the collar of my coat.'

The president having demanded his name and profession, and handed his commitment and accusation to the assistant judges, one of them intimated to the prisoner, that the least prevarication would ruin him. Having refuted all the charges adduced against him, and proved that he was neither an emigrant, nor the editor of one of the aristocratic journals, one of the judges, or rather jurymen, addressed him thus:

'You say, sir, that you are neither this, nor that: what are you then?

'Why, to tell you my mind frankly, I have been a royalist.

'Here a general murmur took place, which was miraculously appeased by one of the judges, who appeared to interest himself in my behalf, and who spoke word for word as follow:

"It is not in order to judge opinions, that we sit here; it is to judge the actions that result from them."

'Scarcely had these precious words been uttered, when I exclaimed, "yes, gentlemen, I have been an open royalist, but I was never paid for being so. I have been a royalist, because I thought that a monarchical form of government was most congenial to my country; because I loved the king freely, and on his own account."

'The murmur that now took place was more flattering than the former; in short, the president, after having taken off his hat, addressed the tribunal as follows: "I do not see any cause of suspicion against this gentleman; I therefore grant him his liberty. Is it your opinion?" [all the judges] "yes! yes! it is but just!"

Scarce had the verdict of not guilty been pronounced, when every person in the apartment rose up and embraced the late prisoner. The president then sent a deputation to the people, to instruct them that St. Meard was acquitted.

The moment that it returned, M. St. Meard was desired to be covered, and to follow them. As soon as they entered the street, one of them cried out hats off! citizens, this is a person for whom your judges demand aid and assistance. On this, he was surrounded by a number of torches, and embraced by all who surrounded him, the spectators at the same time exclaiming 'vive la nation!' He was then escorted to his own house, by three persons appointed for the purpose; one was a mason, the second a journeyman wigmaker, the third a federate; and notwithstanding their situations seemed to be far from affluent, on being offered a pocket-book full of assignats, they rejected it with disdain, exclaiming, 'we do not follow this trade for money! your friend there (pointing to a gentleman who had exerted himself for his preservation) has promised us a glass of brandy; we will drink it, and then return to our post.'

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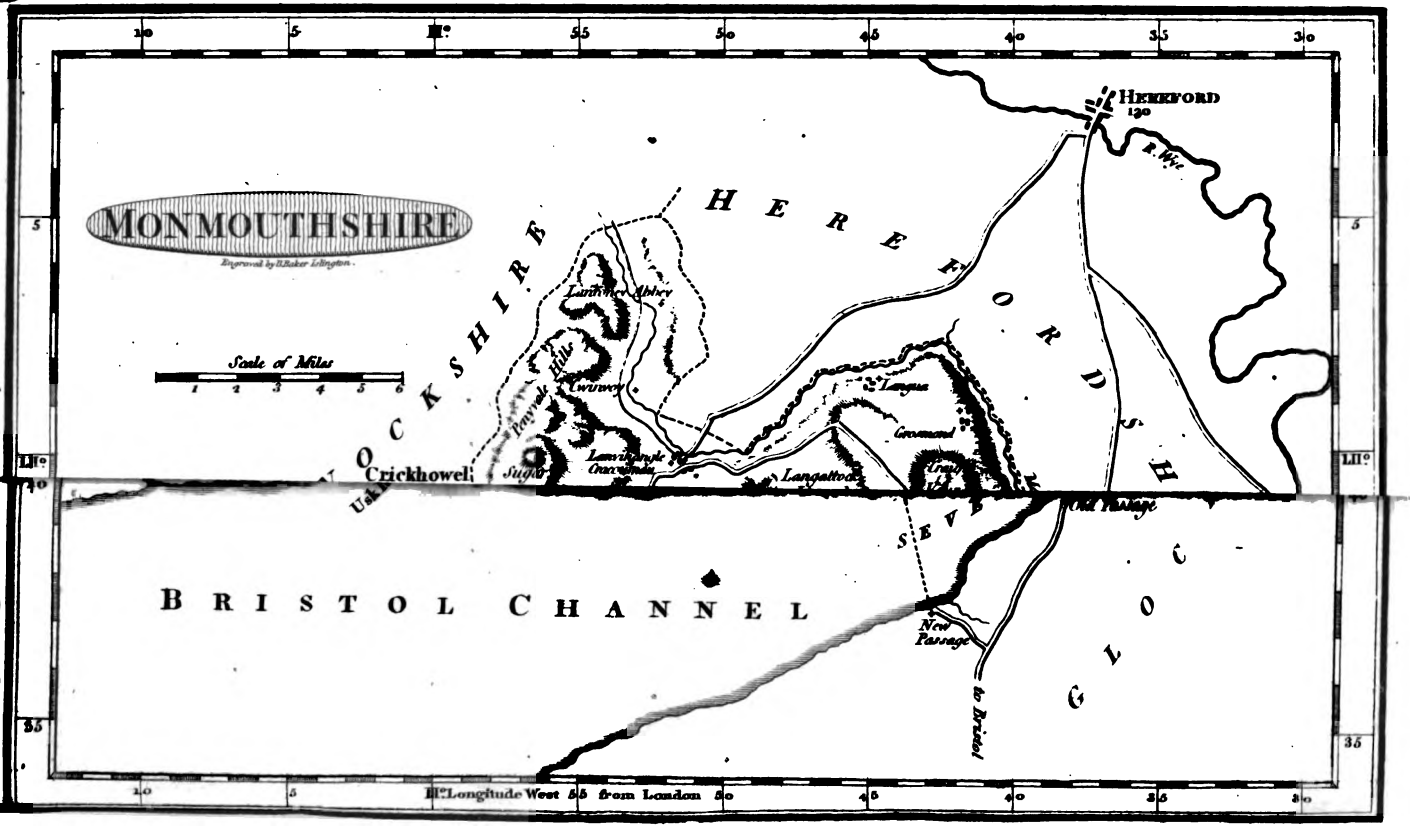
MONMOUTHSHIRE
Engraved by B.Baker Lillington
Scale of Miles
1 2 3 4 5 6
HEREFORD
120
R. Wye
HEREFORDSHIRE
Llanwarne Abbey
Garway Hill
Llanvihangel Ystern Llewern
Llangua
Grosmont
Langattock
Crickhowel
Usk
Bristol Channel
Severn
Old Passage
New Passage
Bristol
GLOUCESTERSHIRE
Longitude West 3° from London
2° 1° 0° 1° 2° 3° 4° 5°
51° 52° 53° 54° 55°

It is impoſſible to read this narrative, without remarking, that it bears evidence of a fact, hitherto unexampled perhaps in hiſtory; that of a frantic populace paying an implicit obedience to the ſentence of a tribunal, created and protected by themſelves. Every thing indeed ſeems to prove, that men, who amid the delirium of exceſs were ever ready to interpoſe their clemency, in behalf of thoſe pointed out to them as proper objects of mercy, could never have been urged to ſuch outrageous violence, had not their paſſions been worked up to vengeance, by the arts of a few blood-thirſty and unrelenting miſcreants.

An Account of MONMOUTHSHIRE: *With a neat and accurate* MAP *of that County.*

MONMOUTHSHIRE, which was formerly conſidered as one of the counties of Wales, is bounded on the north by Herefordſhire; on the eaſt by Glouceſterſhire; on the ſouth-eaſt by the river Severn, at its mouth; and on the weſt and ſouth-weſt by the counties of Brecknock and Glamorgan in South Wales. Its extent, from north to ſouth, is about twenty-four miles, and from eaſt to weſt, twenty. It lies in the dioceſe of Landaff; is divided into ſix hundreds; contains ſeven market-towns, and 127 pariſhes; and ſends three members to parliament, namely, two for the county, and one for the town of Monmouth. The air is temperate and healthy, and the ſoil fruitful, though mountainous and woody. The hills feed ſheep, goats, and horned cattle; and the vallies produce plenty of graſs and corn.

Dyer deſcribes this county, and the adjacent parts of Herefordſhire and Glouceſterſhire, which lie weſt of the Severn, by its ancient name of Siluria, with great poetical beauty.

Land of various views,
Hills, rivers, woods, and lawns, and purple groves
Pomaceous, mingling with the curling growth
Of tendril hops, that flaunt upon their poles,
More airy wild than vines.

Monmouthſhire is extremely well watered by ſeveral fine rivers; for, beſide the Wye, which parts this county from Glouceſterſhire; the Mynnow, which ſeparates it from Herefordſhire; and the Rhyney, or Rumney, which divides it from Glamorganſhire, it has almoſt peculiar to itſelf the river Uſk, which enters the county, from Brecknockſhire, a little above Abergavenny, runs chiefly in a ſoutherly direction, by the towns of Uſk, Caerleon, and Newport, and falls into the Briſtol Channel. This river divides the county into two unequal portions, the eaſtern and largeſt part of which is a tract, fertile, in the whole, in corn and paſture, and well wooded. It abounds with limeſtone, which is burnt on the ſpot for the general manure of the country. The ſmaller weſtern portion is mountainous, and, in great part, unfavourable for cultivation; whence it is devoted to the feeding of ſheep. It has ſeveral long narrow vallies, watered by ſtreams that fall into the Briſtol Channel. All the rivers above-mentioned, particularly the Wye and Uſk, abound with fiſh, eſpecially ſalmon and trout.

Monmouthſhire, as already obſerved, was formerly reckoned one of the counties of Wales; and, from the names of its towns and villages, its mountainous rugged ſurface, as well as its ſituation beyond a large river, the Wye, which ſeems to form a natural boundary between England and Wales in this part, it certainly partakes moſt of the character of the latter country, though it is comprehended in the civil diviſion of the former. The gentlemen here generally ſpeak Engliſh, though the common people uſe the Welſh language. The manufacture of this county is flannels.

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PROCEEDINGS *of the Third* SESSION *of the Seventeenth Parliament of* Great Britain, *continued from Page* 384.

ON Tuesday, May 7, Mr. Stanley opened the adjourned debate on Mr. Grey's motion for a parliamentary reform, by profeſſing himſelf to be a friend to that reform, but that conceiving there was too much danger, at the preſent time, to venture upon a change, he ſhould vote againſt the motion, although, at a proper ſeaſon, he ſhould be one of the foremoſt to ſupport ſuch a meaſure.

Mr. Buxton followed Mr. Stanley to the ſame effect.

Mr. Duncombe was not convinced, that either the war in which we were engaged, or the French principles which had been propagated, rendered that motion improper or hazardous at the preſent period. The war he hoped would not be a laſting objection, for as the ends of the war were in ſome degree obtained, he hoped ſpeedily to ſee a reſtoration of that tranquillity, which, under the adminiſtration of the right hon. gentleman, had rendered the country in an eminent degree proſperous. He ſaw no danger in the importation of French principles, being convinced that the nature of Britiſh liberty, which was true rational liberty, could not be contaminated, or in any degree injured, either by the exceſſes of Frenchmen, or by the abſurdities of Paine. He had long been an advocate for a reform, on the acknowledged principles of the conſtitution, not on general ſuffrage, which was a change he ever would reſiſt. A rational reform, he was certain, muſt one day take place. Of this opinion was that great authority, the late earl of Chatham, who had predicted, that the abuſes in parliamentary repreſentation would not be continued longer than the preſent century; and notwithſtanding the century had but a very few years longer to continue, he firmly believed that the prediction of that great ſtateſman would be verified. The houſe had then an opportunity to grant that with a grace, to which they would be under the neceſſity of conceding. That it would be wiſe, by timely reforming, to do the buſineſs gracefully, might be proved by ſad experience of the ill conſequences of waiting for compulſion. Had the American tax act been withdrawn previous to the commencement of the war, the blood and treaſure expended in that war, and the loſs of America, might have been avoided; and had Charles the Firſt made thoſe conceſſions, which he was ultimately compelled to make, two years previous to ſuch compulſion, his unfortunate fate might have been avoided. He urged, therefore, the wiſdom of a ſpeedy reform, and of ſweeping away the corrupt ſyſtem of borough repreſentation, which it was a mockery to call a repreſentation of the people.

Sir William Young contended, that the motion was a plan to open the repreſentation to numbers and to property, which was contrary to every principle of the repreſentation of the country. The repreſentation of numbers and property would go to a ſyſtem of eternal change, and be fatal to the conſtitution. The houſe, at preſent, was well-poiſed: the propoſed reform would deſtroy the balance, and give a complete aſcendency to the commercial over the landed intereſt. He ſaw, in the meaſure propoſed, the ſeeds of that miſchief which had deſtroyed France, and againſt which he deemed it the duty of every Engliſhman to exert himſelf to the utmoſt.

Sir William Milner oppoſed the motion, not on account of the danger attending it, which, he thought, no longer exiſted, but that it appeared to him, that the country at large was not deſirous of any ſuch meaſure.

Mr. Francis, alluding to the objection of the danger that would reſult from the propoſed meaſure, obſerved, that the motion was now oppoſed on the ground of the country being at war. It was to be remembered, however, that when propoſed laſt year, the country was in full enjoyment of peace, and then, as in the preſent day, though the circumſtances of the country had experienced a melancholy change, the time was not thought a fit one. But to thoſe who objected to the motion, as going to an immediate reform, he begged to obſerve, that the motion had no ſuch object. It went merely to a preliminary inquiry into facts; and every meaſure of reform was wholly out of the queſtion for the preſent ſeſſion. Here Mr. Francis took notice of the frequent alluſions to the affairs of France. He wiſhed that his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) in particular, would argue fairly, and not throw into one ſcale all the vici-

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ous conduct of the French, which every man muſt reprobate, but that he would at the ſame time lay ſome ſtreſs upon the deſpotiſm that preceded and gave birth to the ſubſequent abominable proceedings. It was his firm opinion, that had the men in power in the reign of Louis XIV, or in the ſubſequent reigns, made thoſe conceſſions which appeared long ſince to have been neceſſary to prevent convulſions, the revolution, and all its horrid conſequences, would have been avoided; or had the late unfortunate king made, at an early period, the twentieth part of thoſe conceſſions which in 1789 he was compelled to make, he might ſtill have been on his throne in ſafety. The hon. gentleman, after this digreſſion, ſaid, it was notorious that ſeats in that houſe were bought, in defiance of all the laws made to prevent it; and he was convinced that ſuch would remain the practice until a thorough reform took place. If a reform were denied, it would be wiſe to repeal the laws againſt buying and ſelling ſeats, for as they were now bought and ſold, the public reaped no advantage; but were thoſe laws repealed, the ſeats might be ſold by public auction, and the revenue might at leaſt benefit by the duty on the ſale. He quoted lord Cheſterfield's letters to his ſon, as a proof of ſeats having been ſold at that time for three, four, and five thouſand pounds, the price for which had not ſince diminiſhed. Gentlemen might endeavour to conceal or do away the evident conſequences of ſuch a mode of obtaining ſeats, by hypocritically aſſerting, that members ſo coming in, were actuated by a wiſh to ſerve the public, and that they had not any other views. Such aſſertions he would leave to be credited by thoſe who were ſo diſpoſed.

Lord Mornington roſe againſt the motion, which, from the manner it had been opened by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Grey) exhibited the true and eſſential queſtion before the houſe, to be plainly this: Is it, or is it not neceſſary to change the conſtitution? The hon. gentleman had fairly ſaid, that if the grievance of which the petition complained were met, the effect would be a change of the government of the country. As ſuch was the buſineſs before the houſe, it was their duty to pauſe: it was their duty, before they deſtroyed the conſtitution, or the frame of that houſe, to conſider what materials they had again to build with, before they parted with what they had: it would be prudent to examine what they were to receive in its ſtead. He would ſubmit three queſtions to their conſideration: Firſt, what was the nature, extent, and value of the practical benefits we enjoyed under our preſent conſtitution; and whether thoſe benefits would be endangered by a change of the conſtitution? Secondly, he would propoſe, what was the extent of the evil to be redreſſed? Was that evil connected with the frame of the conſtitution of that houſe; and, did the evil overbalance the good? And thirdly, whether, upon a change of the government, there exiſted a chance of ſubſtituting another, more likely to enſure to us the great bleſſings we did enjoy by our preſent conſtitution? His lordſhip, ſpeaking to the firſt queſtion, diſplayed the conſtitution as the admiration and envy of ſurrounding nations; a conſtitution by which life, liberty, and property were ſecured; a conſtitution which gave a legiſlative democratic aſſembly, in which the pooreſt man in the kingdom was ſure to find an advocate. Theſe advantages had long ſubſiſted with the frame of the government, and ſhould be well conſidered before any change was attempted. To the ſecond queſtion he argued, that the nature and extent of the evil was not ſo connected with the frame of the government, as to induce any wiſe man to change that frame. The evil bore no compariſon to the good, for the good was great and evident, the evil conjectural. With reſpect to the third queſtion, if a conſtituent aſſembly, of which ſome gentlemen were fond, ſhould be aſſembled, to conſider of a government, he doubted whether ſuch an aſſembly, eſpecially by what he had ſeen of conſtituent aſſemblies in the preſent times, would be able, though aided by the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Grey's) beautiful theories, and impreſſive oratory, to produce a government equal to that which exiſted, productive of perſonal ſecurity, of public proſperity and happineſs. If ſuch an aſſembly ſhould be compoſed of wiſe men, they would not heſitate in their choice, but would prefer that government which had been tried, and found practical to every good end, in preference to the moſt beautiful theory which had not experience to recommend it. After dwelling upon the experienced benefits ariſing from the conſtitution we poſſeſſed, and upon the ſpirit inherent in it, which enabled the country, after depreſſion, to riſe with redoubled ſtrength, and with ſuperior glory, in the face of all her enemies, he concluded by conjuring the houſe

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to hold fast that conſtitution they did poſſeſs, and to hand it down to poſterity unimpaired, as the greateſt of all human bleſſings.

Mr. Whitbread ſaid, that an attempt was made to confound the terms conſtitution and government, as if the reform of one branch of the latter could be conſtrued into a total ſubverſion of the former. It was incumbent upon thoſe who, at all times, had oppoſed every propoſition of reform, to come forward, and, by going fairly into the inveſtigation, to ſet the queſtion for ever at reſt. The members of the aſſociation to which he belonged, had offered to prove every fact which they had ſtated. Let the queſtion therefore be brought to the teſt, and if the aſſertions were found to be falſe, let the aſſertors be puniſhed. To the charge made againſt the Friends of the People, of coaleſcing with men profeſſing different principles, he replied, that when aſſociations were formed for the purpoſe of ſtrengthening the executive government, which had already in its hands all the powers of the law; and where the purpoſe could only be to ſurrender another portion of the rights of the people, it was thought proper, by a number of gentlemen, to aſſociate in favour of the liberty of the preſs. In this effort, he was happy to ſay, that they had not been unſucceſsful. The exertions of the aſſociations declined in proportion as they came forward.—To the time in which this queſtion was brought forward, the miniſter had laſt year objected, on the ground that French principles had been but too ſucceſsfully propagated. A ſufficient reply to this appeared in the roar of loyalty which came from every part of the kingdom on the firſt dextrous alarm of danger.

Mr. Anſtruther ſaid, that he could not diſſociate the doctrines of the Friends of the People from thoſe of the Conſtitutional Society; and that the former, whatever may be the purity of their intentions, may not be able, at a future period, to allay the ſtorm which they had raiſed. They had engaged themſelves under circumſtances of which they could neither ſee the event, nor direct the courſe. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Grey) had himſelf admitted, that repreſentation was not a right, but as intended to eſtabliſh a good government. If that were true, why ſhould we quarrel with a ſyſtem of repreſentation, which had given to us a conſtitution that was the envy of Europe and the world?

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, that he felt more than common anxiety to expreſs his opinion. Under the new circumſtances which preſſed on his conſideration, all the arguments which had induced him to vote againſt agitating the ſubject of reform laſt year applied with double force to the preſent day. Under the weight of theſe new circumſtances the fate of the preſent motion not only involved the happineſs of millions by ſetting afloat the queſtion, but, in the manner in which it was brought forward, ſtruck at the fundamental principles of the conſtitution.—His reaſons for deprecating the agitation of the ſubject laſt ſeſſion were confirmed by all that had happened out of the kingdom ſince that period; by all that had happened within it, including the petitions that had been preſented, praying the houſe to take it up, and the motion on which they were that night to decide. He thought it improper laſt year, firſt, becauſe it was improbable that any good conſequence could ariſe from a motion made in terms ſo vague, and in a moment of ſuch ſerious alarm, when the ſpecific and limited motion that he had made, in very different circumſtances, and with great ſupport from the moſt conſiderable men, had failed, from the ſuſpicion that it could not be attempted without hazard to the conſtitution. If ſuch ſuſpicions prevailed at a time of profound peace, when the public mind was diſturbed by no chimeras, they were more likely to prevail laſt year, when the horrid examples of France, flowing directly from the looſe that had been given to the imaginations of the multitude, were before the eyes of men. And believing that the motion, under ſuch circumſtances, was not likely to ſucceed, he thought the agitation of it unwiſe, and even alarming. Though the gentlemen who brought forward the motion, might have no other than the profeſſed object of a moderate reform; yet there were men on the watch who had other than moderate views; who encouraged the proſecution of a parliamentary reform, only becauſe they conſidered it as the beſt means of promoting their ſecret object, a complete overthrow of all the *exiſting* eſtabliſhments of the kingdom. He had then oppoſed the motion, becauſe it led, under all the circumſtances of the time, to overturn that conſtitution, which all the true friends of a moderate reform were only anxious to improve, becauſe they were deſirous to preſerve. As a friend to a moderate reform, he conſidered it has his duty to oppoſe the motion, under

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der ſuch circumſtances; becauſe, having looked at the object in the only way in which a ſerious man muſt contemplate a meaſure of ſuch importance; having conſidered the good to be obtained by complete ſucceſs on the one ſide, and the evil to be riſked by failure on the other, he had reſolved to relinquiſh (for the time at leaſt) the proſecution of a meaſure, where the good became, every day, more problematical, and where the evil had increaſed to a gigantic ſize. The problematical good had been leſſened by the ſanguine theories that had taken poſſeſſion of men's minds, which made them deſpiſe all thoſe ideas of moderation, which alone had occupied his mind. He had fairly declared, that if he were compelled to make an option between the ſtate of our repreſentation as it is, and that wild ſcheme of univerſal ſuffrage which is the dangerous viſion of enthuſiaſts, he could have no heſitation in his choice. He muſt rather forego reform altogether, than engage in an enterpriſe which might even remotely tend to change the frame of our conſtitution. He had alſo ſtated that a reform had at that time become leſs urgent, becauſe the people had, for a long time, enjoyed unexampled proſperity, and that therefore it was unwiſe. It was imprudent, at leaſt, to riſk the loſs of their tranquillity, by agitating doctrines that, in a neighbouring kingdom, had produced ſuch terrible diſorder. How was this argument met by the gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide? The riſk of alteration was not denied; the example of the calamities of France was not diſavowed; but it was ſtated to be the preciſe time to hold up the ſtandard of a moderate reform, and thereby to divert the people from the mad and dangerous extreme of univerſal repreſentation. Theſe gentlemen had formed themſelves into a ſociety on this very ground; *they* were to guide, and to be guided by, the public mind: *they* were to point out to the public underſtanding, a moderate and prudent plan of reform, to which they were to attract general concurrence, and they, in their turn, were to be governed by what they ſhould diſcover to be the general ſentiment; which ſentiment being aſcertained, it was to be ſet up as a barrier againſt all wild and extravagant projects; and to be our ſecurity againſt the confuſion which an oppoſite conduct had produced on the continent. If, upon preſenting this idea to the public, they found them averſe from the purſuit of a reform of any kind, they would acquieſce, they ſaid, in the ſentence of the nation, without farther agitating the people or parliament on the ſubject. In this way it was left at the end of the laſt ſeſſion; and he expected, that on this their public declaration, they would have conſidered it as their firſt duty to ſhow the concurrence of the public in the propoſition which they ſhould ſtate to the houſe. He would bye and bye ſhow what ſort of concurrence they had obtained. In the mean time, all the arguments he advanced againſt a reform laſt year were doubly ſtrong againſt it at preſent. What had happened out of the kingdom was a leſſon of admonition, of alarm, which, he truſted, would operate in their minds, and on the minds of the people at large, to the moſt remote poſterity. What had happened in France! Another year of exceſſes, of maſſacres, depredation, and horror of every kind! Another year of ſuch enormities as demoliſhed all the traces of thoſe that preceded it! The image of all the crimes on which he had formerly animadverted faded away, when contraſted with the new monſters of cruelty and devaſtation, which the preſent year exhibited. Before this, we had ſeen only the germ and bloſſom of their new tree of liberty; but now we have ſeen the fruits, and theſe fruits were the regular produce of the ſtock whence they ſprung. Every thing came in its order: in perfect and regular gradation from the principles which they had ſown. They had endeavoured to ſow the ſame ſeeds here, and to tranſplant the ſame tree to England, and, *under the ſhape of proſelytiſm*, they had, by emiſſaries, encouraged their growth, and they had uſed the ſame means of culture which had thriven in France. They had ſcattered the rights of man, and planted affiliated ſocieties. Thank God! the good ſenſe of the people of this country had taken a ſeaſonable alarm, and had checked the growing evil. But, though the ſpirit was ſtifled, it was not deſtroyed. It durſt no longer ſhew itſelf in its proper aſpect, of inſurrection, but it took now the more plauſible cover of parliamentary reform. A ſhallow and palpable diſguiſe! It was a curious fact, that every one of thoſe affiliated ſocieties, as ſoon as the aſſociations of loyalty and reaſon had manifeſted the genuine ſenſe of the country, in oppoſition to French principles, inſtantly embraced the plan of a parliamentary reform. Let gentlemen look at the petitions upon the table. There were ſeveral of different kinds; but it was remarkable, that

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that they had all been brought in by the gentlemen oppoſite. A few only came from England; the greater part from Scotland. Though they came from quarters moſt diſtant from each other, as remote in intereſt as local ſituation, and where communication was apparently impoſſible, or certainly improbable, there was a family likeneſs which ran through the whole, by which they might eaſily be traced to the ſame origin. With only one or two exceptions, and with a ſlight arithmetical difference of ſome millions, in eſtimating the national debt at 280 millions inſtead of 240, and our annual taxes at 20 millions inſtead of 16, this ſimilitude run through the whole. They were the ſame too in the prayer, namely, deſiring an election by a majority of the people. What weight was to be allowed to petitions of this ſort? They were evidently fabricated by a few. They ſhewed a deſign, carried on by a few perſons, to alter the frame of our conſtitution. If theſe petitions did expreſs the opinion of the people, what was the opinion which they expreſſed? the demand of univeral ſuffrage. The queſtion, therefore, on which the houſe would this night determine, was, whether they ſhould appoint a committee, to deliberate on a ſet of petitions, of which the object was to overthrow the conſtitution.

He deſired to know, whether the houſe ought to recede from the conduct they held laſt year, or whether the ſociety of the Friends of the People, after having, for twelve months, tried in vain to procure the concurrence of the people, ought not to deſiſt, according to their engagement, from the farther proſecution of their object? This the houſe had a right to expect from them; for after all their induſtry, they have brought forward only one ſolitary petition, beſide thoſe, which went to the complete deſtruction of our preſent ſyſtem. They ſhould have come forward and ſtated, what they have found to be the caſe, that the public was ſatisfied with their condition; and that therefore they relinquiſhed the farther proſecution. He had entertained the hope that ſuch would have been their conduct; but he was deceived. They had brought forward their petition; and he requeſted the attention of the houſe to the reaſons alleged for ſuch a procedure. They did not deny the horrors of France; they did not deny the attempts that had been made to propagate ſimilar doctrines in England; but their argument was, that the burſts of loyalty in every part of the kingdom proved that the queſtion might be diſcuſſed in England, without fear of engendering the ſame exceſſes as in France. They ſaid, that the very experiment that had been made on the temper of their countrymen, was a ſecurity againſt any evil that might be dreaded. It was true, that the loyalty and good ſenſe of the people had checked the attempt that was made to inculcate the ſame doctrines that had ruined France; but was it not alſo true, that ſocieties out of number had ſhewn a diſpoſition to act upon theſe doctrines, until their voice was ſtifled by the acclamations of the whole kingdom? But would it be prudent, now that they were checked, to revive and ſpirit them up, by ſetting afloat the queſtion again? If the nation had expreſſed its loyalty, and its ſatisfaction with the conſtitution as it was, would it be right for the houſe to act upon this general expreſſion of loyalty and ſatisfaction, or on the demand of theſe petitioners who came forward to declare their wiſh of ſubverſion? For the prayer of their petitions, in deſiring election by the majority of the people, went directly to the ſubverſion of the original frame of our conſtitution. Which of the two parties ſhould the houſe liſten to?—to the whole nation, ſatisfied and determined to maintain the good they enjoy, or to the ſmall portion of the people who are diſſatisfied, and who deſire to depart from fundamental principles? They were exactly at the ſame iſſue on this queſtion, as all the nations of Europe were on the queſtion of French principles. The queſtion on which the houſe was to decide, was preciſely the ſame on which all the nations were in arms, viz. whether they ſhould maintain the principles of their government, or overthrow them? They had, in the trial, the vantage ground undoubtedly; for more than ninety-nine out of the hundred had declared for ſatisfaction againſt diſſatisfaction. To enter into the views of this ſmall portion, would be again to divide the people, and that at a time when they were threatened with attacks from abroad, which made it of the utmoſt conſequence to preſerve them from diſcord.

The next point for diſcuſſion was, the preciſe nature of the motion. The petition of the ſociety only was moved to be referred to the committee. But he ſuppoſed, that all the petitions were intended to be ſo referred. The direct object of all the petitions, except the ſingle petition that originated from the ſociety, was 'univerſal ſuffrage;' and the motion, as well

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as its honourable makers, were equally silent upon a specific plan of reformation. This aggravated in his idea, the danger in ten-fold magnitude: though he had himself formerly made a similar motion to the present, to wit, for referring it to a committee to deliberate on the best means of reforming the representation, without presenting to them any specific plan; yet he was soon taught, that it was a very dangerous step to set the matter afloat loosely and vaguely, and he felt the necessity of presenting to Parliament a definite object; which, accordingly, in 1785, he had done.

It was true that, in introducing the motion, the hon. gentleman had given a very just explanation of the right upon which representation was founded. He had stated it not to be an abstract right, but a right of expedience, as applied to the condition of this country, to the manners, customs, and ideas of the inhabitants. This too was exactly his own idea. To talk of abstract right of representation, was to arrogate to the representative system a superiority over all others: whereas the only intelligible and legitimate doctrine concerning governments was, that what was good for one country, from its climate and other properties, might not be applicable to another. The ideas of a Roman would differ from those of an Athenian. The Roman, the Athenian, the Lacedemonian, would each defend the merits of his particular constitution, and each might be good, as applied to the country where it was established, and the citizens for whose advantage it was designed. The hon. gentleman, therefore, was right in stating, that the only right for which he contended, was the right of expediency; but he so widened his ground, as to open the door even to the advocate for abstract right. He did not exclude even universal suffrage; but on the contrary, avowed, that rather than maintain the present state, he would, if forced to make an option, prefer even universal suffrage. So much did he differ from the hon. gentleman in this respect, that he knew of no plan which he would not prefer to universal representation.—The plan which he had proposed some years ago, and which he still thought the best that he had heard, the hon. gentleman liked the least, while, in his turn, he had no specific point to go to; but there was one specific point he was determined to go from, namely, from the present frame of our constitution. Could he make himself an associate in such a journey? Could he set out in a course that had no definite end, but which certainly departed from a home in which they had lived safely and prosperously? To shew that the friends of the people were not so moderate also, as they affected to be, he read a passage from their letter to the people of Sheffield, in which, in answer to their desire of advice as to the propriety of a national convention, they said, 'On the particular measure which you propose for collecting the opinion of the people, we do not think it a proper course now; the time may come when it may be so.'—He was clearly of opinion therefore, from every view of the subject, that if the house were to adopt the motion, instead of giving content to the people of this country, they would give uneasiness and alarm. It had been said, that in refusing all reform we acted on the principles which had guided the national councils in the American war, that there we had refused all relief to repeated prayers; and that, following the same obstinate course, we might drive the people to despair. He did not wish to tread over the ground of the American war; but in this essential particular, the case differed from the present: *they* asked for specific relief. We are desired here to give what nobody asks, but to give, on the contrary, what the nation has declared to be unnecessary, This is not what they recommend, gradual concession; for the petitions on the table pray for individual suffrage, a thing utterly unknown to the constitution of Great Britain. He could not agree to deliberate upon this proposition. In truth he had deliberated upon it. The circumstances of Europe had made every man deliberate upon the great question in the science of government, whether the universal will should be brought into action.—He would state his reasons for opposing the monstrous and incompatible theory.—The friends of a moderate reform were solicitous to invigorate the constitution, by distributing the elective franchise in a more perfect way than, perhaps, it was at present; but they had no idea of innovating the system by extending it to the whole mass of the people. The elective franchise might be distributed with benefit to the community, provided that the great fundamental doctrine of keeping it still in a select body, should be preserved. He averred, that this was the fundamental principle of our representation, and that in every period of our representation, the electors had been few.

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It had never entered into the imagination of our anceſtors to ſpread this right through the whole maſs of the people. His plan went merely to regulate the diſtribution of the franchiſe. It added ſomething, perhaps, to the numbers, but its principal view was to change the quality rather than augment the numbers. To take it from ſuch of the decayed boroughs as ſhould be inclined to yield it for an indemnity, and to throw what would thereby be taken from them, among the counties, cities, and larger towns. He thought that the wiſdom of parliament might have formed a plan for ſuch a progreſſive change; but to ſubmit to a committee petitions, praying for univerſal repreſentation, was a meaſure to which he could never agree. It was a complete departure from the baſis of our ſyſtem; it changed the very groundwork of that glorious fabric which had given to this nation more durable happineſs than had ever fallen to the ſhare of any other people. In adopting the principle of univerſal repreſentation, we muſt adopt the code from which it ſprang. 'The abſurd code of the Rights of Man—the pernicious doctrine of natural Equality;' a code and a doctrine which never exiſted here, and for which he muſt look to another quarter; for which he muſt look to thoſe men, who, acting upon this code, had overthrown all the eſtabliſhments that exiſted in their native country. It was a matter that muſt follow of courſe, that wherever the doctrine of *natural equality* exiſts, and is acted upon, it muſt demoliſh every eſtabliſhment. For let us apply it in practice to repreſentation and government. A man has a natural right to chooſe his repreſentative. An univerſal repreſentation takes place in this country. But in this country there exiſts a body of 230 forming a diſtinct ſtate, who have equal power with this repreſentative body, choſen by the whole people. The king forms a third ſtate in the legiſlation, and he has the whole executive power in his hands. Here then are two ſtates, original and eſſential branches of the Britiſh conſtitution, which are utterly inconſiſtent with univerſal repreſentation. By the doctrine of natural equality, every man has an equal right to a ſhare in the government. But by our conſtitution, men have not an equal right to the office of king, or to the ſecond eſtate in the legiſlature, and therefore this natural equality is a monſter, unknown to the conſtitution of England. Wherever that monſter exiſts, it muſt confound all diſtinctions. It muſt level all eſtabliſhments, and by its univerſal repreſentation melt all orders of ſociety into one promiſcuous maſs, as it has been inculcated in the codes of the rights of man, and atteſted in the maſſacres of France.

In reaſoning with Engliſhmen upon the queſtion, 'Whether we ſhould retain the frame of our conſtitution, which confines the elective franchiſe to a few, or change the entire baſis, by ſpreading it all over the community,' he ſhould think it unneceſſary to ſay a word, *but* that the new-fangled doctrines, had gained a certain footing, and weak minds were liable to be miſled by the deluſion. To bring the people together in primary aſſemblies; to introduce into government the diſorder of individual will; was to make a government weak only for good purpoſes, ſtrong only for evil; efficient only for tumult, inſurrection, rapine, and maſſacre; inefficient for internal order, peace, and ſecurity, for external protection and defence. The idea of uniting individual will in a government, was to bring together all the heterogeneous paſſions, whoſe contention was to fix upon a country the diſorder, which it was the purpoſe of legitimate government to prevent. It tended, by putting into commotion all the paſſions of the multitude, to bring a people through the horror of anarchy, to a practical tyranny. For under the miſerable pretext of individual will, the people were ſummoned to primary aſſemblies, and to national conventions, their paſſions inflamed, to the deſtruction of all ſober induſtry, of quiet neighbourhood, of obedience to the laws, of moderation, and of all virtue: and, in this ferment of their minds, they are made the dupes and tools of the cunning few, whoſe ambition and intrigue aſpire to the ſupreme rule. Such a government ceaſed to be a government for good purpoſes; and became the impure ſource of devaſtation and maſſacre. It put men into a ſtate, not merely of perſonal inſecurity, but even of mental derangement. Thus we had ſeen, in a neighbouring country, that in every province, where theſe doctrines had ſpread, the life of man was at the mercy of ruffians; the whole was a ſcene of rapine and murder; while their inſanity filled the dictionary with new phraſes, and we heard of municipalities in a ſtate of *permanent revolution*, and the people in a ſtate of *ſovereign inſurrection*. This doctrine of natural equality led, therefore, only to national as well as individual ruin; and this

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this government of the many was in fact the uſurpation of the few.

To all propoſitions, therefore, that went to any change of the conſtitution of Great Britain upon ſuch principles, he ſhould give his ſteady and conſtant diſſent. He ſaw, in the petitions upon the table, the ſeeds of thoſe principles in their demand of univerſal ſuffrage. He found in the whole plan of their authors, the ſame ideas actuating their conduct; and therefore he had no heſitation in declaring, that he thought it his public duty to oppoſe them to the utmoſt of his power, and he accordingly ſhould vote againſt the motion.

Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that the ſpeech of the right hon. gentleman was an extraordinary effort of his great ſplendid talents. He had appealed, with his utmoſt ſkill, to the pride and the paſſions of the aſſembly. The right hon. gentleman had been aware that he was addreſſing his auditors upon a ſubject that required all his art, and therefore it was, that all the art he was maſter of was uſed. It was a topic worthy of the higheſt art—that of convincing a great number of men, that his conduct at this moment was not inconſiſtent with, although perfectly different from, his former profeſſions. He thought, however, that the right hon. gentleman would have confined himſelf a little more to an explanation of the ſubject on which ſo much objection had been taken to his conduct. Inſtead of this explanation, he had found out a great number of auxiliary evaſions. The right hon. gentleman now objected to his hon. friend's motion upon this ſubject, becauſe it did not contain a ſpecific plan; and yet it was a little whimſical, that this objection ſhould ariſe from that right hon. gentleman, becauſe he himſelf had propoſed preciſely the ſame ſort of motion. But the right hon. gentleman was now convinced of the impropriety of that meaſure.—What was it that convinced him?—Was he afraid that the propoſal of aſking for a committee to inquire into the truth of any allegation of the corruption of parliament might be attended with ſucceſs?—Did he fear he ſhould be obliged to carry a plan for a parliamentary reform? But the change of the right hon. gentleman's mind upon this part of the ſubject was ſtill more inapplicable, for he ſaid even now, that he had not totally abandoned all thoughts of perſiſting in ſome meaſure for a parliamentary reform; and yet he ſeemed to ſay, that he ſhould never agree to any plan upon that ſubject, that had not ſome ſpecific remedy to a ſtated grievance. This was the more to be wondered at when it was remembered, that when that right hon. gentleman made one of his motions for a parliamentary reform with a ſpecific remedy, he was negatived by a large majority. But when he moved it merely as a plan for a committee of inquiry, ſuch as the preſent motion was, he was reſiſted only by a majority of twenty, in a full houſe. Whatever the right hon. gentleman might think, he, for his part, had no doubt but that a motion for a committee of inquiry was the moſt eligible plan that could be propoſed upon this ſubject. This he ſaid for many reaſons; one in particular, was the facility with which objections could be ſtated. This petition therefore, in his opinion, was a proper one. It ſtated certain grievances, which the petitioners were ready to prove at the bar of that houſe, and he knew not upon what principle of juſtice it was, that the houſe could refuſe entering into an inquiry. But there was ſaid to be a great objection remaining to this petition, from the nature of its allegation, as well as the prayer of it; for it went to aſk, that which was againſt the principles of our conſtitution. Gentlemen had laid great ſtreſs upon what they ſtated in that reſpect, which was that the whole ſyſtem of our repreſentation was ſelect; that a ſyſtem of general repreſentation would deſtroy the whole of the ſpirit of the conſtitution; and that repreſentation was not matter of right. Gentlemen, in making this obſervation, were confounding the means with the principle. The principle of our conſtitution was repreſentation, the means were ſelection and diſtribution. To illuſtrate this, he read the preamble of an act, paſſed in the reign of James I, in which was ſtated, that the whole of the commons were preſent when the bill paſſed their houſe. This was always the principle of the conſtitution. Another thing ſtated as an objection to the petition, was, that it went to aſk for an univerſal repreſentation. But that was not the fact; the petitioners did not claim the right of univerſal ſuffrage. But gentlemen urged, as another objection to the granting of the prayer of this petition, the danger which would attend it; and ſome went ſo far as to ſay, that if there were a full and complete repreſentation of the people in that houſe, there would be an end of the other two branches of the legiſlature; for that the power of the commons would be ſo great, that king and lords would be voted uſeleſs. Sentiments

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more miſchievous than theſe were never uttered within the walls of that houſe; and he was ſure, that if the repreſentation of the people were complete to-morrow, the people of this country had too much good ſenſe to inſtruct their repreſentatives to affect the juſt prerogative of the king, or to diminiſh the privileges of the nobility: they would not ſuffer their agents to do any thing of that nature, becauſe they knew that if they did, their own power would be in danger. He would repeat it, that the good ſenſe of the people would have their own intereſt in view, and that if the repreſentation of the people in the houſe of commons were complete, the king would be firmer upon his throne than he was even at this moment. Another objection made by the right hon. gentleman was the danger of tranſacting buſineſs in this caſe through the medium of delegates. How the right hon. gentleman had, on a ſudden, formed ſuch a diſlike to delegates he did not know, but it reminded him of what had happened on a former occaſion, when this ſubject was under the direction of the right hon. gentleman himſelf. They had then delegates, and he (Mr. Sheridan) happened to know this, becauſe he was one of the committee himſelf; ſo far was it from being thought at that time an impropriety, that the hon. gentleman determined on carrying on the buſineſs in that very manner: and the lord-mayor of London gave them the uſe of Guildhall to tranſact their buſineſs, and gave them and the delegates all the encouragement he could to proceed upon the plan which they had commenced; but now the word *delegate* ſeemed to be diſagreeable to the right hon. gentleman. Indeed, there ſeemed to him to be a great deal of inſincerity in the conduct of the right hon. gentleman upon this ſubject. He ſhould have told thoſe who had now brought this matter forward, that they were not to expect his aſſiſtance; this would have been infinitely more manly than his preſent behaviour. He wiſhed him to tell the friends of parliamentary reform when he thought he ſhould lend them his aſſiſtance; or to ſay that he never will.—He had proved he was of opinion that permanent proſperity was not the time. He had proved too that a time of war was not the time. Should they have the aſſiſtance of the right hon. gentleman after the war with France was over, or ſhould we then be told, that the French being ſubdued, we ſhould not ſuffer any alteration in our own conſtitution. He ſhould either ſay at what time he ſhould lend that aſſiſtance, or to ſay that he was in the wrong when he brought the ſubject of parliamentary reform forward, and ſince that time he had ſeen his error, and had therefore abandoned his principle. He had rather hear that the right hon. gentleman had abandoned it altogether, than to find that he abandoned it only while he was miniſter, and that he ſhould take it up again when out of power, becauſe that would caſt a ſhade upon the whole ſubject, and make the people of this country think there was nothing like honeſty among thoſe who profeſſed love for the rights of the people, and the people might therefore deſpiſe all parties, and come to a determination of doing every thing for themſelves. The right hon. gentleman had intimated, that the people were not deſirous of a parliamentary reform, and that only a few individuals had expreſſed that wiſh. Upon this occaſion, he referred to the ſpeech of an hon. gentleman (Mr. Duncombe) early in this debate, and there it would be found, that that hon. gentleman had ſaid, that he believed the prediction of the late earl of Chatham would prove true, that a reform in parliament would be had before the end of the preſent century. It had been ſaid, that the meaſure propoſed would be dangerous at the preſent moment, on account of the connexion between France and this country. There could not be a more unfair argument than this, becauſe nothing could be more different than the diſpoſitions of the people of France, and the people of this country. The one knew, and had enjoyed, for a long time, a certain portion of liberty; the other had but juſt ouſted their deſpotiſm; and therefore to refuſe to enquire into this ſubject on that account was ridiculous. The right hon. gentleman had ſaid much on the vigour of our conſtitution. He never ſhould attempt to deny, that the vigour of our conſtitution produced wealth; on the contrary, he allowed that wealth roſe out of the conſtitution; but if we perſiſted in not taking care to preſerve that conſtitution by every means in our power, the very wealth it produced would be the means of its deſtruction, and the wealth which the conſtitution had been the means of acquiring, was the beſt reaſon why a reform ſhould take place.—As to the general challenge of proving the abuſes which ſubſiſt in our government, he muſt anſwer—Some then of the abuſes, and of which a reform of parliament was the only remedy, were, that

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that peers of the other house sent in members to the house of commons by nomination—That the crown sent in members into that house by nomination too—That some members of that house sent in members by their own nomination also. (All these things made a farce of an election for the places for which these gentlemen returned) That men were created peers without having been of the least service to the public in any action of their lives, but merely on account of their parliamentary influence (the present minister had been the means of creating 100 of them. He did not blame him, but the fault was in the system of our government)—That corruption was the pivot on which the whole of our government affairs turned—That the collection of taxes was under the management of wealthy men in parliamentary interest, the consequence of which was, that the collection of them was neglected—That to make up the deficiency, excisemen must be added to the excise. (This soured the temper of the people)—That neither in the church, army, navy, or any public office, was any appointment to be given, but in consequence of parliamentary influence. That, in consequence, corrupt majorities were at the will of the minister. He, therefore, gave the motion his most hearty assent.

Mr. Adam said, that much as he respected his hon. friend who presented the petition, he saw no advantage that could arise from taking it into consideration. All the objections it contained to the present form of the representation were stated in nearly the same manner by Dr. Paley, but with an inference very different from that of the petition. 'The objections,' said Dr. Paley, 'are of a nature to strike only at first sight, and to disappear on more accurate examination. It was, therefore, highly necessary to consider, when any alteration was proposed, whether the benefit to be gained was equal to the risk to be incurred.' This doctrine had his entire assent; and to refer the petition to a committee would shew only what they knew before, that there were inequalities in the representation. The next point to be enquired into was, whether the representation, in its present form, was such as to secure to the people those rights which were the end of all government. It had been said that the best of all possible governments would be absolute monarchy, under a wise and virtuous prince. This he denied, for although a wise and virtuous prince might maintain those rights to the people, they had no security for their being continued. Civil rights could not be secure without political rights; and the question now was—Had we such political liberty as to secure the possession of our civil rights? That we once had was admitted. A learned friend of his (Mr. Erskine) admitted that the representation was sufficient for this purpose before the revolution. Since the revolution he affirmed that the constant operation of all changes had been to extend the personal and contract the virtual representation. The various acts passed to secure the independence of elections, were proofs of this; and the increase of wealth and population had added much to the number of electors in the great towns. There was also another reason. The debates in that house were more generally known and more particularly attended to. Every member knew when he was speaking that his arguments and conduct would be discussed by the public at large. He, therefore, was clearly of opinion, that the representation, in its present form, was fully adequate to all the purposes which it was intended to answer. For these reasons he should vote against the motion.

Mr. Fox said, that the right hon. gentleman, in his arguments against the motion, had had recourse to the mistake that the object of the present motion was universal suffrage: against this, which made no part of the motion, more than half his speech was employed, and every idea of that part borrowed from what had been urged against himself ten years ago by those who opposed his first motion of reform.—He was obliged to admit, that his hon. friend who made the motion disclaimed universal suffrage for his object; but then, he said, look at the petitions, only one of which however contained this doctrine. Was he ready to say, that when he brought forward his motion in 1782, none of the petitions then before the house contained the very same? But, in addition to the evidence of the petitions, his hon. friend had on some other occasion, met certain people at a tavern, known advocates for universal suffrage, which was almost proof positive that his hon. friend was so too. How did this sort of inference operate against the right hon. gentleman himself? When he brought forward his plans of reform, he was acting at all points with the duke of Richmond, the great apostate of universal suffrage; and it was no very unreasonable supposition, that his very first motion on the subject of reform

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reform might have been concerted with his grace at Richmond houſe. If then, men's intentions were to be canvaſſed by ſuppoſed privity to the deſigns of others, the privity of the right hon. gentleman to the duke of Richmond's ſyſtem of univerſal ſuffrage could not be denied, and he muſt be pronounced guilty by his own rule.

The right hon. gentleman's next objection was to the mode; the very ſame mode which he himſelf had adopted. On more mature conſideration he had altered his mode; but here he muſt intercede for the right hon. gentleman's juvenile judgment, and, in particular, requeſt that he would not inſiſt on dragging through the dirt all thoſe who had ſupported him in his firſt motion. What reaſon he had for changing a motion, which he loſt only by twenty votes, was perhaps better known to himſelf than to others; but he had no right to ſay that a motion of the ſame kind was more dangerous now than his own in 1782. He who had ſupported all his motions for reform, thought the firſt the leaſt objectionable of them all. The mode of proceeding lately inſiſted upon, that a member who propoſed the redreſs of any grievance muſt move a ſpecific remedy, before the houſe could take the grievance into conſideration, was directly contrary to the moſt approved parliamentary practice. The member who moved for a committee might go into it with a ſpecific ſtatement, which he might ſee reaſon to alter, unleſs indeed the right hon. gentleman had got an excluſive patent for altering opinions, or the committee, ſuppoſing the grievance to be proved, might ſuggeſt a plan of their own, ſubject, like every other, to future modification or rejection by the houſe, when it appeared in the form of a bill. Such was the moſt convenient and the moſt ordinary mode of proceeding in all matters of great importance. Now what was got by the right hon. gentleman's ſpecific plan? He owed an apology to all thoſe who voted for it, and to him (Mr. Fox) among the reſt, and who, although they approved of a parliamentary reform, did not approve of his particular plan, but truſted, that when the general queſtion was carried, they ſhould be able to frame the plan in a leſs exceptionable manner. Theſe were the preciſe conditions on which he then called for the ſupport of all who wiſhed well to parliamentary reform, and now he pretended to ſay that, by ſupporting it, they pledged themſelves not to the general queſtion, but to the particular plan. The general rule was for all who agreed on the exiſtence of a grievance, and the neceſſity of a remedy, to concur as far as they could, and then to debate the particulars at a more advanced ſtage. This was a ſufficient anſwer *ad hominem* to the right hon. gentleman, and to all the arguments againſt the mode. All thoſe who wiſhed well to the general ſubject ought to concur in ſupport of the motion, and if that were carried, the ſpecific plan would come properly under diſcuſſion in a future ſtage.

Another objection was to the time. When the right hon. gentleman made his motion, he alleged as the reaſon for it, that there were no adequate means of ſupporting a good miniſter, or of repreſſing a bad one, without a reform in the repreſentation; that to the inadequacy of the ſyſtem, had the misfortune of the American war been owing, and that it was neceſſary to provide againſt the nation's falling into a ſimilar calamity. What had ſince happened to make the calamity leſs to be dreaded, or the precaution leſs inexpedient? Under the adminiſtration of the marquis of Rockingham, an adminiſtration of which he approved, the right hon. gentleman firſt propoſed reform, and that too in a time of war. Under another adminiſtration, of which he did not approve, he again propoſed it, and in time of peace. On neither of theſe occaſions did he conſider the character of the miniſtry as at all affecting the expediency of his motion, nor had he ever argued on it in that way. A third adminiſtration ſucceeded, of which he certainly did not entertain a bad opinion, for he was at the head of it himſelf; ſtill he maintained all the doctrines he had held before on the neceſſity of reform. His reaſon could not be that he diſtruſted the virtue of the then houſe of commons; for it was a favourite houſe of commons, on all occaſions much extolled by him: ſuch a favourite, indeed, that his plan of reform was not to commence till after the diſſolution of parliament. Thus under all poſſible circumſtances of time; in time of war; in time of peace; under an adminiſtration which had his confidence; under an adminiſtration that had it not; and when he himſelf was miniſter, had the right hon. gentleman agitated the queſtion of reform. What was there now to make it improper for another to do that which it had been proper for him to do in every variety of time and circumſtances? The proſperity of the country was no argument againſt reform, for it was not urged as a neceſſary

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measure to restore prosperity, but to give security to the prosperity which we enjoyed. That security by the right hon. gentleman's own admission, no change of ministers, nothing else could give; for he had moved it when minister himself, and he did not surely distrust his own administration. What objection could he raise to reviving the question of reform in a house of commons which he had found so favourable to him on every other subject. He would hardly venture to say that the house of commons had been so uniformly complaisant to him, that he was sure they would never support a bad minister. Had they often joined him in opposing ministers whom he thought bad, he might indeed say that they would never suffer misconduct in a minister; but on nine years experience of support to his own administration, it would be rather too much to make the same inference. There could be no objection to the motion being made now, except that it was made by his hon. friend, instead of the right hon. gentleman. In the pride of his new wisdom, his present self felt such contempt for his former self, that he could not look back on his former conduct and opinions, without a sort of insulting derision. As lord Foppington in the play said—'I begin to think that, when I was a commoner, I was a very nauseous fellow'—so the right hon. gentleman began to think, that when he was a reformer, he must have been a very foolish fellow: he might nevertheless have retained some degree of candour for his hon. friend, who had not yet received the new lights with which he was so marvellously illuminated. If the right hon. gentleman had rested his objections on the change of circumstances produced by the events in France, his argument would have been rational, or at least consistent. But he appealed to his recollection, whether he had not in 1785 argued as earnestly against personal representation, and painted the dangers of it in colours as strong as he had done now. The events in France, therefore, had produced no aggravation of the danger in his view of the subject, but rather made it less, in as much as the example of its effects in France had brought it into utter discredit in the mind of every thinking man; and what he had not considered as an objection to his own motion in 1785, he had no right to insist upon as an objection to the motion of his hon. friend now.

He had always disliked universal representation as much as the right hon. gentleman; but that dislike was no reason for charging it with more mischief than was fairly imputable to it. It had not been the cause, as the right hon. gentleman alleged, of all the evils in France. The first, or constituting assembly, was not elected on this plan, but on old usages and old abuses. Yet that assembly had done some of the most unjustifiable things done in France. It had despoiled the clergy without regard to situation or character, and destroyed the nobility. The second, or legislative assembly, was not chosen by individual suffrages; for when the constitution was framed, wild as the French were, they had laid many restrictions on individual suffrage, and made the distinction between active and inactive citizens. It was therefore unjust to charge on it what was done by assemblies elected before it was brought into use. France, after doing great honour to herself by shaking off her old intolerable despotism, had since been governed by counsels generally unwise and often wicked. But what had this to do with our reform? It had been said that French principles, though not more detestable than the principles of Russia, were more dangerous and more to be guarded against, because more fascinating. Would any man now say, that French principles were fascinating? What then had we to fear from what no man in his senses would wish to copy?

Mr. Fox, toward the conclusion of his speech, explained his ideas of universal suffrage. His objection to it was not distrust of the decision of the majority, but because there was no mode of collecting such suffrages, and, that by attempting it, what from the operation of hope on some, fear on others, and all the sinister means of influence, that would so certainly be exerted, fewer individual opinions would be collected than by an appeal to a limited number. Therefore holding fast to the right of the majority to decide, and to the natural rights of man, as taught by the French, but much abused by their practice, he would resist universal suffrage. If he could collect all the wisest men of every age and country unto our assembly, he did not believe that their united wisdom would be capable of forming even a tolerable constitution. In this opinion he was supported by the unvarying evidence of history and observation. Another opinion he held, (no matter whether erroneous or not, for he stated it only as an illustration) viz. that the most skilful architect could not build, in the first instance,

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ſo commodious a habitation as one that had been originally intended for ſome other uſe, and had been gradually improved by ſucceſſive alterations ſuggeſted by various inhabitants, for its preſent purpoſe. If then ſo ſimple a ſtructure as a commodious habitation was ſo difficult in theory, how much more difficult the ſtructure of a government. One apparent exception might be mentioned, the conſtitution of the United States of America, which he believed to be ſo excellently conſtructed and ſo admirably adapted to their circumſtances and ſituation, that it left us no room to boaſt that our own was the ſole admiration of the world. The exception, however, was only apparent. *They* had not a conſtitution to build up from the foundation; they had *ours* to work upon and adapt to their own wants and purpoſes. This was what the motion now recommended to the houſe, not to pull down, but to work upon our conſtitution, to examine it with care and reverence, to repair it where decayed, to amend it where defective, to prop it where it wanted ſupport, to adapt it to the purpoſes of the preſent time, as our anceſtors had done from generation to generation, and alwaystranſmitted it not only unimpaired, but improved, to their poſterity.

Mr. Fox then proceeded to examine the queſtion, whether the houſe of commons, as now conſtituted, was adequate to the purpoſes for which it was intended? He examined the conduct of the houſe, from the commencement of the American war to the preſent time, from which he ſhewed that it was not reſpected by the crown, by the peers, nor by the people as it ought, and was conſequently inadequate to the ſtation it ſhould hold in the conſtitution and the ſecurity of true liberty.

The queſtion being put, the houſe divided, for referring the petition to a committee 41; againſt it 282.

[To be continued.]

THE BRITISH MUSE.

ODE for his MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Eſq.
Poet Laureat.

WHEN blind Ambition drives his car
Impetuous thro' the ranks of war,
Tho' Fame her notes of triumph breathe,
Tho' ſhouts of conqueſt ſoothe the ear,
Yet o'er the victor's blood-ſtain'd wreath,
Reflection drops the penſive tear;
But at Oppreſſion's lawleſs head,
When War's vindictive bolts are ſped,
When at the Deſpot's ſhrinking breaſt,
When o'er Sedition's haughty creſt
Stern Battle ſhakes the avenging ſpear,
And teaching headſtrong Arrogance to fear,
Mercy herſelf ſhall conſecrate the cauſe,
While Juſtice points the ſword that Indignation draws.

Tho' Albion many an ancient ſcar
Still bears on her indented breaſt,
In every age by Gallic war
Or Gallic perfidy impreſs'd,
Yet o'er their fields when Rapine ſtood,
When Factions drench'd their towns with blood,
No memory of inſult paſt
Urg'd her to ſwell Contention's blaſt;
With grief ſhe view'd their ſinking ſtate,
With tears deplor'd her rival's fate;
Their chiefs, whoſe falchions yet were red
With her beſt blood in battle ſhed,
Found friendly refuge on her happy ſhore,
She knew they were diſtreſs'd, nor e'er remember'd more.

Yet when invaſion's raging flood
Burſt dreadful o'er each ruin'd mound,
And, ſwell'd by carnage and by blood,
Threaten'd the trembling nations round;
While Europe from Batavia's wat'ry plain
By Commerce ſnatch'd from Ocean's wide domain,
To ſouthern ſeas that gently lave
Baia's mild ſhores with tepid wave,
Look'd up, where on her rocky throne
Unaw'd Britannia ſits alone,—
'Go forth, my ſons, in Freedom's cauſe!' ſhe cry'd,
Check'd was the torrent's courſe, and reſluent roll'd the tide.

What tho' on this auſpicious day
Her offering to the beſt of kings,
Pluck'd from the ſober olive's ſpray,
The duteous Muſe no longer brings;
Yet while the laurel's warrior bough
Now decks his youthful hero's brow,
Untouch'd by rapine's hand profane,
Unſoil'd by dark ambition's ſtain,
Albion once more with kindling flame
Renews her ſcenes of ancient fame,
Again ſhe ſees in fields of glory ſhine
Her ſons of dauntleſs breaſt, her chiefs of royal line.

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THE NURTURE OF LOVE,

An Allegory: From the French.

IN the isle of Cytherea, when Love first was born,
His mother, so proud and so fond of her son,
Thus spoke, while affection her cheeks did adorn,
'I will nurse him myself; I'll intrust him to none.'
But the child though so young, as he lay in her arms,
At the sight of her beauties was struck with amaze,
And neglecting his food, to contemplate her charms,
All night, and all day, he did nothing but gaze.

When Venus thus found that the babe could not thrive,
She summon'd her court, and inquir'd of each fair,
If they knew of a wet-nurse to keep him alive;
For 'twas Love, and his safety demanded their care.
Then Candour, and Tenderness, offer'd their aid;
Serenity then fain the child would relieve;
And Modesty too, that sweet elegant maid:
But alas, lovely nymphs, they had nothing to give.

Some thought Complaisance was most likely to do,
Though had she been accepted, the babe had been spoil'd;
Some said Pleasure; but Venus, his mother, well knew
If Pleasure were chosen she'd ruin the child.
In short, in this juncture, when none could decide,
One at length mention'd Hope, who she thought might succeed;
They sent for the damsel, the infant was try'd,
And he found that her milk was delightful indeed.

But then gay Enjoyment, who had vainly suppos'd,
She would have been chosen, was jealous, they say;
And enrag'd that to Hope such a charge was repos'd,
Employ'd all her arts to entrap him away.
In the habit which Innocence wore, she presum'd
To offer her service, the cradle t' attend;
When Hope being deceiv'd by the dress she assum'd,
Accepted, and thought she could on her depend.

It happen'd one day, Hope inclining to sleep,
Fatigu'd with the cares which her station requir'd,
Entrusted her servant the infant to keep,
And amuse it while she to her slumbers retir'd;
Then the goddess so false, who till now had deceiv'd,
Fill'd the child with what dainties soe'er it desir'd;
Who in pleasing delirium, her favours receiv'd,
And soon on her bosom with kindness expir'd.

S. M.

SONNET, to the BLACKBIRD.

MELLIFLUOUS songster, warbling wild,
In hazel copse, and shady grove,
Charming my ear, whene'er I rove
By morning bland or evening mild,
Melodious Blackbird! Nature's child!
Thy rural strains are far above
The notes of art! Sweet bird, I love
To have my hours by thee beguil'd,
When thro' the live-long day I've toil'd,
Or sitting in the gay alcove,
How pleasing then, thy accents prove.
Oh may thy nest be ne'er despoil'd:
May Heaven preserve thee from the fowler's snare,
And make thy mate and thee, the objects of its care.

S. M.

The SHIPWRECK, a SONNET.

FAR o'er the sea on heaving billows tost,
A distant vessel sore beset appears;
While driving onward to the rocky coast,
A furious gale the hapless pilot bears.
Now tost aloft she flies a giddy height,
Then sinks in gulfs that secret depths disclose.
Ah!—there she vanish'd from my eager sight;
And o'er her decks the liquid mountains close!
O! could the pitying muse but fly to save
The wretched sailor, sinking in the main,
Bear him secure above the stormy wave,
And safe return him to his port again,
Gladly she'd snatch him from the whelming deep.
But ah!—'tis all she can to pity, and to weep!

EUSEBIUS.

SON-

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SONNET to IMPATIENCE.

ONE only object can admittance gain,
One only wish the eager thought employ,
One only hope can whisper promis'd joy,
To him, who feels thy sharply goading pain.
Impell'd by thee, the swift excursive mind,
By bounds still unrestrain'd can widely soar;
Can wing its rapid flight from shore to shore,
And leave the mountains, vales, and seas behind.
Well it can cheat slow-creeping Time's delay,
And bring the distant object into view;
From ev'ry hope its warm desires pursue,
Remove the interval of years away:
Yet ah!—the labour is but just begun,
Time and our tardy steps too slowly run!

EUSEBIUS.

The RURAL MUSE.

Mihi parva rura, &
Spiritum Graiæ tenuem Camœnæ
Parca non mendax dedit. HOR.

WHERE whisp'ring zephyrs gently breathe
In murmurs thro' the op'ning glade,
Where pliant woodbines twining wreath,
With jessamines, the fragrant shade;

Where bounteous Nature lavish strews,
With various flow'rs the fertile plains;
There would I cultivate the muse,
And learn to sing the past'ral strains.

Oft o'er the verdant heath I'd stray,
Or ramble thro' the flow'ry fields;
From some tall brow I'd oft survey,
The varied charms the country yields.

What beauteous scenes each vale unfolds!
Rich pastures, meadows, fields of corn!
With what pure joy each eye beholds,
Plenty their verdant fields adorn!

When jovial rustics brown'd with toil,
In scatter'd troops are making hay;
And sporting as they work the while,
With pleasure innocently gay:

While the tall cocks that scatter'd round,
In rows are raised on the green;
With pleasing contrast deck the ground,
And add new beauty to the scene.

When bending harvest o'er the fields,
(The gift of Ceres' bounteous hand)
Prone to the reaper's sickle yields,
And well-earn'd sheaves bestrew the land.

The tall spine pointing to the skies,
The fertile orchards planted near,
Where yon few smoky columns rise,
Point out the village hamlet there.

There on the spacious level green,
Around the maypole met to dance,
Jocund and blithe the rural scene,
The village swains and maids advance.

The homely cot just rears it's head,
Above its little orchard's height:
Like Virtue is the humble shed,
Modestly conceal'd from sight.

Often beneath the lowly cell,
Contentment chooses to reside,
There Virtue oftener found to dwell,
Than in the splendid halls of pride.

Retir'd far from the busy scene,
Of cities tumult, strife, and noise,
Here solid pleasures, joys serene,
The contemplative mind enjoys.

If e'er the silent hours invite
When soft the moon's pale lustre shines,
To wander by her shadowy light,
Beneath the lofty grove of pines,

Philomela midst the shady trees,
Warbles her sweet nocturnal note;
While soften'd by the whisp'ring breeze,
Her accents more melodious float.

Would you taste the joys of peace?
Blessings of health would you enjoy?
In these dear realms of silent ease,
No storms will e'er your peace annoy.

A thousand charms adorn the plain,
And health those various charms does crown;
Which few of those can e'er obtain,
Who dwell within the smoky town.

EUSEBIUS.

ODE to INNOCENCE.

From PETER PINDAR'S Epistle to the Pope.

O NYMPH of meek and blushful mien,
Lone wand'rer of the rural scene,
Who loves't not the city's bustling sound,
But in the still and simple vale
Art pleas'd to hear the turtle's tale,
'Mid the gay minstrelsy that floats around!

Now on the bank, amid the sunny beam,
I see thee mark the natives of the stream,
That break the dimpling surface with delight;
Now see thee pitying a poor captive fly,
Snapp'd

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Snapp'd from the lov'd companions of his joy,
And, ſwallow'd, ſink beneath the gulfs of night.

Now ſee thee, in the humming golden hour,
Obſervant of the bee, from flow'r to flow'r,
That loads with varied balm his little thighs,
To guard againſt chill winter's famiſh'd day,
When rains deſcend and clouds obſcure the ray,
And tempeſts pour their thunder thro' the ſkies.

Now ſee thee happy, with the ſweeteſt ſmile,
Attentive ſtretch'd along the fragant ſoil;
Beholding the ſmall myriads of the plain,
The piſmires, ſome upon their ſunny hills,
Some thirſty wand'ring to the cryſtal rills,
Some loaded bringing back the ſnowy grain;
So like the lab'ring ſwains, who yet look down
Contemptuous on their toils and tiny town!
Now ſee thee playful chaſe the child of ſpring,
The winnowing butterfly with painted wing,
That buſy flutters on from bloom to bloom;
Purſuing wildly now a fav'rite fair,
Circling amid the golden realm of air,
And leaving, all for love, the pea's perfume.

Now ſee thee peeping on the ſecret neſt,
Where ſits the parent wren in patient reſt;
While at her ſide her feather'd partner ſings;
Chants his ſhort note, to charm her nurſing day;
Now for his loves purſues his airy way,
And now with food returns on cheerful wings.

Pleas'd could I ſit with thee, O nymph ſo ſweet,
And hear the happy flocks around thee bleat;
And mark their ſkipping ſports along the land;
Now hear thee to a fav'rite lambkin ſpeak,
Who wanton ſtretches forth his woolly neck,
And plucks the fragrant herbage from thy hand.

SONG.

OF pleaſure, not of wealth I ſing;
Not ſplendour, but content's my theme:
Of joys that from affection ſpring,
From friendſhip, virtue, and eſteem.

The lowly ſhed, the humble cot
Intrinſic gems like theſe improve,
For bleſt we ever find thy lot
Domeſtic peace, and happy love.

On a BEE ſtifled in HONEY.

FROM flow'r to flow'r, with eager pains,
See the bleſt buſy lab'rer fly;
When all that from her toil the gains,
Is in the ſweets ſhe hoards to die.
'Tis thus, would man the truth believe,
With life's ſoft ſweets, each fav'rite joy;
If we taſte wiſely, they relieve;
But if we plunge too deep, deſtroy.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY. *Sunday, June 2.*

Whitehall, June 1.

CAPTAIN Maitland, of the 63d regiment, arrived this afternoon with a diſpatch from major-general Cuyler to Mr. Dundas, ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, of which the following is a copy.

Head quarters, Tobago, April 18, 1793.

SIR,

IN my letter of the 4th inſt. I had the honour to acquaint you, that I then only waited for the arrival of vice-admiral ſir John Laforey, to carry into execution the contents of your letter of the 10th of February laſt.

Having previouſly ordered to be embarked the neceſſary artillery, ſtores, proviſions and camp equipage, on board of ſome faſt-ſailing ſchooners hired for the purpoſe, I acquainted the admiral, upon his arrival at Barbadoes on the 10th inſtant at noon, that we were ready to proceed.

His majeſty's the Truſty of 50 guns and Nautilus of 18, being equally ſo, the embarkation of the detachment of royal artillery, and of nine companies of the 4th battalion of the 60th regiment, took place on the 11th inſtant. Theſe, with the two flank companies of the 9th regi-

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ment, under the command of major Baillie, which were brought from St. Kitt's by the admiral's ſhip, compoſed the whole of the force for the expedition, a return of which I have the honour herewith to incloſe to you. The Truſty, Nautilus, and Hind ſchooners being inſufficient for the reception of the troops, I accepted of the voluntary offer of captain Spencer, of the merchant ſhip Hero, to convey a part of the 4th battalion of the 60th regiment.

The 12th of April we ſailed: the 14th inſtant, at one o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived in Great Courland bay.

The neceſſary orders having been given for the diſembarkation and diſpoſition of the troops on landing, the whole was on ſhore by three, together with twenty-five marines from the Truſty, commanded by major Bright, which the admiral moſt readily granted upon my application.

We immediately advanced within ſight of the enemy's fort, whence I ſent a ſummons to monſieur Monteil, lieutenant-colonel of the 31ſt regiment, and commandant of the iſland, to ſurrender. He refuſed.

The ſituation of the enemy's work, which they had lately been ſtrengthening to the utmoſt of their power, was evidently much ſtronger than I had been taught to believe, and every day increaſed this ſtrength. Our numbers were unequal to the operations of a ſiege. Seeing there was no time to be loſt, I determined to aſſault the poſt that night.

The troops lay upon their arms at the place where we had halted until one o'clock, at which time we formed, and marched at half paſt one, leaving the artillery, under the care of lieutenant Hope and the detachment. We had more than two miles to proceed.

The men were poſitively forbidden to fire, but to truſt entirely to the bayonet, the ſmallneſs of our number not juſtifying a diverſion to favour the general attack, which was determined to be on the north-weſt ſide, where I had reaſon to believe the work was moſt imperfect.

We reached the town of Scarborough undiſcovered, but here we were fired upon from a houſe by ſome of the French inhabitants, which gave the garriſon the alarm; however no return of fire or delay was made.

In conſequence of a negro, who ſerved as a guide to the grenadiers, running away, a part of the column ſeparated in mounting the hill; this occaſioned a delay and ſeparation that could not be rectified during the night, which was extremely dark. Separated however as they were, the troops approached the fort; the light infantry and a part of the grenadiers on that ſide where the fort was moſt defenceleſs, and where the whole were to have made their effort.

The other part of the troops having taken the road which led directly to the barrier, and the enemy's fire commencing on the flank companies, the former advanced to attack the barrier under a heavy fire of round and grape ſhot and muſquetry, which drew the attention of the enemy to this part of the work; and the flank companies at that moment puſhing forward, very gallantly entered the work, upon which the enemy ſurrendered, and the humanity of the Britiſh troops accepted of them as priſoners of war.

Great praiſe is due to the officers and men for their behaviour, and particularly to major Baillie and major Gordon, the latter of whom left the command of his battalion, and ſolicited to lead the two light companies.

I cannot ſufficiently expreſs the obligations I am under to vice-admiral ſir John Laforey for his ready and zealous exertions and aſſiſtance to us in every ſtep of the buſineſs. I am alſo greatly indebted to lieutenant-colonel Myers, of the 15th regiment, and to lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, of the royal artillery. I had ſent for the former from Dominica, as being an officer of known abilities, and had choſen him as a proper perſon to be at the head of the quarter-maſter general's department in this country, to which I have appointed him deputy, until his majeſty's pleaſure be known.

Incloſed I have the honour to ſend you a return of the killed and wounded, and of the priſoners taken in the fort, alſo of the enemy's artillery and ſtores.

This diſpatch will be delivered to you by captain Maitland, of the 60th regiment, acting deputy adjutant-general, who has been with me theſe five years, and is well qualified to give you much information relative to this country. With the greateſt reſpect, I have the honour to be, Sir, Your moſt obedient, &c.

C. CUYLER.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

Tobago, April 14.

BEING ordered by his excellency general Cuyler to proceed with a flag of truce to the fort, to ſummon the commandant of the French troops to ſurrender to the

Britiſh

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British forces, I left the general at a quarter past four, at the distance of three miles from the fort, where I arrived at half past five, and being blindfolded at the first barres, was conducted to the commandant, to whom I delivered the following summons:

The commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's forces desired me to acquaint the commanding officer of the French troops, of his having landed on the island with a considerable force, and is to be supported by a powerful fleet at an anchor in some part of the island. He summons you to surrender prisoners of war, with all the troops under your order. The officers will be allowed their parole. Their baggage will be safe, and they will be exchanged as soon as a cartel is settled between the two nations. The British general reserves to himself the power of exchanging the officers either in this country or in Europe.

The Commandant's Answer.

I am obliged to the British general for his information and kindness, and should betray the trust reposed in me to surrender without having tried the strength of the enemy. I have between four and five hundred men to depend on, and will not surrender until compelled to do so by a superior force within this fort.

Fred. Gottsched, major of brigade.

By the return of the killed and wounded it appears that 3 rank and file were killed, and 2 lieutenants, 2 drummers, and 20 rank and file wounded. The officers wounded were lieutenant Stopford of the 9th, and lieutenant Gayer of the 67th regiment. The French had 15 killed and wounded.

Admiralty Office, June 1. Captain Laforey, of his majesty's sloop the Fairy, arrived this afternoon at this office, with a letter from vice-admiral sir John Laforey, commander in chief of his majesty's ships at the Leeward Islands, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a copy.

Trusty, Great Courland Bay, Tobago,

SIR, April 22, 1793.

I BEG leave to acquaint you, for their lordships information, with the capture of the island of Tobago.

I sailed with part of my squadron from Barbadoes the 12th inst. accompanying major-general Cuyler, with the land forces destined for the expedition, and put them on shore in this bay, on the evening of the 14th, where general Cuyler, having received intelligence that rendered it necessary to lose no time in his advances, marched immediately across the island to Scarborough, and at three o'clock on the next morning, after having summoned the fort to surrender, ineffectually, stormed the works, and carried them against a strong resistance, with some loss, the number of the enemy that defended them being fully equal to that of his majesty's troops who made the attack.

I dispatch captain Laforey, commander of his majesty's sloop Fairy, with this account.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Philip Stephens, Esq. JOHN LAFOREY.

AFFAIRS OF FRANCE,

Continued from Page 385.

THE sittings of the national convention were not distinguished by any thing worthy of notice till the 16th of May, when a letter from general Paoli, dated April 26, was read. In this, the general regrets, that extreme old age and bodily infirmities, make it impossible for him to cross the sea, and afterward to travel two hundred leagues by land, to appear at the bar of the convention, where he could readily confound his adversaries. He concludes thus:—"If, citizens representatives, you deem it necessary to the safety and peace of this country, and to the strengthening of liberty and equality in Corsica, that my presence may be no longer here a subject of mistrust, hatred, or jealousy, speak, and I will, without a murmur, retire from the country which has given me birth, and which has honoured my life and my name. By this new sacrifice, I shall consummate those I have had the satisfaction to offer to France and the revolution, carrying off with me, as the sole consolation of the remainder of my days, the esteem and regret of my countrymen, and a conscience void of reproach."

This letter was referred to the committee of public safety.

To what a height the tumultuous proceedings rose, not in the convention only, but in the galleries, by the people in which they were both individually and collectively insulted, will appear, from the following

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Addreſs of the Preſident of the National Convention to the French Nation.

Citizens,

The ſcandalous ſcene which has juſt paſſed in the tribunes, convinces me of the truth of a conſpiracy which has been revealed to me by many good citizens, who, fearing the poignards of aſſaſſins, have refuſed to make their names public. I ſhall now develope this plot! Legiſlators! People! be attentive—your ſafety is concerned.

The ariſtocracy and the coalition of kings, who tremble at their inability to ſnatch from us our liberty by the force of arms, are now preparing to deſtroy it by an intrigue carried on by gold. Theſe were the days appointed for the execution of their plot, and what paſſed yeſterday and to-day in the hall, are only preliminaries to it. This conſpiracy has been formed for the ſame purpoſe as that of the 10th of May: they wiſh to deſtroy the convention by inſurrection, and this is their plan of execution:

The conſpirators, after having for a long time prepared the minds of the people by crafty ſpeeches clothed in patriotic language, have miſled the members of the popular ſocieties, of the conſtituted authorities, and even of the convention itſelf, ſo as almoſt to have perſuaded them, that to ſave the country a new inſurrection was neceſſary. This inſurrection has been organized by clandeſtine committees. Every thing is preconcerted and arranged. The diſorder which they have created in the convention will ſerve as a pretext for their projected riot. The women, too, lend their aſſiſtance, many of whom have been formed into regiments for this iniquitous undertaking. At the moment when their miſguided arms are uplifted for the deſtruction of their country, they endeavour to perſuade us that they are employed in ſaving it.

A great majority of the citizens, it is true, has not been ſeduced; but our enemies have ſucceeded in making fanatics of that credulous part of the people, who, more remarkable for their virtue than their underſtanding, are eaſily miſled. They have alſo attempted to perſuade the volunteers who are going to la Vendee, that they ought not to depart till after the execution of their project.

The inſurgents are to execute, on the members of the convention and other citizens, the proſcriptions which have been ordered by their leaders. The perſons proſcribed will neceſſarily find ſome defenders; a combat will enſue, and ſuch members of the convention as ſhall have been led aſtray will be themſelves maſſacred.—The national repreſentation will then be deſtroyed; the flames of civil war will break forth; and the departments and the armies will be divided.

A prey to anarchy, there no longer remains to France any rallying point. During theſe intervals, all the powers at the ſame time attack our frontiers—the ariſtocrats ſhew themſelves, and the counter-revolution is effected.

Citizens! this is the abyſs into which you are about to be precipitated, if, notwithſtanding all that you have juſt heard, you perſiſt in following the inſtigations of thoſe who miſlead you. I call heaven to witneſs, it is for your welfare alone that I ſpeak.—If you could ſee the bottom of my heart, you will there diſcover how much I abhor ſlavery—how much I adore liberty.

I owe to my country the declaration that I have made—I have diſcharged my conſcience; and, firm at my poſt, I wait the event.

I love the people too well not to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to ſave them from the effects of their own madneſs; and if, in the exceſs of their own blindneſs, it ſhould happen, that in this chair I ſhould receive their attacks, covered with wounds I will ſtill offer up my prayers for their happineſs; and my laſt words ſhall be, "O God! preſerve the liberty of my country, and pardon thoſe murderers: they know not what they do." (Signed)

ISNARD.

The affair between the French general Houchard (which is ſtated in the London Gazette, under the article of *Bodenheim*, is thus related, in a letter from general Cuſtine, dated Weiſſembourg, May 18, and read to the national convention.

"On the 16th, I ſent orders to general Houchard to attack Sembach with his troops; while general Pully attacked the Pruſſians at Permeſheim. In order to attack the Pruſſians with greater ſucceſs, I propagated a report among them, that I was reinforced with cavalry from the army of Moſelle, and alſo with artillery from Strafbourg.

"On the 16th, at eight o'clock at night, I marched with 26 battalions, three regiments of dragoons and five of cavalry to take poſt on the heights of Dinheim. The battle began at half paſt five the following morning. Our artillery had great effect. The battle at firſt was much in our favour, but while our infantry were forming, a regiment of our cavalry rode up toward them, which a battalion of our troops

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troops taking for the enemy, ran away and could not be rallied. I did every thing to ſtop their flight, but in vain; and in running off they ſhot at our troops, and behaved like cowards.

(Signed) CUSTINE."

Rumours of plots againſt the lives of the members of the convention, and of new inſurrections, now daily agitated that aſſembly; and various were the modes of conduct propoſed and adopted. On the 25th of May, a deputation from the council general of the commons of Paris appeared at the bar. It declared, that the imminent danger of the country had made the council conſider it to be their duty to declare itſelf permanent. It demanded, that the charge of plots againſt the lives of the national deputies ſhould be ſigned and delivered to the revolutionary tribunal, ſo that the culpable or the calumniators ſhould be amenable to the laws. It was demanded, that the trial of Herbert, a member of the commons now in the abbey priſon, ſhould be immediate, ſo that he might be acquitted or condemned.

The preſident replied, "Juſtice ſhall be ſpeedily adminiſtered; but I declare, that if the city of Paris attempts any violence againſt any one of its repreſentatives, the deſtruction of the city will follow, and the Seine be purpled with blood."

About this time, all Paris appeared to be in a violent ſtate of fermentation, particularly on the evening of May 30. At four o'clock the next morning, the alarm-bell was ſounded.

On the 31ſt of May, it appeared, that the danger which menaced the republic, announces itſelf more and more ſenſibly by the movements which took place in the capital. All the conſtituted authorities had been invited to aſſemble, to deliberate on the means of ſaving the country. The mayor, and ſix members of the council general, had repaired to the biſhop's palace, where the commiſſioners named by 33 of the ſections, and who announced that they had received from their reſpective ſections unlimited powers, were aſſembled. Not having been able to obtain, until after the reſult of the aſſembly of all the conſtituted authorities, the ſuſpenſion of the meaſure adopted by ſeveral ſections, of having the barriers ſhut, they retired, and made their report to the council general. At the cloſe of the day, the fermentation in this capital was very great: the council general was even obliged to publiſh, and cauſe to be poſted, the following proclamation:

"Citizens, in Paris tranquillity is more than ever neceſſary. The department has convened the conſtituted authorities and the 48 ſections, upon objects of public ſafety. Every meaſure tending to anticipate thoſe which are to be taken in that aſſembly, cannot but be diſaſtrous. The ſafety of the country requires that you wait the reſult of the deliberations."

At four o'clock this morning the tocſin was ſounded in the cathedral, and was ſoon diſtinctly heard in moſt of the quarters. The general was beaten, and the alarm-gun fired. The active citizens repaired to their ſections. A profound ſentiment of terror prevailed throughout Paris, but the cauſe was not diſtinctly known. The agitation which hourly increaſed, became the object of the deliberations of the convention, whoſe ſitting opened at ſeven in the morning.

The mayor, and the miniſter of the interior department, were called to the bar. The former declared, that the municipality had given the neceſſary orders to the proviſional commandant to prevent the guns from being fired, and that he (the mayor) had himſelf repaired to the committee of public ſafety, with the miniſter of the interior department, and the other members of the executive council, to give an account of the ſtate of Paris. He had afterward repaired to the permanent council of the commune, and during this time the commiſſioners of the majority of the ſections had ſuſpended the municipality, whom they had afterward reſtored to their functions.

Valaze and Verginaud demanded that the commandant of Paris ſhould be ordered to the bar. But before any other ſtep ſhould be taken, Danton was deſirous that the committee of twelve, to which all the diſturbances were aſcribed, ſhould be ſuppreſſed. Rabaud obtained a hearing with difficulty; but ſuch by this time was the tumult in the convention, that he could not make himſelf underſtood. In the interim, the proviſional commune appeared at the bar, and announced, that, having been charged to diſcover a great plot which was on foot, they came to fulfil their miſſion: they next ſtated the purport of two reſolutions they had formed. Gaudet oppoſed this uſurpation of the powers which, in his opinion, belonged to the convention alone. He propoſed to abrogate all that had been done during the night by the commiſſioners of the revolutionary committees, and to bring before the proper tribunals the executive council, as well as thoſe

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thoſe who had ſounded the alarm-bell, beat the general, ſhut the barriers, and ſtopt the poſt. This propoſition was decreed; but a moment after, on the ſuggeſtion of Thuriot and Lacroix, the decree was repealed.

A deputation of the revolutionary committees then demanded, 1. The ſuppreſſion of the committee of twelve. 2. A revolutionary army of Sans culottes. 3. A decree of accuſation againſt twenty-two deputies, and the members of the above-named committee. 4. A diminution of the price of bread. 5. The diſpatch of commiſſioners to the ſouthern provinces, there to put a ſtop to the counter revolution. 6. The arreſt of the miniſters Claviere and Le Brun.

The department of Paris next appeared at the bar, and demanded a decree of accuſation againſt Iſnard, Briſſot, Gaudet, Verginaud, Genſonnet, Barbaroux, Roland, Claviere, Le Brun, &c. This demand was productive of a violent tumult in the convention; and more than three hundred of the petitioners placed themſelves among the deputies. Several of the members withdrew.

On Saturday, June 1, Barrere having propoſed an addreſs to the French nation on the inſurrection of yeſterday, Verginaud reſiſted this meaſure with all his efforts. It was, he ſaid, unneceſſary; and it would be ſufficient to ſend to the departments the decree which declares that the ſections of Paris have merited well of their country.

Lafource was of the ſame opinion. "If," ſaid he, "you wiſh to addreſs a proclamation to the French nation, it ought to have for its baſis theſe three truths: that a moſt horrid plot had been formed by certain malevolent perſons in this capital; that the citizens of Paris have defeated theſe manœuvres; and that tranquillity is re-eſtabliſhed.

"Therefore," continued Lafource, "propoſe the following addreſs, alone worthy the wiſdom of the convention:

"Frenchmen! Conſpirators, diſguiſed as patriots to miſlead the people, ſounded the tocſin, and fired the alarm-gun. The citizens of Paris, worthy of the republic and of themſelves, retreated to their ſections, where they took up arms, and enforced a ſubmiſſion to the laws and the national repreſentation. Tranquillity now prevails; the convention is vigilant, and will take ſuch meaſures as will leave to the traitors ſhame, terror, and death alone."

The Mountain got the better of this addreſs; and the proclamation drawn up by Barrere, in the name of the convention, to the French people, was adopted. It was extremely long; but at the ſame time pretty much to the purport of that of Lafource.

Commiſſioners from the department *des bouches-du-Rhone* ſtated, that Marſeilles was now a prey to all the rage of an inſolent ariſtocracy. A tribunal of blood made the patriots tremble; and this tribunal paid no reſpect whatever to the decree of the convention, perſevering in the exerciſe of its execrable functions.

Extraordinary Night Sitting.

Cambon, in the name of the committee of Public Safety, ſtated, that the new troubles which had ariſen were owing to the convention not having, in their ſitting of yeſterday, determined on the petition relative to the decree of accuſation demanded againſt the twenty-two members denounced by the forty-eight ſections of Paris. A deputation of the department of Paris was admitted at the bar, and demanded that attention ſhould be paid to the above petition. It alſo demanded, that Duſſaulx, Ducos, Fonfrede, and Iſnard, ſhould be included in the ſame meaſure of public ſafety, as being denounced and criminated by the public opinion.

Duſſaulx thought himſelf very happy in being aſſociated with the members who had already been denounced by the forty-eight ſections. He deemed it an honour which threw a new eclat on the glory he had acquired, by writing in favour of liberty for upward of thirty years.

Legendre—'Duſſaulx has aſcended this tribune to declare to you, that his patriotiſm is of an ancient date. Patriots are not diſtinguiſhed by age. We are all of the ſame age: we were born to liberty on the 14th of July, and the taking of the Baſtile was our baptiſmal day.—The people muſt declare whether they wiſh to ſave liberty; and is it poſſible to hope a republican conſtitution from men who, by voting for an appeal to the people, have ſought to light up the torch of civil war? If all the patriots of France were aſſembled, they would all ſay to you that it is not the time to negociate with thoſe who were for the appeal to the people, but that, on the other hand, the latter ſhould be replaced by their ſubſtitutes. I demand, in their name, that theſe appellants be obliged to yield their ſeats to their ſubſtitutes, and that, until their

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their arrival, they be obliged to keep their houſes.'

Laignelot recommended unanimity, more eſpecially as La Lozere, and ſeveral other departments, were announced to be in a ſtate of inſurrection. He thought, for quietneſs ſake, thoſe who voted for the appeal ſhould reſign.

The inſurrection of La Lozere was ſtated in the following report, from the procurator general of the department of Puy-de-Dome:

'I am juſt apprized of a terrible inſurrection in La Lozere. The inſurgents, led by the exconſtituent Charlier and 60 prieſts, have poſſeſſed themſelves of Marvejols, and have murdered all the public functionaries there. They have proceeded from thence to Mende, which is thought to be in their poſſeſſion. Returning by the route of St. Chely, they are now making an attempt on St. Flour. We have ordered the levy of a thouſand men, who will be ready in leſs than three days.'

Lacroix announced, that the executive council had communicated to the committee of public ſafety other details on the ſame ſubject, but leſs alarming.

Marat demanded a decree of accuſation againſt thoſe who had devoted to public execration the conſtituted authorities. He deſcribed them as the accomplices of Dumourier, as having attempted to cruſh the Mountain, that bulwark of liberty, &c. againſt all theſe he demanded a decree of accuſation; and propoſed, at the next ſitting, to purge the convention, intimating, that the people ought not to lay down their arms until after this expurgatory act.

Barrere demanded a decree, enjoining the committee of public ſafety to preſent, within three days, the means which ſhould appear the beſt calculated to deſtroy the external and internal enemies of the republic. He alſo wiſhed that the ſaid committee ſhould, without delay, make a report reſpecting the deputies under accuſation. Adopted.

On Sunday, June 2, a great crowd aſſembled round the convention, and were loud in their demands, that a decree of accuſation ſhould inſtantly be paſſed againſt thoſe who had incurred their diſpleaſure. Several members came in, and complained that they were inſulted by the mob, and that their deliberations were not free. A deputation was ſent out to harangue the people, and to prevail on them, if poſſible, to preſerve the public peace; but they could hardly obtain a hearing, and all their intreaties were only anſwered by demands that the decree of accuſation ſhould be paſſed.

Having returned to the hall, a tumultuous debate followed. The Mountain at laſt prevailing, a decree was paſſed, ordering the following members and miniſters to be arreſted, viz. Genſonne, Verginaud, Briſſot, Gaudet, Gorſas, Petion, Salles, Cambon, Barbaroux, Buzot, Birotteau, Rabaut, Laſource, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuvre, Leſage, Lovet, Valaze, Doulcett, Ducos, Lanthenas, Duſſaux, all the members of the committee of twelve, Fonfrede and Saint Martin excepted, and the miniſters Claviere and Le Brun. On the requeſt of Marat, and ſeveral other deputies, Ducos, Duſſaux, and Lanthenas, were afterward excepted.

[To be continued.]

CONTINENTAL ADVICES.

WAR on the FRONTIERS of FRANCE.

Bodenheim, May 21.

ON the 15th inſtant, the advanced poſts of the French were repulſed from Blieſcaſtel by colonel Sockule. While the advanced poſts were thus engaged, monſieur Houchard endeavoured, with 20,000 infantry and a conſiderable corps of cavalry, to turn prince Hohenloe's camp near Homburg, and to take poſſeſſion of the important poſition of Kayſerlautern; but prince Hohenloe, having received intimation of that intention, quitted Homburg, and returned with the greateſt expedition to Kayſerlautern, where he arrived only half an hour before the French army, and thus ſecured that poſition. The country of Deux Ponts, Homburg, and Carlſberg is conſequently again abandoned; and the French, upon taking poſſeſſion of the ſeveral towns deſerted by the Pruſſians, committed great devaſtations. —*Lond. Gaz.*

Oſtend, June 1. A column of 5000 French troops arrived before Furnes about ſeven o'clock yeſterday morning: the garriſon, compoſed of near 1200 Dutch, oppoſed them very bravely for four hours. They had only three pieces of cannon, three-pounders, while the French had more than twelve eight-pounders in this action. The loſs of the French are unknown. The Dutch, after having had ſix men killed, and ten wounded, were obliged

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obliged to retreat, which they effected in good order, and arrived here this evening with their cannon and baggage. The French, after having plundered the principal inhabitants, left Furnes at ten o'clock last night, taking with them the bailiff, burgomaster, and five magistrates, as hostages for the contributions which they demanded in cattle, corn, &c. The Dutch, having been informed of their retreat, returned thither this afternoon; and intelligence is since received that a number of German troops have arrived at Furnes from Ypres and Courtray.

The transports with the British dragoons arrived here the day before yesterday; and, upon receiving the above intelligence, were perfectly ready in less than an hour to proceed on reconnoitring parties.—*Lond. Gaz.*

Frankfort, June 4. On the night between the 30th and 31st ult. the French came out of Mentz in three columns, their middlemost containing their cavalry. Their principal attack was directed against general Kalkreuth's head-quarters at Marienbourn, about a league's distance, while they made a false attack upon the Prussians left wing, to divert the attention of the right. In the meanwhile, they made themselves masters of the intrenchments before Marienbourn, nailed up three pieces of cannon and a howitzer, and killed and took prisoners 28 men.

They afterward surrounded the village, and as they had the watchword, they surprised the centinels, and went forward in great force into the Prussian camp, cutting all the tents to pieces that were left there. A detachment of their cavalry that penetrated the village, then proceeded to general Kalkreuth's quarters, who narrowly escaped being made prisoner, from whence they returned, after making havock of every thing in their way.

Another party, during this time, had visited the Prussian colonel Treshler's quarters, two of whose servants were shot dead, as they were getting his horses out of the stable. This party, on their return, met with the cuirassier regiment of Saxe Weimar, when a skirmish ensuing, several lives were lost on both sides. By this time the whole Prussian camp was alarmed, and the French thought it prudent to retire; but were followed close to the walls of Mentz, whence, as the cannon kept up a dreadful fire to favour their retreat, a great number of the Prussian cavalry were killed and wounded, and among others major Woolfram.

It being suspected, that the French had good information, the ministers of Marienbourn and Esterich have been arrested, and the secretary of the latter place has undergone a very strict examination.

Ostend, June 16. Intelligence has been received here, that the Dutch Forces quartered at Menin, and a part of those at Ypres, had received orders to march, on the 11th instant, at midnight, in two columns, with a view to surround a body of French troops in the neighbourhood of Vervick: that the column under the command of the prince of Waldeck attacked one of the enemies batteries, and were on the point of carrying it, when the prince was dangerously wounded in the breast and thigh, and they were thrown into confusion and retreated. This corps being soon afterward supported by the arrival of the column from Ypres, under the command of prince Frederick of Orange, renewed the attack, and took possession of Vervick. The Dutch have lost on this occasion between fifty and sixty men killed, among whom are five officers. The loss on the part of the French is supposed to amount to 400 men killed, and upward of 200 taken prisoners, beside several pieces of cannon.

The prince of Waldeck died yesterday of his wounds.

The transports from England arrived here this morning without any accident, and are safely moored in this harbour.—*Lond. Gaz.*

MOVEMENTS of the SPANIARDS.

Aranjuez, April 30. Intelligence has been received here, that, on the 23d inst. the Spanish troops, under the command of don Ventura Caro, attacked the port of Andaya, while another corps occupied the heights in the neighbourhood of the French camp. In the course of the action the Spaniards spiked six cannon, drove the French from their advanced work and intrenchments, and, after having destroyed the encampment of Biriatu, killed several of the enemy and taken a considerable number of cattle, retired to Vera having only six men wounded.

Accounts are also received from general don Antonio Ricardos, commander in chief of the army of Catalonia, that on the 21st inst. a body of troops, amounting to less than 3000 men, attacked the town of Ceret, defended by more than 3000 French, and, though the Spaniards were without any cannon, they forced the town, after an engagement of three hours, put

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put the enemy to flight, and took their cannon.—*Lond. Gaz.*

Aranjuez, May 29. On the 5th inst. the squadron under the command of admiral Borja sailed from Carthagena, and in a few days arrived at Barcelona, from whence it continued its course toward the coast of Italy.—*Ib.*

Corunna, June 2. On the 6th ult. admiral Aristizabal sailed from Ferrol from Cadiz with six ships of the line and one frigate.—*Ib.*

Whitehall, June 13. His Catholic majesty has published an edict at Madrid, which was passed the 1st of April last, by the council of finances, prohibiting all trade and intercourse with France, her possessions and inhabitants.

The proclamation bearing date the 7th of December 1792, prohibiting the exportation of arms and ammunition, &c. for six months, having expired the 7th inst. another proclamation, bearing date the 14th inst. was issued, prolonging the period of the prohibition till the 7th of December 1793.—*Ib.*

RUSSIA, PRUSSIA, and POLAND.

Berlin, May 14. We have received intelligence, that the oath of homage, allegiance, and fidelity to the king our sovereign, was taken on the 7th instant, not only at Dantzic, but also in Posnania, and other cities of Poland fallen to the share of Prussia. Every thing passed very quietly, and public banquets were given in several places.

Amsterdam, May 8. The important fortress of Kaminieck, capital of Podolia, in Poland, which hitherto withstood the force sent by the empress to subdue it, has at length surrendered. Two generals, several staff officers, 800 officers, &c. have taken the oath of obedience, and enlisted in the Imperial service. The reduction of this place is of the utmost importance, as all those who were disaffected to the present order of affairs had taken sanctuary there. They must now leave the kingdom.

Breslaw, in Silesia, May 11. Tranquillity is entirely restored in this city; and the tumult which was excited on the 29th and 30th of April, has been quelled, but not without the shedding of blood; for owing to the seditious disregarding the threats of the military power, and even the fire of musketry, it was at length necessary to have recourse to artillery. A single discharge was sufficient; however it levelled twenty upon the spot, and thirty were wounded. We are at present busy in searching for the secret instigators of this commotion, and also in examining into the demands of the citizens, who will certainly find redress, should their complaints be well founded.

Berlin, May 18. The king has charged the commanders of all the cities in Prussia to keep an attentive watch upon the French, who have been expelled the Russian territories, on account of their refusal to take the oath prescribed by government, and to send these persons to Elbingue, from whence they are to be embarked for France.

His MAJESTY'S SPEECH *to both* HOUSES *of* PARLIAMENT, *on Friday, June* 21.

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'THE firmness, wisdom, and public spirit by which your conduct has been eminently distinguished on the many important occasions which have arisen during the present session, demand my peculiar acknowledgments.

'Your firm determination to support the established constitution, and the zealous and general concurrence in that sentiment which my subjects have so strongly and seasonably manifested, could not fail to check every attempt to disturb the internal repose of these kingdoms; and you will, I doubt not, in your several counties encourage the continuance of the same vigilant attention to that important object.

'The rapid and signal successes which in an early period of the campaign have attended the operations of the combined armies; the respectable and powerful force which you have enabled me to employ by sea and land, and the measures which I have concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war, afford the best prospect of an happy issue to the important contest in which we are engaged: —It is only by perseverance in vigorous exertions, and by endeavouring to improve the advantages already acquired, that we can hope to obtain the great end to which my views are uniformly directed; the restoration of peace, on such terms as may be consistent with our permanent security, and with the general tranquillity of Europe.

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'Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I return you my particular thanks for the cheerfulneſs and diſpatch with which you have granted the neceſſary ſupplies, and I am happy to reflect that you have been enabled liberally to provide for the exigencies of the public ſervice in a manner ſo little burdenſome to my people.

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The arrangements which you have formed for the government of the Britiſh territories in India, and for the regulation of our commerce with that part of the world, will, I doubt not, ſecure and augment the important benefits which we have already derived from thoſe valuable poſſeſſions. It has been impoſſible for me to ſee without concern, the embarraſſment which has lately ariſen in the ſtate of commercial credit, but the ſteps which you have taken to prevent the progreſs of that evil, appear already to have been productive of very ſalutary conſequences; and while they have afforded a ſtriking inſtance of your attention to the intereſts of my people, their effect has furniſhed additional reaſon to believe that the diſtreſs, which has been felt, proceeded from a concurrence of temporary cauſes, and not from any diminution of the real wealth, or any failure in the permanent reſources, of the country.

'I have much ſatisfaction in reflecting on the effectual protection which I have been enabled to afford to the trade of my ſubjects ſince the breaking out of the war; I am at the ſame time perſuaded that if our commercial intereſts had unavoidably been affected to a more conſiderable extent, it would not have been forgotten that we are contending for our future ſecurity; and for the permanent preſervation of advantages the moſt ſtriking, and the moſt valuable, which any nation has ever, by the bleſſing of Providence, been permitted to enjoy.'

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's command, ſaid;

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'It is his majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tueſday, the 13th day of Auguſt next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tueſday, the 13th day of Auguſt next.'

HISTORICAL CHRONICLE.

MAY 30.

THE Atlantic tranſport ſhip is juſt arrived from New South Wales, with Arthur Phillip, eſq. the governor of that colony, who has brought home with him two of the natives of New Holland, a man and a boy. The Atlantic has alſo on board four kangeroos, lively and healthy, and ſome other animals peculiar to that country.

From the deſcription given of the natives near Port Jackſon, they appear to be a race totally incapable of civilization, every attempt to that end having proved ineffectual; and yet they diſcover an aſtoniſhing art and cunning in their mode of fiſhing, and entrapping the kangeroo and birds, the only animal food to be found there.

Specimens of their fiſhing tackle, ſpears, and ſhields, are likewiſe brought home in the Atlantic. They are ingeniouſly contrived, and the natives are ſaid to uſe them moſt expertly; but no inducement (and all means have been perſevaringly tried) can draw them from a ſtate of nature.

Clothing they conſider as an incumbrance, and every European production they treat with the utmoſt indifference. They are cruel, particularly to their women, whom they beat in a moſt barbarous manner on every occaſion.

JUNE 1.

Yeſterday evening, the duke de Sicigniano, who arrived in this country about two months ago, being appointed to ſucceed the prince Caſtelcicala as miniſter plenipotentiary from the court of Naples, put an end to his exiſtence, by placing a horſe-piſtol to his temple, and blowing his brains out. The duke had tranſacted buſineſs with lord Grenville on the ſame morning.

As ſoon as the event became known, the prince Caſtelcicala, and ſome other foreign noblemen, went to Grenier's Hotel to view the body, and the prince took charge of his effects. This morning, Mr. Burgeſs, one of his majeſty's under ſecretaries of ſtate, at the requeſt of lord Grenville, went to the hotel to make the neceſſary inquiries concerning the ſuicide, and to give orders for the removal of the corſe and interment.

The duke de Sicigniano was a young nobleman of one of the firſt families in Italy, of very amiable manners, and much beloved by thoſe who knew him. His reſidence at Grenier's was owing to its not being

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being quite certain whether prince Caſtelcicala might not be re-appointed to his former ſituation.

An expreſs has been ſent to Naples, with an account of this melancholy event.

JUNE 4.

The foreign ambaſſador who put a period to his exiſtence on Friday night laſt, was yeſterday night interred privately in Pancras church-yard.

JUNE 5.

This day came on at the Old Bailey, the trial of the king, *v.* Eaton, a bookſeller, for publiſhing Paine's Rights of Man, when the jury found the defendant guilty of publiſhing the pamphlet, but not with any criminal intention. By the late act of parliament concerning libels, the jury might, notwithſtanding the proof of publication, have brought in a general verdict of Not Guilty. The preſent verdict, therefore, is ſpecial, and will conſequently come before the twelve judges.

JUNE 7.

Yeſterday the judges met in lord Kenyon's chamber, Weſtminſter hall, and choſe their circuits for the enſuing ſummer aſſiſes as follows:

Oxford. Lord Kenyon and hon. Mr. juſtice Groſe.

Norfolk. Lord chief juſtice Eyre and hon. Mr. juſtice Aſhhurſt.

Northern. Lord chief baron Macdonald and Mr. baron Thomſon.

Home. Mr. juſtice Gould and Mr. juſtice Buller.

Midland. Mr. baron Hotham and Mr. juſtice Wilſon.

Weſtern. Mr. baron Perryn and Mr. juſtice Heath.

JUNE 12.

Plymouth, June 8. Arrived on Thurſday night, an American ſhip, burden 300 tons, called the Eliza, belonging to Boſton, commanded by capt. Worſley, bound from the Iſle of France to Dunkirk, laden with ſugar, coffee, tea, &c. ſaid to be all French property, valued at 150,000l. taken ten days ſince in the Bay of Biſcay, by the Liberty cutter privateer of London, mounting four guns, commanded by capt. Lanaghan.

JUNE 15.

Yeſterday came on to be argued, in the court of King's bench, the caſe of Mr. Arnold, who had been convicted before a juſtice of peace of buying corn not meaſured by the Wincheſter buſhel. The juſtice fined him in the value of the corn, and forty ſhillings beſides, according to the directions of the act of parliament. Arnold conceiving himſelf aggrieved as to the forty ſhillings, applied to this court for relief. It was acknowledged on all hands, that he would have been liable to the forty ſhillings fine, had he been the ſeller of the corn; but lord Kenyon was clearly of opinion that he was equally liable, being the buyer.

JUNE 18.

The Eaſt India company have come to a reſolution to preſent marquis Cornwallis with an annuity of 5000l. per ann. for 20 years, and in caſe of his lordſhip's deceaſe before the end of that time, to continue it for the remainder of the period to his ſon lord Brome, as a mark of their ſenſe of his lordſhip's ſervices in India. The annuity is to commence from the day of his embarkation for Europe.

JUNE 20.

The regiſter ſhip taken by admiral Gell, on her arrival in England, was immediately claimed, as to the whole property, by the admiral's agent, on behalf of himſelf, officers, and ſeamen. The king of Spain's miniſter has ſince put in a claim for 640,000l. belonging to the ſtate; the agents for ſeveral merchants of Cadiz, Barcelona, &c. have claimed property to the amount of 800,000l. more, and there remains a very large property not on the manifeſt, and which was intended to be ſmuggled into Spain, and for which no claim has yet been made. A ſecond claim has been made by the admiral's agent, in caſe the whole ſhould not be deemed prize, for the whole money taken on board the privateer, amounting to 700,000l. and one fifth part of the regiſtered cargo on board the St. Iago, by way of ſalvage, with the whole of the contraband cargo in each ſhip. Neither the lords of the treaſury nor even the king in council, (ſay the civilians,) have any power to reſtore the property. It muſt be adjudged by the law of nations. The court of admiralty will proceed to trial either in the months of November or February next.

JUNE 21.

On Tueſday, Mr. Dowlin, who had been tried and convicted of perjury in the evidence he gave on the trial of captain Kimber, was brought from the King's bench priſon to receive judgment.

Mr. juſtice Aſhhurſt addreſſed the priſoner upon the heinous nature of the offence of which he had been convicted, which involved murder as well as perjury, for if the jury had believed his evidence, captain Kimber might have been convicted

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and executed. There was no perjury that could excite so much horror, and called for a more exemplary punishment than that which was committed with intent to deprive a fellow-creature of his life, and to cover his memory with infamy.

The prisoner was sentenced to be imprisoned in Newgate for the term of one month, and at the expiration thereof to be transported for the term of seven years, to such parts beyond the seas, as his majesty, by the advice of his privy council, shall direct and appoint.

JUNE 22.

On Wednesday Mr. John Frost, convicted of uttering seditious words (*See page* 394) was brought into the court of King's bench, to receive sentence, when Mr. justice Ashhurst thus addressed him:

'John Frost, you have been convicted upon an indictment preferred against you, for publicly speaking several scandalous and seditious words, tending to lessen in men's minds that love and veneration which every honest and good man ought to have for our wise and happy constitution, and likewise to withdraw the affection of his majesty's subjects from his royal person and government, and from all kingly government. The words stated in the indictment to have been spoken by you are these: 'I am for equality; I see no reason why one man should not be upon a footing with another—it is every man's birthright.' And the indictment further states, that you being asked how you dared to hold such language in a public room, and what you meant? You replied, 'No king!' And the indictment further states, that being asked if you meant no king in this country? you said, 'Yes—the constitution of this country is a bad one in having a king;' meaning thereby, that the constitution of this realm was bad. These are the words alleged to have been spoken by you.

'The constitution which you thus attempted to traduce and vilify, was planned by wiser heads and better hearts than yours. It has stood the test of ages, and is out of the reach of the malice of persons of such description as yourself. But although that is the case, it does not from thence follow, that you are to be suffered to vend your malice, however impotent it may be. These words are a proof of great malignity of heart, that stands in need of correction. Your inclination is ripe for mischief against this country. One might have expected, that having lately returned from France, you should have felt the superior advantages of our constitution over the universal anarchy and confusion with which that unhappy country is over-run; but there may be too much reason to suspect, that you did not go into that country with a view of bringing back any wholesome lesson with you for the subjects of this country. It has been said in your behalf, that you were in liquor at the time you uttered these words, but that was not proved to the satisfaction of the jury, who were charged to find upon the whole case, and they have found it so; and it is but a bad defence to plead one crime in extenuation of another. There is another circumstance which is an aggravation of your crime. From the situation you are in, being an attorney, you must have taken the oath of allegiance to his majesty; this shews how very little regard you pay to the oath so taken, and that is a great aggravation of your guilt. The court have taken all the circumstances into consideration, and upon mature deliberation, the sentence of this court is, 'That you be imprisoned in his majesty's jail of Newgate for six calendar months, and that within that time you do stand in and upon the pillory, at Charing-cross, for one hour, between the hours of twelve and two; and that you do find security for your good behaviour, for the period of five years, yourself in 500l. and two sureties for 100l. each; and that you be further imprisoned until such security be found.'

Lord Kenyon.—'He must be struck off the roll of attorneys of this court.'

Mr. Frost was then conducted to Newgate.

JUNE 24.

Admiralty-Office, June 22, 1793.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Edward Pellew, of his Majesty's Ship La Nymphe, to Mr. Stephens, dated off Portland, June 19, 1793.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that, at daylight yesterday morning, I was so fortunate as to fall in with the national French frigate, La Cleopatra, mounting 40 guns, and manned with 320 men, commanded by monsieur Jean Mullon, three days from St. Maloes, and had taken nothing.

We brought her to close action at half past six, and in fifty-five minutes took possession of her; the two ships having fallen on board each other, we boarded her from the quarter-deck, and struck her colours; and, finding it impossible to clear the ships, then hanging head and stern, we came to anchor, which divided

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us, after we had received on board 150 prisoners. The enemy fought us like brave men, neither ship firing a shot until we had hailed. Her captain was killed, three lieutenants wounded; the number of men not yet ascertained, but, from the best accounts, about sixty; her mizen-mast overboard, and her tiller shot off.

I am extremely concerned she was not purchased at a less expence of valuable officers and men on our part, whose loss I cannot sufficiently regret, and to whose gallantry I cannot possibly do justice. We had 23 men killed, and 27 wounded, of which a list is enclosed.

I am very particularly indebted to my first lieutenant, Mr. Amherst Morris, and no less so to lieutenants George Luke and Richard Pellowe, and I was ably seconded on the quarter deck by lieutenant John Whitaker, of the marines, and Mr. Thomson, the master; and I hope I do not presume in recommending those officers to their lordships protection and favour: and I should do injustice to my brother, captain Israel Pellew, who was accidentally on board, if I could possibly omit saying how much I owe him for his very distinguished firmness, and the encouraging example he held forth to a young ship's company, by taking upon him the directions of some guns on the main deck.

A list of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ship La Nymphe.—Killed—The boatswain, master's mate, 3 midshipmen, and 18 men.

Wounded.—Second lieutenant, 2 midshipmen, lieutenant of marines, and 23 men.

AMERICA.

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas it appears, that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, on the one part, and France on the other, and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers;

I have therefore thought fit, by these presents, to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid toward those powers respectively; and to exhort and warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever, which may in any manner tend to contravene such disposition.

And I do hereby also make known, that whosoever of the United States shall render himself liable to punishment or forfeiture under the law of nations, by committing, aiding, or abetting hostilities against any of the said powers, or by carrying to any of them those articles which are deemed contraband by the modern usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States against such punishment or forfeiture; and further, that I have given instructions to those officers to whom it belongs, to cause prosecutions to be instituted against all persons who shall, within the cognisance of the courts of the United States, violate the law of nations, with respect to the powers at war, or any of them.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these present, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, the 22d day of April 1793, and of the independence of the United States of America, the 17th.

G. WASHINGTON, (L. S.)

By the President,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

BIRTH.

LADY of sir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a son.

MARRIAGES.

CHarles Long, esq. M. P. to miss Hume.

Alexander lord Kennedy, son of the earl of Cassilis, to miss M. Erskine, daughter of John Erskine, esq. of Dun.

Hon. Edmund Butler, son of viscount Mountgarret, to miss Fowler, daughter of the archbishop of Dublin.

Charles Rawdon, esq. to miss Henrietta Frances Dawson, niece to lord Cremorne.

Arthur Atherley, jun. esq. to lady Louisa Ker.

Lord Charles Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, to miss Aynsley, of Little Barle Tower, Northumberland, whose name lord Charles is to take.

Henry Oxenden, esq. son of sir Henry Oxenden, bart. to miss Mary Graham, daughter of the late colonel Graham.

DEATHS.

LADY Ducie.

Lady Gooch, relict of the late sir Thomas Gooch, bart.

Henry lord Annally.

Rev. Dr. William Robertson, the celebrated historian.

At Coblentz, Mr. Pratt, author of Sympathy, a poem, &c.

Mrs. Sylvia Thornton, relict of the late celebrated Bonnel Thornton, esq.

Hon.

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Hon. miſs Liſmore, daughter of lord Liſmore.

Samuel Smith, eſq. M. P. for Luggerſhal.

Earl of Moira, father of lord Rawdon.

PROMOTIONS.

EARL of Mornington, lord Apſley, viſcounts Belgrave, Bayham, and Stopford—Privy-counſellors.

Viſcount Stopford—Treaſurer of the houſehold.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, lord Grenville, right hon. William Pitt, lord Mornington, viſcount Belgrave, lord Apſley, hon. Edward James Eliot, and hon. Robert Banks Jenkinſon—Commiſſioners for the affairs of India.

Right hon. William Pitt, lord Mornington, lord Bayham, Richard Hopkins, eſq. and hon. John Thomas Townſhend—Lords of the treaſury.

BANKRUPTS. From the GAZETTE.

MAY 28.

SAmuel Deane, of Stratford-le-bow, baker.

John Leache, of Snow-hill, leather-dreſſer.

John Smith, of St. Martin's-lane, victualler.

Thomas Green, of York, ſhopkeeper.

John Davis, of Briſtol, merchant.

William Cooke, of North Creake, in Norfolk, dealer.

William Chatton, of St. Anthon's, in Northumberland, merchant.

Thomas Arundell, of Stourbridge, in Worceſterſhire, baker.

Joſeph Wharton, of Scarborough, in Yorkſhire, dealer.

James Lockier, of Briſtol, upholder.

Richard Edwards, of Elleſmere, Salop, thread-manufacturer.

Richard Nuton, of Kilmington, in Somerſetſhire, grocer.

Richard Conſtance, of Briſtol, builder.

JUNE 1.

Charles Rumball, of Iſlington, upholſterer.

John Buchanan, of Glaſgow, in Scotland, merchant, (partner with George Buchanan, of Glaſgow, merchant, carrying on trade in England and Scotland, by the firm of John, Walter, and George Buchanan.)

Henry King, of Newbury, in Berks, corn-dealer.

William Lambert, of Wapping, pawnbroker.

Benjamin Lazenby, of Clement's-inn paſſage, tallow-factor.

John Fraſer, of Charles-ſtreet, Middleſex-hoſpital, upholſterer.

Alexander Mac Leay, and Jerome Soulatges, of Buſh-lane, Cannon-ſtreet, dealers in wine.

Mary Leach, of Northampton, milliner.

Thomas Cook, of Shrewſbury, jeweller.

James Curtis, of Swanſea, in Glamorganſhire, timber-merchant.

William Roberts, of Briſtol, common brewer.

John Hartland, and Iſaac Sweet, of Briſtol, carpenters.

Thomas Roberts, of Gyffylliog, in Denbighſhire, grocer.

James Lockier, and James M'Aulay, of Briſtol, and Thomas Woodard, of London, timber-merchants.

William Saunders, and Thomas Saunders, of Glouceſter, curriers.

Charles Barnard Wadſtrom, of Manchester, cotton-manufacturer.

Henry Sawyer, of Eaſt-ſtreet, Manchester-ſquare, carpenter.

Edward Evans, and Eliſabeth Perry, of Bow-ſtreet, Covent-garden, mercers.

Richard Hake, of Plymouth, dealer in porter.

Thomas Rimington, of Whitecroſs-ſtreet, linen-draper.

Adam Martin, of Hermitage-bridge, muſical-inſtrument-maker.

Walter Miller, of Burr-ſtreet, Eaſt-ſmithfield, merchant.

JUNE 4.

William Holt the younger, of Newark-upon-Trent, Nottinghamſhire, grocer.

Thomas Hipkins, of Walſall, Staffordſhire, buckle-maker.

Thurſton Dale, of Shrewſbury, cheeſe-factor.

Joſeph Bloxam, of Hook Norton, in Oxfordſhire, baker.

Robert Anderſon, of North Sunderland, corn-factor.

John Hardcaſtle, of Newark-upon-Trent, in Nottinghamſhire, and William Walker, of Woolſthorpe-lodge, in Lincolnſhire, cotton-ſpinners.

John Dumbell, of Warrington, in Lancaſhire, cotton-manufacturer.

John Fell, of Mancheſter, cotton-ſpinner.

Arabella Duval, of King-ſtreet, Covent-garden, milliner.

Matthew Falkner, and William Birch, of Mancheſter, ſtationers.

Matthew Falkner, of Mancheſter, ſtationer.

Curwen

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Curwen Gale, of London, merchant.
Joſeph Barton, of Mark-lane, merchant.
Robert M'Carthy, of Briſtol, tobacconiſt.
James Ping, of John-ſtreet, Berkley-ſquare, wine-merchant.
Thomas Juchau, of Shoreditch, paviour.
Ralph Steel, of Caſtle-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields, mercer.
Ralph Cantrell, and Thomas Cantrell the younger, of Hartingdon, in Derbyſhire, and Daniel Cantrell, of Wetton, in Staffordſhire, manufacturers of cotton wool into twiſt or yarn.
James Gough, of Chelſea, carver.
William Robinſon, of Water-ſtreet, St. Clement Danes, painter.
Simon Collop, of Stapleford Abbott, in Eſſex, dealer.
Thomas Jellicoe, of Shrewſbury, butcher.
James Wiſeman, of Liverpool, mariner.
John Pott, of Mancheſter, builder.

JUNE 8.

Daniel Pearkes and John Powell, of Ave-Maria-lane, London, glovers.
Peter Banner, of Old-ſtreet, builder.
Thomas Harwood, of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, innholder.
John Dixon, of Newington, Surry, victualler.
Thomas Fuller, of Horſemonger-lane, Newington, Surry, gardener.
Thomas Tupholme, of Great Turnſtile, Holborn, linen-draper.
Archibald Brunton, of Frith-ſtreet, Soho, taylor.
William Blueden, of Clifton, in Glouceſterſhire, carpenter.
John Noble, of Wakefield, in Yorkſhire, upholſterer.
Stephen Glover, of Strood, in Kent, carpenter.
Robert Leighton, of Sugdon, in Salop, horſe-dealer.
Moſes Lindo, of Jewry-ſtreet, Aldgate, merchant.
George Parker, of the One Tun, in the Strand, victualler.
William Bouldidge and John Fikes, of Hoxton, ſoapboilers.
Thomas Godwin and John Mallam, of Fleet-ſtreet, merchants.
William Denton, of Wakefield, Yorkſhire, woolfactor.
John Rickets, of Bath, maſon.
Thomas Coulſtring, of Briſtol, factor.
John Norris, of Mancheſter, innkeeper.
George Underhill, of the Abbey Foregate, Shrewſbury, horſe-dealer.
Charles M'Carthy, William Woodhouſe, George Packer M'Carthy, and Robert Walter Vaughan, of Briſtol, Cordwainers.
John Pollard, of Carey-ſtreet, Lincoln's-inn, money-ſcrivener.
George King Millard, of Stafford-row, Pimlico, coal-merchant.
John Cath, of Ratcliffe-highway, ſugar-refiner.

JUNE 11.

John Peecock, of Montagu-cloſe, Southwark, mealman.
Francis Morley, of Cheapſide, grocer.
George Whitling, of Leadenhall ſtreet, auctioneer.
Henry Maſon, of Sykehouſe, of Barnoldſwick, in Yorkſhire, drover.
James Cogſwell, of Bathwick, in Somerſetſhire, carpenter.
William Bicknell, of Eaſtergate, in Suſſex, dealer.
Richard Ireland Thurgood, of Lombard-ſtreet, cutler.
Mary Anne Egerton, of Crown-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, taylor.
Thomas Coleman Kearn, of Catherine-court, Seething-lane, ſhip-agent.
Thomas Blanchett, of Conduit-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare, victualler.
William Sheppard, of Witney, in Oxfordſhire, blanket-weaver.
Thomas Lawrence, and John Lawrence, of Kimbolton, Huntingdonſhire, tanners.
Rober Whitehead, of Sheffield, Yorkſhire, cornfactor.
Joachim Jacobus Gieſler, of Dartmouth, Devonſhire, merchant.
Thomas Hobſon, of Spilſby, Lincolnſhire, ſhopkeeper.
John Jeffkins Clarke, of St. Giles in the Fields, plumber.

JUNE 15.

Richard Martin, of Crown-court, Broad-ſtreet, wine-merchant.
John Cockſhott, of Addingham, in Yorkſhire, cotton-manufacturer.
Thomas Hunt, of Knighton, in Leiceſterſhire, wooſtapler.
William Dickins, of Dodford, in Northamptonſhire, miller.
John Henderſon, of Brompton, Middleſex, carpenter.
Richard Heath, of Berwick-ſtreet, Soho, coach-maker.
James Speller, of High-ſtreet, Mary-le-bonne, wax-chandler.
Samuel Jones, of Brecon, mercer.

Chriſ-

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Chriſtopher Deighton, of Gainſburgh, Lincolnſhire, druggiſt.

Matthew Datbyſhire, of Wakefield, in Yorkſhire, goldſmith.

William Price, of Worceſter, cordwainer.

Hugh O'Connor, of Smith's-buildings, Leadenhall-ſtreet, merchant.

William Grant, of Greek-ſtreet, Soho, paper-ſtainer.

Andrew Snell, of Great Torrington, in Devonſhire, mercer.

Jacob Ruffy the younger, of Shad-Thames, Surry, coal-merchant.

James Hill, of Parker-ſtreet, St. Giles, Middleſex, victualler.

Francis Godbold, of Uxbridge, cabinet-maker.

Reuben Bridges the younger, of Sommers-Town, St. Pancras, builder.

Samuel Howſon, of Chandos-ſtreet, colourman.

John Knight, of the Strand, man's-mercer.

James Crabb, of Manchester, innkeeper.

John Hemnett Sturmy, of Blackman-ſtreet, Southwark, coach-maker.

JUNE 18.

Thomas Watſon Whittle, of Iſleworth, ſtocking-manufacturer.

Joſeph Burke and Edward Newton, of Thavies-inn, merchants.

Stephen Johnſon, of Scowſcotts, in Yorkſhire, cornfactor.

James Ogle, Edward Ogle, and James Dawſon, of Billiter-ſquare, merchants.

Joſeph Jacob, of Fenchurch-ſtreet, druggiſt.

Thomas Norcroſs, of Rivington, in Lancaſhire, fuſtian-manufacturer.

John Pickup, and James Pickup, of the Foreſt of Roſſendale, in Lancaſhire, woollen-manufacturers.

George Atkinſon, of New Malton, in Yorkſhire, ſkinner.

Job Humpage, of Kidderminſter, in Worceſterſhire, coal-merchant.

William Fry, of Briſtol, diſtiller.

John Bowles, of Stoke-lane, Somerſetſhire, maltſter.

Nathaniel Dobſon, of Leeds, in Yorkſhire, dyer.

John Thompſon, of Southwark, cheeſemonger.

JUNE 22.

Joſeph Moule, of Saffron Walden, in Eſſex, ſhopkeeper.

Samuel Payne, of Porter-ſtreet, Newport-market, dealer.

Thomas Day, of Blackman-ſtreet, Southwark, oilman.

Joſeph Wilton, of Queen-Anne-ſtreet Eaſt, ſtatuary.

George Owen the younger, of Coventry, money-ſcrivener.

Joſeph Fleming, of Old Round-court, Strand, cordwainer.

James Moore, of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet-without, weaver.

Joſeph Spooner Warren, of Birmingham, dealer.

George Field, of Redditch, in Worceſter, dealer.

John Forſter, and John Jolley, of Whitby, in Yorkſhire, mercers.

Thomas Cottrell, of Worceſter, linen-draper.

Thomas Day, of Portland-place, Joſeph Barton, of Mark-lane, John Dumbell, of Warrington, in Lancaſhire, Jonathan Dumbell, of Hollywell, in Flintſhire, and Richard Robinſon, of Heaton Norris, in Lancaſhire, bankers.

John Marſhall, of Woolley-mill, in Cheſter, cotton-manufacturer.

Jonathan Heaton, of Sheffield, in Yorkſhire, builder.

Edmund Hodgſon, of White-lion-ſtreet, Clerkenwell, dealer.

Joſeph Rackſtraw, of Henley-upon-Thames, grocer.

JUNE 25.

Nehemiah Bartley, and William Bartley, of Briſtol, vinegar-makers.

John Williſon Dickiſon, of Nawhead, in Weſtmorland, drover.

Thomas Mouncey, of Manchester, ſilk-manufacturer.

Henry Millington, William Goodman, and William Meready, of Wolverhampton, tin-plate-workers.

Thomas Barnes, of Salford, in Lancaſhire, dealer.

John Allday, of Knowle, in Warwickſhire, butcher.

Thomas Bell, of Thornton, in Yorkſhire, corn-factor.

Robert Hobſon, of Sauſthorpe, in Lincolnſhire, dealer.

Richard Neall, of Culworth, in Northampton, cow-jobber.

Thomas Rideing, of Liverpool, grocer.

Thomas Chapman, of Camberwell, in Surry, dealer.

Nathaniel Gibſon, of Uxbridge, linen-draper.

Thomas Clark, of Kent-ſtreet, Southwark, wine-merchant.

Peter Bond, of Newgate-ſtreet, man's-mercer.

Charles Snow, of Broad-ſanctuary, Weſtminſter, plaſterer.

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INLAND COUNTIES.										
Middlesex	5	9	3	9	3	9	3	3	4	7
Surry	5	11	3	9	3	10	3	1	4	4
Hertford	6	0	—		3	6	.	9	4	8
Bedford	5	9	3	10	3	7	3	0	4	7
Huntingdon	5	8	—		3	5	2	7	4	1
Northampton	5	9	3	11	4	1	2	7	4	6
Rutland	6	0	—		4	4	2	10	5	0
Leicester	6	5	—		4	7	3	0	5	4
Nottingham	6	7	4	9	4	11	2	11	5	3
Derby	7	3	—		5	0	3	2	5	7
Stafford	6	9	—		4	9	3	6	5	2
Salop	6	7	5	2	4	5	3	8	5	7
Hereford	6	10	5	2	4	0	3	7	4	10
Worcester	6	0	—		4	6	3	1	4	4
Warwick	5	11	—		—		3	3	5	3
Wilts	5	10	—		3	5	3	1	5	2
Berks	6	1	—		3	8	3	4	4	6
Oxford	6	2	—		3	8	3	4	4	5
Bucks	6	1	—		4	1	2	4	4	8
Brecon	7	10	5	7	4	10	3	0	—	
Montgomery	7	4	—		4	5	3	1	—	
Radnor	7	2	—		4	0	3	6	—	
MARITIME COUNTIES.										
Essex	5	11	3	9	3	9	3	1	4	5
Kent	5	11	—		3	8	2	11	4	1
Sussex	5	7	—		3	7	3	1	—	
Suffolk	5	9	3	8	3	7	2	9	4	0
Cambridge	5	5	3	2	3	8	2	3	4	10
Norfolk	5	6	3	7	3	1	2	8	4	0
Lincoln	5	10	4	7	3	9	2	5	4	7
York	5	11	4	2	3	7	2	7	4	6
Durham	6	10	4	5	3	9	2	11	5	1
Northumberland	5	6	4	3	3	8	2	9	—	
Cumberland	6	5	5	8	4	8	2	10	—	
Westmorland	6	11	5	9	4	6	3	1	—	
Lancaster	6	8	—		4	3	2	6	4	3
Chester	6	4	—		—		2	10	—	
Flint	7	2	—		5	4	—		—	
Denbigh	7	0	—		5	3	2	7	—	
Anglesea	6	3	—		3	9	1	9	—	
Carnarvon	7	3	5	6	4	4	2	1	4	7
Merioneth	7	10	6	2	5	4	2	11	6	1
Cardigan	7	7	5	6	4	7	2	9	—	
Pembroke	5	5	—		3	5	1	11	—	
Carmarthen	7	0	—		5	6	2	0	—	
Glamorgan	7	6	—		4	7	3	1	—	
Gloucester	6	5	—		3	10	3	4	4	3
Somerset	6	10	—		3	6	2	5	3	10
Monmouth	6	11	—		—		3	4	—	
Devon	7	1	—		3	3	2	3	4	7
Cornwall	6	7	—		3	0	2	1	—	
Dorset	6	4	—		3	6	2	11	5	3
Hants	6	0	—		3	9	2	10	4	8

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29		76 ½	76¾a⅞	89 ½				211 ¼		15s.dif.				9 ½dif.	
30	167 ¾	76 ½	76⅞a77	90	109	22	10	212			83 ½		77	9 ⅞	
31	168 ¼	76 ¾	76⅞a77	90 ¼	109 ⅞	21 ⅞	10	213 ½		14		76 ½		9 ⅞	
1	168 ½	76 ¼	shut.	90 ⅛	109 ¼	22	10	212 ¾		14	shut.			9 ⅞	
3	168 ½	76 ¾	77⅛a76⅞	90	109 ⅝	21 ⅞	9 ⅞	213					shut.	9 ¾	13 17 0
4															
5	168 ¼	76 ⅞	77⅛a77	90 ⅛	109 ⅞	21 ⅞	10	212		13				9 ¾	
6	168	76 ⅞	77a76⅞	90	109 ⅛	21 ⅛		211 ¾		14				9 ¾	13 16 0
7	169	76 ⅛	77a⅛	90 ⅛	109 ⅞	21 ⅞	10	shut.		14				9 ⅞	
8	169 ¼	76 ⅛	77⅛a77	90	109 ⅞	21 ⅞	10	210						9 ¾	13 16 0
10	169	76 ¼	77a⅛	90	109 ⅞	21 ⅞	10	210		14			76 ½	9 ⅞	
11															
12	168 ½	76 ¼	76¾a⅞	90 ¼	109 ¾	21 ⅞	10	208 ¾						9 ¾	
13	168 ½	76 ¼	76¾a⅞	90 ¼		21 ⅞	10	208 ¾						9 ⅞	
14	168	76 ⅛	76¾a77	90 ¼		21 ⅞	10	209		12		76 ⅛		9	
15		76 ¼	77a⅛	91		22	10	209 ½		11				9	
17	169	77	77¼a⅜	91		22	10	211		11				9 ⅛	13 17 0
18	169	76 ⅞	77⅛a77	91		22	10	210		11				9 ¼	13 18 0
19	169	76 ¾	77¼a⅜	90 ⅝		22	10	209 ¾		11		76 ⅛		9 ⅛	13 18 0
20	169 ½	76 ¾	77⅛a¼	90 ½		22	10	210		11		76 ½		9 ⅛	13 17 0
21	170	77	77¼a⅜	90 ⅝		22	10	210 ¼		11				9 ¼	13 17 6
22		76 ⅞	77⅛a¼	90 ¼		22	10	210 ¼		10				9 ⅛	13 18 0
24															
25	170 ¼	76 ⅞	77⅛a⅜	90 ¼		22	10	211		10				9 ⅛	
26	170 ¼	77	77⅛	90 ¼		22		210		10				9 ⅛	13 17 6

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ERRATA.

Page 138, col. 2, line last but two, for *Ardent* read *Ardan.*
221, 2, line 51, for *observing* read *observed.*
420, 1, 28, after *these* read *laws.*

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